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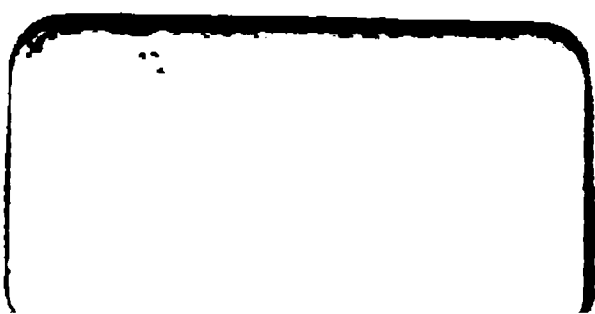
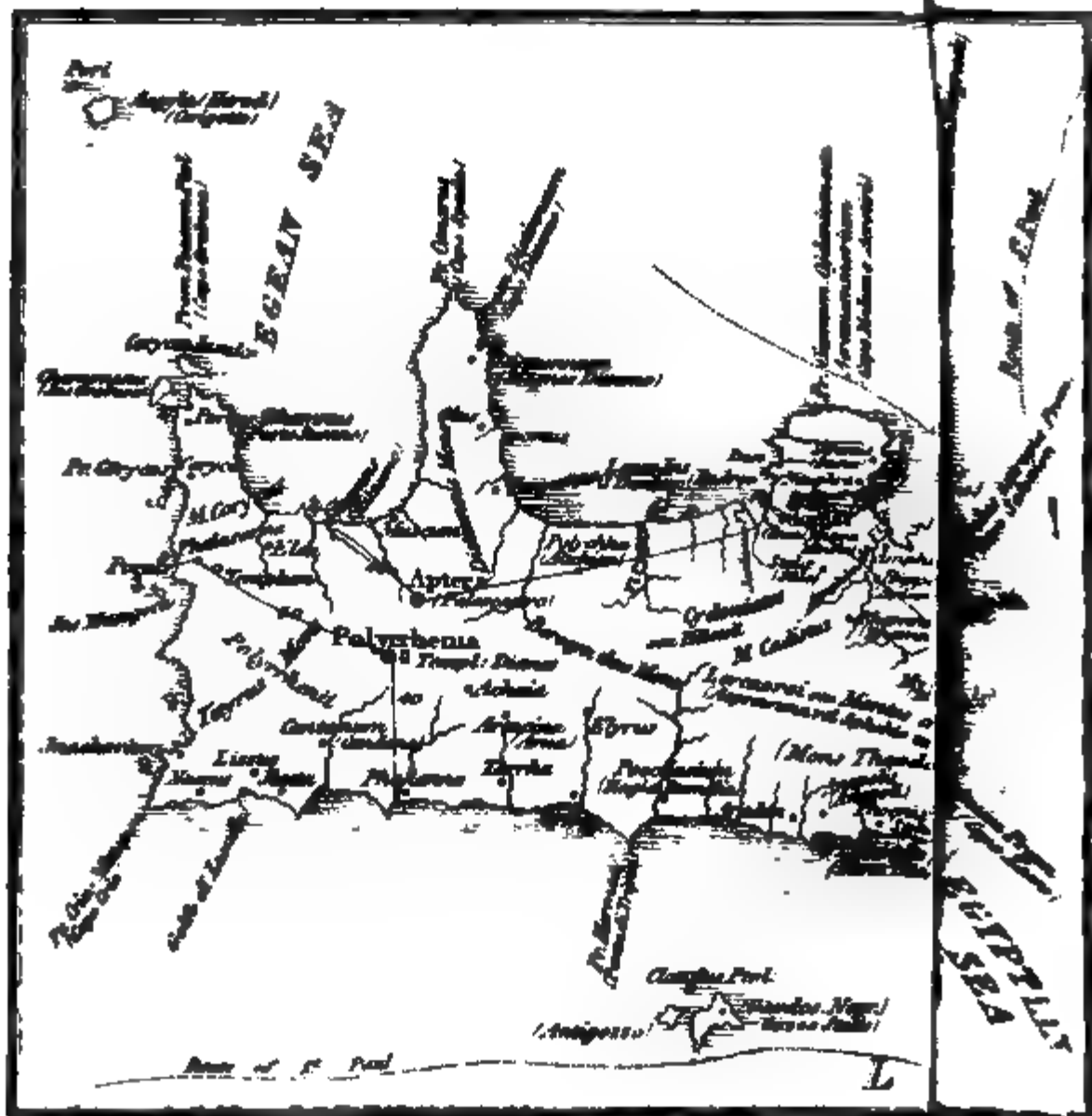


Fig. 1. Turkish Landowner. The Turkish body owner.



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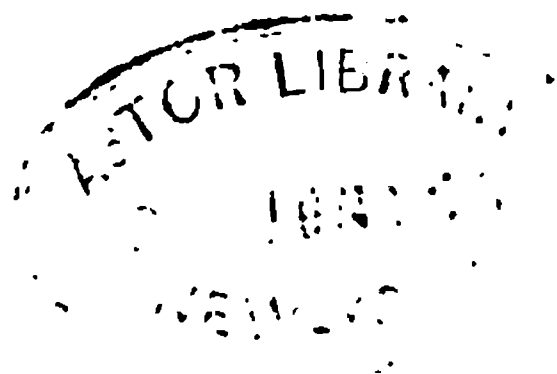
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TRAVELS:

CONSISTING OF

ORIGINALS AND TRANSLATIONS.

VOL. VIII.



CONTAINING

DR. MULLER'S JOURNEY THROUGH
GREECE AND THE IONIAN ISLANDS.
LELOERRAIN'S JOURNEY IN EGYPT,
AND SAULNIER'S ACCOUNT OF THE
ZODIAC OF DENDARAH.
SAUSSURE'S VOYAGE TO THE HE-
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LETTERS ON OLD ENGLAND, BY A
NEW ENGLAND MAN.
SCHOLZ'S TRAVELS IN EGYPT AND
LYBIA, IN 1821.
PORTER'S VOYAGE IN THE SOUTH
SEAS.
SIEBER'S TRAVELS IN CRETE.

WITH INDEX AND ENGRAVINGS.

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JOURNEY

THROUGH

GREECE AND THE IONIAN ISLANDS,

IN

JUNE, JULY, AND AUGUST, 1821.

BY DR. CHRISTIAN MÜLLER.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR SIR RICHARD PHILLIPS AND CO.

BRIDE-COURT, BRIDGE-STREET.

1822.

IN Rome I agreed with some friends to go, this year, in the month of March, by Sicily to Athens, from which place we were to undertake shorter excursions through Attica, Boeotia, Achaia, Argolis, and to Ægira. This plan, however, was frustrated.

It had, however, taken too deep root in me for to allow to renounce it altogether.

Besides, I felt myself powerfully attracted towards Greece, by contemplating its regeneration from a distance. I felt myself prepared to endure and to risk every thing, and to join, with heart and hand, in their contest.

I, therefore, set off by myself, and went through Naples to Sicily; and, after various excursions in that island, I began the journey, the description of which is contained in the following letters.

C. MÜLLER.

J O U R N E Y
THROUGH
G R E E C E
AND
THE IONIAN ISLANDS.

LETTER I.

Messina, June, 1821.

WE journeyed over the hills, and arrived at Messina, on our road from the lofty mountain of Taormina, in the last week in June.

For three weeks I had been wandering on the east and south coasts of Sicily. The ancient and splendid city of Agrigent I saw sunk into the deepest wretchedness, now only great in its colossal ruins; the proud Syracuse, kept in awe by a battalion of Austrians; Cyana's spring, almost choked with mud; and Mount Ætna, at other periods so furious, I saw quiet and calm, even without that small silvery column of smoke, by which its Neapolitan brother now and then indicates its existence.

I had made the greater part of the journey on foot, and through a burning heat; I therefore felt much gratification when I had taken possession of my very clean apartment in the *Lion d'Oro*.

To a pensive mind, the two principal pictures which adorn the room would not be very cheering. On one side, Werter with the peace-bringing pistol; on the other, Charlotte, who has just sent it. Both were very badly executed, although well intended. Many shallow lines have been written by Frenchmen under them, although they had no notion of the subject; but there were some good English verses.

I found an Austrian vessel destined for Zante, which was to set out on the third day. I, therefore, employed the following day in visiting those objects which I had not seen during my first residence in this city. King Roger's beautiful dome, borne by antique columns, and the Pelorian hills, again attracted me. From these hills, which rise above Messina and its forts, the prospect is delicious.

The city still bears many traces of its destruction, and during the bad times which prevailed for these thirty-eight years, only the most essential parts could be rebuilt, and among the unfi-

nished parts are almost all the houses of the splendid Pallazzata, which are not continued beyond the first floors. If, in more prosperous times, this street should ever be finished, it will rival in splendour, with its colonnaded palaces, the old Palazzata, which was destroyed before its completion. The appearance of this harbour-street, like its name, has for the stranger arriving from Naples, which is so poor in architectural beauties, something strikingly grand and imposing.

The prosperity of Messina had been broken through Leghorn, even before the earthquake, so that but few families remained possessed of property. But this, too, was materially injured by the calamity. No splendid carriages are seen here, and the contrast, formed by a comparison with Palermo, is very great.

I was struck with seeing so few handsome female faces and figures here, which are yet so numerous even in Catania. The citizens' wives wear a long black cloth cloak, descending to the ground with a small hood. This has certainly a very solemn appearance; but, besides this kind of dress being very ugly and unbecoming, I cannot conceive how these females can walk in them through the streets, while the barometer stands upon 32° Fahrenheit, in the shade.

Ten thousand Austrian soldiers are enough to keep all Sicily in order and tranquillity, and of these a few battalions prove sufficient to form the garrison of Messina.

It is true that most of the Sicilians wish to see the country again occupied by the English, on account of the money which they expended. The English too, who view, with pain, the occupation of the island by the Austrians, ferment this desire of the natives by all possible means, direct and indirect; but they are mistaken who apprehend any ill from this. It is certain that the Sicilians are far from being as cowardly and effeminate a people as the Neapolitans, but their late insurrections against the Austrians at Palermo and Catania, were always energetically and judiciously suppressed, with the greatest speed.

Those who are fond of recalling the memory of the Sicilian vespers, forget that Sicily and its inhabitants of 1821 are no longer those of the thirteenth century.

At the same time the silent caution of the Austrians, both here and in Naples, is admirable. Supported by this, they are able to keep two kingdoms in awe with an army of 30,000 men.

The robbers in Sicily have entirely disappeared since the presence of the Austrians, but in the kingdom of Naples, even on the high roads of Rome and Otranto, they continue their trade with the greatest audacity.

LETTER II.

Zante, July.

WE left the harbour of Messina early in the morning, that is, we were carried out of it by the tide, which is of great importance for the navigation in this channel. With the next high-water we were carried into the Pharus, which is always a difficult undertaking, owing to the violent currents in the strait, so much so that, unless the wind be favourable and pretty brisk, it is impossible to accomplish it at low-water.

We were soon becalmed; and I profited of this involuntary leisure of the captain to enquire of him respecting the present importance of Scylla and Charybdis in navigation. I give his observations as those of an experienced man, without pretending to warrant their correctness.

The Scylla I had seen myself a month previously, on entering the Pharus, near the village of Scylla, on the coast of Calabria. It is now a harmless rock, and is only terrible in poetry; but the Charybdis is still dangerous, being the most difficult of the numerous whirlpools which extend through the whole Pharus, along the Calabrian coast; and, even in modern times, has proved destructive to many vessels. In autumn and winter the passage through the Pharus is so dangerous that most ships going from east to west, prefer sailing round Sicily than attempting to go through it. Others, not taking this precaution, lay for months in the Pharus, without daring to proceed, on account of the currents flowing towards the Charybdis, and other whirlpools.

Thus, I was told, two ships sailed last year from Trieste for Geneva. The one, even after having touched at Malta, where she lay a short time, went round Sicily, and soon arrived at Geneva. On her subsequent return to Trieste, after the lapse of several months, she met the other ship off Naples, and in a very damaged state, after having had to contend, for two months and a half, against the currents of the Charybdis.

In the evening the wind again became favourable, and we soon came in sight of the mountain-tops of Taormina and Ætna. The latter mountain, owing to its gentle rise, is not so picturesque in its appearance as the Vesuvius with the Sonnoa; but its size makes it still imposing. The Sicilian mountains rise from the Pelorian hills in very beautiful undulations over the Taormina, towards the Ætna, behind which they disappear.

The Calabrian mountains are far less beautiful. Besides, they are rugged and barren, and were only interrupted in their monotony by the rough beds of mountain-torrents, which are now dried up. There were no human habitations to be seen from this spot.

On the following morning we lost sight of the coasts of Italy and Sicily; but we came to a spot from which, as the captain told me, in bright weather, the coasts of Apulia, the Mount *Ætna*, and the Monte Nero, on Kephalaria, may be discovered. But the state of the atmosphere deprived us of this extensive view.

It was near sun-set when the captain shewed me, through his telescope, the Monte Nero on Kephalaria; it was the first point of Greece that I beheld. But still we were not permitted to approach the Ionian Islands; for the favourable wind fell, and a complete calm, which ensued, held us fast, at a distance of twenty-one Italian miles from Zante. Hundreds of playful dolphins sported round our vessel, undisturbed by the silly attempts of the sailors at catching some of them. These creatures display a peculiar grace in every one of their movements, and seem to be much attached to man; they only shew themselves in fine weather, moving in graceful circles round the vessel, bounding from the blue waves, disappearing for a few moments, and then, as in sport, re-appearing at another place.

After having waited a long time, a favourable wind sprang up, and pushed us rapidly towards the island, which rose beautifully before us from among the waves. Kephalaria, with its high mountains, and Zakynthos (Zante) lay before me.

LETTER III.

Zante, July.

It was my intention to have proceeded hence to Patrass, there to embark again for the isthmus, and go to Corinth, and then sail from the other side of the isthmus to the neighbouring Piræus. This plan, undertaken with a little spirit, I thought completely feasible, since it had been unanimously reported, in Italy and Sicily, that Athens, with its castle, had long since fallen into the hands of the Greeks.

I now learnt in Zante, from the report of French and English travellers, as well as from the Greeks themselves, that it would be impossible to take this route. I was told that the fort of Patrass was still in the hands of the Turks, the city being reduced to a heap of ruins, and that sailing, in the Gulf of Lepanto, was very dangerous, owing to the Greek and Turkish pirates by which the gulf was infested; furthermore, that it would be very hazardous to cross the isthmus, on account of the Turkish and Greek banditti roving about there. To get to Corinth would be utterly impossible. It would also be very difficult to find any shipping at Kenkeri, on the other side of the isthmus, for Salamis or Athens, all trade and communication being stopped. But if I should even succeed in conquering all these dif-

difficulties and reach Athens, I should find the town almost entirely abandoned, even the French and Austrian consuls having left it. Moreover, the most valuable remains of antiquity being contained in the fort, the ancient Acropolis, which was still occupied by the Turks, I should be precluded from seeing it; and, if I went upon the chance of the fort having been taken within a month, (the last date of the accounts received from that quarter,) there was but one way of reaching there, viz. to sail to the island of Hydra, from whence I might find an opportunity for Ægina, Salamis, or even the Piræus.

On the latter course I have, therefore, resolved, and am now waiting for an opportunity for Hydra. But I am aware that at the present period such a course would be difficult to meet with; and, I am told, that I should more readily find one in Kalamata.

For this small town on the gulf of Coron, I have found three travelling companions, two Englishmen, and a Hungarian. They have resolved to proceed there overland, if there should be no ship sailing there within a few days, and I am almost inclined to accompany them.

LETTER IV.

Zante, July.

WE found no ship to sail for Kalamata, and, therefore, set about the execution of our plan, in spite of all the warnings and dissuasion of our friends.

Our departure was to be kept secret from the British authorities in Zante, and we spoke about an intended excursion into the interior of the island; whilst our embarkation took place at night-time, and outside of the harbour.

We set sail at day-break, and within four hours-and-a-half we landed at Pyrgo, on the coast of Morea. In this place of misery and wretchedness, we procured two guides with mules to carry our luggage.

We soon reached the neat romantic village of Phloka, which we found almost completely deserted. The scite of Olympia is easily recognised. I wished to give some details of the remains of this famous city; but, together with all my other property, I have lost my journal and drawings.

Passing over the Kaldeus, near its junction with the Alpheas, we saw Mount Saturn. At the foot of this mountain, towards the north, lay the stadium, the shape of which may still be traced; towards the east, the theatre and the prytaneum; on the road towards the stadium, the temple of Hera; towards the south the Leonidacum, and, probably, the study of Phidias.

To the south-east of this mountain, towards the Alpheas,

Journey through Greece

stood the famous temple of Jupiter Olympus. Only a few insignificant ruins, and some underwood, mark the scite of this temple, from which the Turks of Lalla, to this day, dig for stones which once belonged to it. The total demolition of this temple is owing to its uncommon splendour and internal richness; whilst some older temples at Athens, Agrigent, &c. are almost entire to this day.

Of the Pelopium and Hippodamium no traces are discernible, no more than of the theatre. Of the Hippodrom alone, some ruins are left.

Leaving Olympia towards evening, we took the road to Mirakka, where we saw some ruins of buildings, probably of a later date, and some ancient tombs. We passed near the small seat, or rather tower, of Pyrgo, belonging to the Aga of Lalla, now a fugitive, and which had been built of stones from the temple of the Olympian Jupiter. We passed the night at Mirakka.

The next morning we crossed the Alpheus near Palago-Phanaro; a passage which is not without its dangers, besides being awkwardly managed; we, however, left our mules on the right-bank, as we only went for the purpose of enjoying the view of Elis and Arcadia, from the mountain of Palago-Phanaro. We had much finer prospects on the succeeding days, and certainly did not find it worth the trouble and danger of this crossing.

We soon passed over the Erimanthus and Ladon into Arcadia, to the small village of Agiani or Hagios, on the scite of the ancient city of Heræa. The remaining ruins of this once famous city are but scanty; yet, occasionally, Doric columns of a porous soft stone, of sixteen to eighteen inches in diameter, are found.

From Agiani the road again leads over the Alpheus, to which we now bade adieu, and proceeded towards the Turkish fort of Nerrowitza; which we, however, carefully avoided.

We thought of proceeding that day as far as Panlizza, when, towards seven o'clock in the morning, our progress was stopped in an unexpected manner. We suddenly perceived a party of armed men, with three mules, coming down the hill, and directly recognised them as Mainots.

We immediately took to our pistols, but, in the same moment they fired a musket, and one of our mules fell dead on the spot. After this introduction they called out to us to surrender ourselves, otherwise they would murder us, which would be very easy for them, "brave Spartans," with such Frankish dogs. And certainly such it was, as these Neo-Spartans were between thirty and thirty-two in number, all armed fourfold; and our party was only four men, armed with three brace of pistols, our Hungarian friend not having any weapons.

Nevertheless, we resolved to defend ourselves at all hazards. We however told them, before that, we were friends, on our march to the Greek army at Kalamata. This declaration made them hesitate a moment: however, after having fired another shot, they replied laconically, that this was an untruth, for people did not go to Kalamata by land, but by sea; that we were English spies; and that, moreover, the Franks were not wanted at Kalamata.

Upon this they quickly came down upon us. They fired two shots, one of which slightly wounded Mr. N. in the upper-arm, the other killed the young muleteer of Pyrgo. In return, the brave Englishman, S. disabled two of the robbers. For my part, I shot one of them through the thigh, but the second pistol having missed fire, I felt my senses leaving me, and I fell to the ground. This was the consequence of a blow which I received with the butt-end of a musket on the head and shoulder; and when I recovered from my swoon, I found myself and my three companions tied to trees.

I could not conceive why the robbers had left us alive, as it would have been easy for them to have dispatched us. My companions also told me, that this would have been the case, had not the chief of the band, immediately after my falling, ordered his men to desist from firing, and to carry us along with them tied. This part of the plan, however, was finally abandoned, and we were ultimately tied to the trees, and left to die the most miserable death, or, perhaps, to be murdered the next day. Having stripped us of every valuable, they went away with our provisions, luggage, arms, and the remaining mule.

We exhausted all our strength to disengage ourselves, and night came on, without our having succeeded. We now heard somebody approaching us; it was our surviving muleteer, who had concealed himself behind the rocks and trees as soon as the firing commenced. He released us from our captivity, and notwithstanding the wretchedness of our situation, we experienced such relief as can only be conceived by those who may have undergone similar sufferings.

But what were we to do now? Deprived of every means, a return seemed to be as impossible as any progress on our journey. In this dilemma, Mr. S. uttered a shout, at the same time picking up his cap, which, in the beginning of the contest, had fallen among the stone, and which he held up with loud exclamations of joy. At last he informed us that he had hidden some pieces of gold in his cap, with which we might reach Kalamata, where we should find further assistance.

Our joy now became equal to his, and we expressed it in lively terms, as well as our gratitude for his generosity in offering

to admit us to a share in his good fortune. We now resolved to pass the night in the forest, to dress our wounds, and to proceed the next day in our journey to Kalamata. It was also discussed whether we were to do any thing in the neighbouring village towards the recovery of our property, and the prosecution of the robbers. But our guide strongly dissuaded us from such a step, urging the absence of all legal authorities throughout the Morea at the present period, together with the danger of exciting the robbers, who, probably, were still about here, or any of their fellows, to revenge the attempt of bringing them to justice. We therefore desisted from this scheme, till we should reach Kalamata, whither the muleteer engaged to guide us, in hopes, as we anticipated ourselves, that we should there be able to indemnify him for his trouble and loss.

It may be imagined that we spent a very gloomy night. Besides, Mr. N. and I could not sleep from pain ; therefore, as soon as the day began to dawn, we set out on our melancholy march.

Our road led us over a beautiful succession of hill and dale, from the former of which we enjoyed a most delightful view into Arcadia. But owing to our exhaustion from hunger, thirst, and fatigue, and from a consideration for our wounded friend, whose wound was but slightly drest, and who suffered from fever, we did not proceed further than the village of Ampeliona.

In this village we again found inhabitants and cattle. We supplied ourselves with bread, milk, meat, and eggs ; but owing to the poor inhabitants not knowing our gold, it was with difficulty that we persuaded them to accept a zechine in payment.

The next morning we arrived at Paulizza, which is the ancient city of Phigalia, now consisting of a few wretched houses. We traced the whole circumference of the city wall, which is defended by many towers, some of which are situated upon rocks, and on the borders of deep ravines. On the east side, one of its antique gates is yet standing. It is formed of large stones, joined without any kind of cement or lime.

In one of the churches are some fragments of a small doric temple. In another we saw antique columns, two feet in diameter ; and along the walls, two rows of columns of only sixteen inches in diameter. On the outside of this church we perceived some large blocks of stone, which seemed to have formed the foundation of a temple.

Owing to its elevated position, Paulizza is very cold in winter. The mountains about here are truly stupendous, and open, like gates, with views into the wildly-beautiful valleys of Arcadia. The climate of Arcadia is by no means genial ; the country is strikingly grand, and reminded me of Tyrol, and still more of Salzburg.

Only the vegetation of a tropical climate, such as wild thyme, rosemary, lavender, and myrtles; pomegranate, cactus, fig, mulberry, and mastix-trees, remind the traveller of his being in the south.

Most of the houses on our road we found deserted; therefore being still provided with provisions, which we brought with us from Pampeliona, we pushed on as far as the ruins of Bassæ, where we encamped between its splendid columns.

The famous ruins of the temple of Apollo Epithurias, are some of the finest and most splendid now to be met with in Greece. From hence the famous bas-relief was taken which now forms the principal ornament of the British Museum, and which represents the contests between the Lapithes and Centaurs, and those between the Greeks and the Amazons.

This temple lies between two hills, crowned by ancient oaks. It is one hundred and twenty-five feet long, and forty-eight wide. The number of columns on the longest side is fifteen, the number of those in the front and the back are only six. The interior was a hypæthrum. The cell was surrounded by Ionic columns, with recesses between them, which, probably, were once filled up with statues. These Ionic columns supported the famous frieze which was forcibly carried off by the English, under the protection of an armed force of sixty men from Zante; Weli-Pacha, son of the famous Ali of Janina, who was then pacha of Tripolizza, having refused to give it up. This temple was built of very handsome and durable kind of stone.

The prospect from this spot is as beautiful as extensive.

We passed the night on one of the hills near the temple. The next morning we proceeded to Krano, a small village; but which, probably, was the ancient Messenian city of Kromon.

The road from Krano to Sakona, a distance of about five hours, is chiefly down hill. Sakona lies in the plain of Messeni.

We passed near the remains of an antique city wall, at the foot of a hill, and crossed over a number of small streams and rivulets, which, fortunately for us, were nearly dried up.

Close by the village of Skala we found, on the top of a hill in the defile, a species of natural mosaick of a very singular appearance. This village probably occupies the site of Orchalia.

An hour's journey beyond Skala, we came to the foundation of a small temple, situated on a rock, at the foot of which is a spring and a small pond. This is the source of the larger Pamisus, in which children were purified.

It was rather late in the evening when we arrived at Kalamata. This town is situated in a smiling and fertile country, resembling a garden. It lies at the foot of a hill, at a distance of above

an Italian mile from the sea ; the fort, lately taken from the Turks, lying by the side of it. It is, probably, the ancient Kalama, where the temple of Diana Timnatis stood, although some make it the site of the antique city of Steng-Klarus.

LETTER V.

Zante, July.

WE came to Kalamata, both from inclination and necessity, to enlist in the Greek army, whose head-quarters are in this town. I have determined to speak of the treatment I suffered there from the Greeks, with all the lenity which the good cause in bad hands deserves.

We certainly found what was termed the head-quarters, *i. e.* a collection of men who styled themselves officers. They were Greeks, with the exception of a few Frenchmen and a Polisher from Napoleon's lancers.

Our first step was to wait upon the Duodekadi, and lay our complaint before them, in the hope of causing the apprehension of the robbers, by giving an exact description of the lost articles; having learnt from good authority that they were partly inhabitants of the town; on which account, perhaps, they were favoured by these magistrates. We met with a very cold reception, and they seemed surprized that we should complain of having been robbed in the Morea. They refused to investigate the matter, as being useless and impossible.

We were not only disappointed of assistance where we had a right to expect it, nor did we experience the least commiseration from the Greeks. They treated us with the contempt usually shewn by the Moreats towards the Franks; a treatment as ridiculous as inconsistent in people who are merely dependant, and who have so pressingly solicited foreign assistance.

There is, indeed, no want of high-sounding phrases, in which the Spartan descent is repeated; they, however, neither possess real Grecian spirit, military skill, just conception of their high origin, or subordination.

Moreover, there was a terrible confusion in their affairs. The troops and officers were but seldom paid, there being always a scarcity of money among the Greeks of the Morea. The people either live by pillage or by their own means: of course, they could not yet provide a proper supply of provisions and arms, and the small quantity of cannon and ammunition imported by French and American ships upon credit, are far from being sufficient.

Besides, they had no plan in their operations, and the people

of Kalamata thought it quite ridiculous to think of it, since Prince D. Ypsilanti and the hero Kolokotroni were stationed before Tripolizza. They thought there was nothing else to do but to take the fortresses from the hands of the Turks. This, however, is no easy task, considering the obstinacy with which the Turks defend themselves in them, and rather endure the greatest privations than surrender to the Greeks. In addition to this, several of them have large garrisons.

Of honour, the best essence of an army, these people have no idea. Their spirit is not that of bravery, but that of villany, which considers all methods of conquest justifiable.

The Moreats have already been reproached of being more cruel and malicious towards each other, than the Turks were towards them. This charge is literally true. They now persecute and denounce each other, in the same manner as they formerly used the pachas, from covetousness, envy, or hatred.

These *soi-disant* officers cannot brook to see each other promoted; and they are especially offended when such a distinction is conferred on a foreigner: a feeling which I should not blame if they were independent of them; but they ought not to reject what is indispensable to them.

It is almost impossible for a European to describe the common soldiers, who, for the most part, are Mainots. With the pride of their ancestors, of whom, however, they have but confused ideas, their character unites villany and cowardice. In general, their courage only extends to stealing a sheep, a cow, or a horse, but it is lost when they are to meet an enemy face to face, without any prospect of gain.

The Turks are personally braver than the Moreat Greeks. This fact was hitherto displayed on every occasion, but particularly during the siege of the small fort of Monombasia, on the 5th of April. The Turks wished to repulse the Greeks, who were four times stronger than themselves, by a sally. But as often as they came out of their fort, their cowardly opponents fled. The Turks now thought of a stratagem for the purpose of engaging their enemies. They, therefore, put a cow outside the gate from which they intended to sally forth. In the night the Greeks went into the snare. They approached, in order to seize the lowing cow, and while engaged with unloosing her, the Turks fell upon them, killed many, and took still more, who, however, did not survive the next day.

They commenced this siege with one large cannon, with the management of which they were still less acquainted than the Turks were of their artillery. With this gun, however, they fired from such a distance that it was impossible for their balls to reach the fort;—they were, however, secure against the artil-

lery of the Turks. Thus they uselessly spent a large quantity of precious ammunition, and after a few days they went off with great noise and threats. The Turks maintained themselves yet some time longer, till hunger and want compelled them to surrender. But, contrary to the capitulation, the whole of the garrison was put to the sword.

On seeing these people stalking about with two pistols, a *takan*, or long dagger, and a knife in their belt, with a musket on their shoulder, and a large supply of cartridges about them, we are apt to think that it is the effect of a barbarous courage as with the Turks, whom the Greeks mimic in every particular. But this is not the case. They load, it is true, their enemies with the most opprobrious terms, which are as punctually returned by them, but they seldom await them, if they approach courageously and in equal numbers.

The Frenchmen and the Polander had been entrusted with the command of a few troops of Moreats, and were styled captains. But they were sensible of the difficulty and unpleasantness of their situation. Hated by their men as "*Frenkish dogs*," and in every way unsupported, they were left without any influence, and were afraid of falling, some day or other, sacrifices to their hatred of foreigners. Moreover, they hardly ever received any pay; and they ardently wished to leave the country, but had no means carry their wish into execution.

We had seen and heard enough to be resolved rather to suffer death than join these vile bands; and, therefore, determined to leave the Morea as soon as possible. Only two *zechines* were left of S.'s money; but his generosity would not allow him to save himself alone from the wreck of our hopes. The master of a Zantiot boat, however, agreed, for this money, not only to give us a passage to Zante, but also to board us during the voyage.

We left Kalamata the following morning. In our passage we saw, at a distance, the fortresses of Koron and Metun, which are still in the hands of the Turks, and that of Navaria (*Neacastro*) lately taken by the Greeks.

Having arrived off Zante, the difficulty was to land unobserved, and to appear as if we came from the interior, in order to avoid being held to a quarantine. During the night the landing was effected at an unguarded part of the breakers, and jumping from rock to rock, we succeeded in gaining the shore. The boat again took to the open sea, and the next morning we entered the harbour of Zante.

We also reached the town undiscovered, and the report was generally believed that we came to examine the *naphtha-springs* in the interior.

By the kind assistance of the persons to whom we had been recommended, we obtained here enough to enable us to procure some linen, and to think of a farther voyage.

Our roads now separated. I determined to return by Venice to the south of Germany; but my companions wished to go to Malta. They were enabled to leave a short time before myself. The moment of our parting I shall remember through life; although it was silent.

The rising of the Greeks against the unjust and barbarous conduct of the pachas, the attempt of shaking off the yoke of a government which not only approved of their inhuman treatment, but frequently ordered it,—is, unquestionably, a glorious æra in modern history.

The Porte could, in my opinion, no longer be considered as a legitimate power in Europe, when she attacked those undestructible rights of her subjects which they possess as *human beings*, rights which form the basis of all European governments, and which are the condition in the fulfilment of which alone a government can aspire to legitimacy.

The rising of the Greeks against such a government ought not, therefore, to be classed with the revolutionary attempts lately made in other countries.

The Greeks do not desire a partial change in their government, but they demand common justice and humanity; and as this was not to be obtained in a friendly way, they took to arms to render themselves altogether independent of that power.

Should the Porte, however, now be induced to grant the Greeks, under proper securities, such a legal government as, for instance, is enjoyed by the Austrian subjects in Germany, she would re-enter into her legitimacy towards the Greeks, and any farther resistance on their part might then be called disloyal.

But as it is, I consider the insurrection of the Greeks as being fully justified after the treatment they have experienced. Similar attempts were made during the last century in the Morea and northern Greece, but without success.

But to call it a *national war* of the Greeks against the Turks, is decidedly erroneous. Whole tribes of them, and those among the most renowned of antiquity, the inhabitants of Attica, Megaris, Thebes, &c. have hitherto kept completely aloof from the contest; upwards of five thousand male Moreats have fled from the Peloponnese to the island of Zante, under the pretence of their having no arms to fight for their country. This, however, is an untruth, since it is well known that every Moreat has his pistols, muskets, daggers, long knives, &c. which, in the true Turkish style, they always carry along with them.

In the same manner above three thousand inhabitants of ancient Acarnania have taken refuge on the islands of Cephalonia, St. Maura, &c.

With the exception of a few princes, who perhaps hope to acquire thrones through it, the higher orders have hitherto not participated in the war. They have not only withdrawn their support, but there are even many who disapprove of the measure.

They read here with much regret of the patriotic sacrifices of the Greeks, reported in foreign newspapers. This unworthy exclusion too is the cause of the want of money among their armies; which causes so much delay in their operations, and deprives them of the means of purchasing the necessary implements of war.

It is well known that the war on the Danube broke out too soon. It is said that it was only to have begun in the autumn of 1822. Nothing was prepared, nothing planned; hence the confusion in their operations.

Prince Alexander Ypsilanti has shewn his degree of capacity in the miscarried campaign on the Danube. His brother Dimitiz Ypsilanti and prince Katakusi in the Morea, are possessed of military talent; under them command Alexander Kantakuzens, the brothers Kisko and Kolaktroni, who is a brave leader, who, before the arrival of D. Ypsilanti, had done almost every thing that has been accomplished in this part of Greece.

But for undertakings like these extraordinary talents are required; common skill will not suffice.

Let us only consider what has been done in the Morea, since March, when the insurrection first broke out.

As the Turks, immediately on the breaking out of the revolt, withdrew into the fortresses, the Greeks had no enemy to contend with in the open field, and there was no need of thousands of people flying before them. The Maimots and Moreats, as usual, made much noise and confusion, robbed and murdered as much as possible; but they only took a few of the smallest forts by starving the garrisons. The larger fortresses, however, are still held by the Turks, in spite of the want to which the garrisons in them are exposed. Thus they occupy Napoli di Romania, with a garrison (as they say) of fifteen thousand men, Koron with four thousand men, Motun with two thousand men, Patras with six thousand men, and Tripolizza with eight thousand men. But even if these should at length fall, the merit of taking them will be but trifling, as the Turks had no time to provide themselves in their fortresses against being besieged, and are now dying from want of provisions. With such an enemy within, the larger the garrison the sooner they must fall.

Besides, it is well known that the Turks have no knowledge of fortification or the management of artillery, and are therefore entirely restricted to their personal bravery and endurance; with which they have hitherto been able, although oppressed by famine, to resist the many attacks and storms of the Greeks.

Tripolizza was besieged these two months by Ypsilanti and Katakusi, whose army was estimated from between twenty to three thousand men; but without being able to reduce the famished garrison to surrender.

Thus, within five months and a half very little has been effected against the enemy, although so much reduced in means of defence. Only since the arrival of the princes in Morea the military affairs have obtained a better form, although not a better spirit; moreover, all the improvements are confined to the spot where prince Ypsilanti commands in person.

Much more however has been effected by the islanders of the Archipelago, especially by the inhabitants of Hydra and Spezia. Their naval forces are considerable, and they are daily gaining some advantage over their enemies.

The heroine Bobolina was from the latter island; she armed three ships against the Turks, two of which were commanded by her sons, and the largest by herself. She lost one of her sons in the contest; but she was then as much animated by the feeling of revenge as by the love of her country. She already has taken many ships.

Another fair heroine, of the family Morogeni of Constantinople, fitted out several ships against the Turks for herself and sons in June last.

It is more than probable that the Greeks will always keep the superiority on sea, and that therefore the islands at least will be wrested from the Turks. But it would be still more gratifying if there were more union and concord between the different islands, and would be sooner conducive to victory.

On the other side of the isthmus, especially in Rumili, the affairs of the Greeks stand much better. On the beginning of the siege of Janina, the Turkish forces were very considerable. But on the Greeks separating from them they were reduced to five thousand, with which they continue besieging Ali-Pacha, but are at the same time hemmed in themselves by a Greek host of about twenty-five thousand men, Albanese, Epirots, Pargists, Suliots, &c. under the command of Sturnari and Zonkas, who are sometimes joined by the brave Sulliot chief Roti, with his wandering troop.

These brave tribes, to which perhaps we may also soon reckon the Servians, for the moment laid aside their hatred towards the southern Greeks, and bravely opposed the Turks. They took

Sulli in Epirus and one of the suburbs of Parga, and it is hoped that the generous Pargiots will soon again repossess themselves of the tombs of their fathers. There too the brave Odysseus was very active with his small army.

It is well known that the power of the Porte is much weakened and paralyzed; but, notwithstanding this, she is still very powerful, and the bravery of her troops has hitherto proved an adamant wall against the aggressions of the Greeks, whose armies are deficient of many advantages possessed by the Turks.

Such as I know the Greeks they are, as yet, perfectly unripe for the formation of a federative government. This truth had been long observed by the more enlightened part of the nation; and, therefore, they established those schools at Smyrna, Chios, Cydonia, &c. which, being connected among each other, and with the foreign travels and studies of these young men, were to prepare the nation for their future enjoyment of liberty. But this wise plan was abandoned too soon, and the present premature insurrection broke out.

The Greeks want a powerful central government, whether their government be monarchical or federative. But they ought to have a severe struggle before they can be matured for such a state of civilization. For if by means of foreign assistance they should obtain their independence, as it were by a sudden start, we might expect to see a repetition of those scenes which desolated Hellas after Alexander's death. The common enemy having once disappeared, individual ambition would exert itself, and we should perhaps find Ypsilanti, Katakusi, Kantakuzens, and a host of others fighting for the possession of the throne of Stambul.

But even should not this civil strife take place, and should one individual, without opposition, obtain the empire of the east, it would require a great genius to neutralize and amalgamate the heterogeneous parts which compose the Greek population, and to introduce an improved mode of government and administration among them; but such a genius has not yet appeared in Greece.

If I yet consider the horrid murders committed at Constantinople, Smyrna, and elsewhere, which will be repeated as long as the smallest Turkish power shall remain in Greece; if I consider that the cruelties of the Turks are every where returned by the Greeks; if I consider the dreadful slaughter of thousands of Jews, I feel myself induced, as a man and a Christian, to wish that some great neighbouring power would interfere, and compel the Porte to grant to the Greeks a general amnesty, a just and equitable treatment for the future, security for their persons and property, and to watch over the execution of these concessions, with a powerful army stationed in the country, and thus put a

stop to the exterminating war between both parties, and to restore, at least, an outward peace, till time and circumstances should bring about other changes.

Such is the posterity of the old Spartans; such are the Moreots, who, among the Greeks are not only the haughtiest, but, also, the most cowardly. Whither has the fortitude and contempt of life which characterized their ancestors fled? Whither are those gone to whom earthly possessions and bodily pains were equally indifferent? That race is fled, never to return, like every thing great and beautiful that is once gone; it will not rise again, —certainly not in *this* generation.*

* No possible reliance can be placed on the accounts of the war given by Greeks only. Thus, towards the close of July it was reported in Zante, for at least the eighth time, that Tripolizza had surrendered; that the fort of Patrasso had been taken by storm after a dreadful slaughter; in the same manner that it was afterwards announced at Corfu, that Solinich, with her immense treasures, had surrendered to Odysseus.

The following facts respecting Janina may be depended upon, as coming from a very good source. The town of Janina, situated on the left side of the lake, and which contains about 60,000 inhabitants, is in the hands of the Turks. It has three forts, named Kuta, Lidarize, and Kastro; all of which are still in the hands of Ali-Pacha. Into the latter, which is the strongest, he has thrown himself, with all his immense treasures which were before in Lidarize, but which he had removed in time. These three forts have, for some time past, been besieged by a body of 5000 Turks. They were three times stronger when the siege began, yet when the Greeks separated from them, only 5000 remained. Since the rising of the Greeks these Turks are surrounded by a Greek army, said to be 25,000 strong. It appears this measure has had no particular result. The two Greek leaders are Sturnari and Zouka, and they are now and then joined by the wandering troop of the brave Sulliot Noti.

Ali-Pacha has not yet passed over to the Christian religion, nor has he taken a Christian name. This erroneous statement was caused by his once hoisting the Greek standard, a silver cross raised above the crescent, on the towers of Kastro, which he did to demonstrate his friendship for them.

It is impossible to give an exact account of the Greek armies. The common calculation is:

Under Demetry Ypsilanti's chief command, although divided into several corps, and engaged with the siege of the different fortresses	30,000 men
Before Janina, under the command of Sturnari and Zouka, consisting of Sulliotics, Epirots, Pargiots, Albanes, Montenegrines, &c.	25,000
The corps of Odysseus	4,000
The corps of Sulliotics and Pargiots commanded by Noti	3,000
The remains of the army of A. Ypsilanti on the Danube	3,000
Various undefined bodies, which appear sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, separate and re-united	5,000
	<hr/> 70,000

On the other hand the Turkish armies employed against the Greeks are estimated as follows:

The army of Moldavia and Wallachia and their dependencies	60,000 men
The besieging army before Janina	5,000

LETTER VI.

Zante, August.

THIS island is very frequently visited with destructive earthquakes, which occur almost regularly every twenty or twenty-five years. The concussions generally proceed from N. W. to S. E. accompanied by gusts of wind in the same direction, which often last for several days, during which a change also occurs in the atmosphere.

All the earthquakes which have taken place in modern times, particularly those of Lisbon and Calabria, were felt in the Ionian islands, but more especially in Zante. The same effects have been produced by the eruptions of Etna and Vesuvius.

Those earthquakes, which arise from the bosom of the island, and terminate in undulating motions, are the most dangerous. They return at regular periods, and at such times put the inhabitants in consternation. Traces of their destructive effects are every where to be met with. Those of 1650, 1673, 1696, 1713, 1727, 1742, 1767, 1791, and 1820, are most distinguished for their violence.

That of 1767 began on the 11th of July, and lasted, with short interruptions, till the 9th of August. Every day concussions were felt, seemingly arising from the centre of the earth, which terminated in undulating motions. Slighter concussions were felt even two months later. Besides its dreadful ravages, this earthquake also occasioned an epidemic disease.

On the 2d of November, 1791, this scourge, with all its terrors, returned with a hot and sultry atmosphere, and a concussion from S. E. to N. W. It lasted for several minutes, but was not felt with equal force in all parts of the island. The whole

Garrisons in the different fortresses of Rumili	-	20,000 men
Garrisons in the different forts of Morea	-	35,000
		<hr/>
		120,000 men
		<hr/>

But I repeat that these statements cannot be depended upon. No one knows the truth. We may, however, suspect that the foregoing account is in favour of the Greeks.

Unprejudiced Greeks do justice to the excellent and quick administration of justice among the Turks, especially in *Constantinople*, *Thessalonica*, *Adrianople*, *Magnesia*, *Smyrna*, and in the whole of *Anatolia*, and relate anecdotes respecting it which excite the highest admiration. They justly fear that this at least would be unfavourably altered upon Greece becoming free. Old Smyrniots still remember the justice and uncommonly good qualities of *Karasmanoglu* and *Zapanoglu*. The Greeks in those cities and districts were much favoured by the Porte, frequently even to the detriment of the Turks themselves. Only the despotic horrors of the Pacha were insufferable.

of the western part remained uninjured, but all the buildings in the eastern part, situated on eminences, especially the fortress of Zante, were completely destroyed; and six villages at the foot of the mountains were totally changed into heaps of rubbish. In the city not a house remained without being more or less injured; many were entirely overthrown. It was a remarkable circumstance, that low houses, the walls of which had been consolidated by age, suffered the most; whilst modern houses of three or four stories high were hardly impaired. Square pillars, raised for the support of roofs, were seen turned upon their axis. One wall of four feet in diameter, and six feet high, was entirely demolished, and, as it were, reduced to dust, whilst close by it a thin, slightly-built wall had stood its ground. In several parts of the coast the earth opened. During the first week or ten days after this event, a dismal calm prevailed at sea. The air was hot and sultry, and filled with a dense vapour. The sun seemed perfectly pale and burning hot. Every where, but particularly in St. Mark's square, in Zante, was a strong smell of sulphur. Every day brought some concussions, but considering the shattered state of the houses, they did little damage. Above twenty persons were buried under the ruins, and thirty were wounded; but many more died through fear.

The earthquake of 1820—21 seemed to keep its ruinous effects from the hills, only extending its devastations along the coast. Zante suffered dreadfully by it, particularly the streets near the sea-side. In other respects it commenced in the same manner as that of 1790. It began on the 16th of December, and lasted for a fortnight with unequal violence.

On the 6th of January, 1821, the strongest concussions were felt. They caused the greatest destruction in Zante. After the 6th a most furious hurricane excited the sea to such a degree, that it produced inundations, which did much mischief. This earthquake, unlike the former, singled out the high buildings. I lived in one of those houses which had been but scantily repaired, being without windows, stair-rails, and other conveniences. I can look through the shattered walls. The yard is full of ruins, over which an old orange-tree, which as yet, preserved under the fall of the adjoining houses, raises its blooming top. In the same manner, a neighbouring garden lies covered with stones and rubbish, but in the midst of these stand a beautiful pomegranate-tree and an oleander, both in bloom! How wretched was the sight of Zante in those days of desolation. All houses, more or less damaged, stood open, forsaken by their inhabitants. The terrified people of both sexes and every station, void of every feeling except that of danger, ran against each other in the most horrid confusion, hastening to the

image of their saint, from whom alone they expected help: Towards the middle of January all danger was past.

The earthquakes are often followed for a long time by rain and fog, which are productive of epidemic disorders, which prove always more violent and obstinate at Zante than in any other part of the islands.

Herodotus mentions having seen a lake on Zakynthus which produced bitumen (naphtha); any thing thrown into this lake, he says, passes under-ground, and again appears, four stades off, on the surface of the sea.

In the west of the island, near the village of Chieri, is a beautiful plain of about three leagues in circumference, surrounded by mountains. Here the air is noxious, and causes protracted fevers; as is evident from the pallid countenances of the inhabitants. In the middle of this plain, about a quarter of a league from the sea-shore, are two naphtha-springs, at a distance of about 200 paces from each other. They seem to take their rise in the interior of the earth to the east, turning to the west towards the sea. In these the naphtha is always boiling and bubbling up. It has a very strong smell. The surface of the naphtha, to the depth of about a foot, is covered with water of a light brown colour. This water, notwithstanding the perpetual motion of the naphtha, seems to remain unmoved; and it is remarkable, that both the naphtha and the water are perfectly cool, even during the greatest summer heat. The boiling of the naphtha, however, is stronger in summer than in the other seasons; but during the earthquakes it is said to be the most violent; a proof that they both proceed from the same cause.

Without these springs the earthquakes on the island would be more violent and more frequent. They seem to serve them as conductors, for near them the concussions are the strongest. I noticed here the same peculiarity as in the Solfatara near Naples, and on several spots on Vesuvius and Etna. On stamping forcibly against the ground, I felt the earth for some time trembling all around, and heard a strong echo from the deep within. Often, also, near these springs, as well as in other places, a violent subterraneous noise and howling is heard, which sometimes last for days. The whole plain, probably, is hollow, and was formerly a lake, which, by the falling down of some of the hills, during an earthquake, may have been reduced to the present shape.

The English have frequently attempted to find the bottom of these springs, but without effect; and every buoyant substance thrown into them will always re-appear on the surface of the sea.

Towards the month of April the naphtha in these springs so accumulates, that they sometimes run over. It is at this period

that the substance is collected with pails. From the pits in which the natives collect the naphtha they carry the water into the sea, by means of channels. The naphtha is then put in casks or leather bags, and sold to be used as pitch.

The water of the larger pond is of a very saline taste, and preserves a strong smell of pitch. But the water in the other pond is sweet, and has but little smell. The latter is of great efficacy in the fevers which so frequently attack the inhabitants. It has also been successfully employed by foreign sailors as a remedy for the scurvy.

When dried in the sun, this naphtha forms an almost indestructible cement; which may be seen on the stones with which the natives have lined their collecting-pits. The naphtha which has flowed between them has so closely bound them together, that they may more easily be broken than severed.

But these naphtha-springs are not the only volcanic indications on the island. In the north-west of it I saw, near the Capo del Grotto, not far from the sea-shore, the spring of sulphureous water which, owing to its powerful smell, the natives call *Βρομώδες*, stinking water. This they use for various disorders in their cattle. There are other mineral springs in the island, which, however, I did not see; for instance, a kind of chalybeate, which is said to be very salubrious.

Near the Cape Skinari are deep caverns, from which flows a white oily substance, which coagulates on the surface of the water. It is, most probably, a good species of naphtha, but it has not as yet been examined. During calms, large stripes of it draw over the sea. All the qualities of this naphtha, especially its powerful and disagreeable smell, called to my mind the St. Quirinus' oil at Tegernsee.

The discovery of fresh-water-springs on the sea-shore is a remarkable circumstance. The sea-water sometimes covers them to the depth of a foot, without depriving them of any of their sweetness. They are said to be found on the shores of several of the Ionian islands, at a depth of one foot under the sand, after the sea-water has been removed from them.

The island of Zante, almost on every point, shews rocks projecting into the sea; in these are several deep caverns, said to be connected by subterraneous roads and passages, but which have never been investigated.

Robert, Wheler, and Spon, and more recent travellers, have called Zante the *golden island*, and in Italy it bears the poetical name of *fios di Levante*. This I did not think very *a-propos*, on arriving, in the height of summer, and seeing the naked mountains, torn asunder by earthquakes, and almost cleared of human habitations; for Virgil's *nemo rosa Zacynthus* is one of those terms

of antiquity, which now-a-days have lost their truth. There are no forests; but, on penetrating into the interior of the island, the plain between and on the declivity of the mountains, displays both beauty and abundance, so that the title of woody is in part verified.

Yet, as this abundance is solely confined to currants and oil, it seems to be of rather a precarious nature: for their other wants of corn, cattle, &c. the Zantiots produce for four months only of the year in their own island, and for the remaining two-thirds of the year, supplies are drawn from the Morea for cash. The corn is partly imported from Egypt and partly from the Black Sea. But when the *passolina*, or currants, by a single untimely shower, are spoiled, or when the plague or political circumstances, as at this time, oppose their connection with the Morea, then the Zantiots have not even money to purchase the most indispensable necessities of life from the Moreats.

The currants, called here *xra-passa* or *passolina*, were brought from Corinth, and introduced into this island about two hundred and twenty-five years ago. They succeeded so well that the greatest part of the island, where formerly the corn required for home consumption was grown, was gradually given up to their cultivation. This little island now, in good years, produces between twelve and thirteen millions of pounds of these grapes; in common years, between ten and eleven millions. The currant-trade of Zante is almost entirely in the hands of the English.

The vine, which produces this grape, is low, and requires seven or eight years before it begins to bear properly. But, on the other hand, it lasts for centuries, and some were shewn to me that were said to be two hundred years old. These grapes are small, about the size of our currants. The fresh grape is also of a very pleasant taste, possessing a little acidity, which naturalizes their great sweetness. Their treatment is the same as in Italy, but requires infinite care. The careless and lazy Neapolitans and Sicilians, who take so little concern about their excellent vines, would not be fit for the cultivation of the *passolina*. After the vintage, the grapes are immediately exposed to the sun, for the purpose of drying, which process only requires a fortnight.

Considering the many dangers which threaten the *passolinas*, as long as they are exposed for drying, the Zantiotes, during this time, are under the greatest apprehensions. One small shower alone is sufficient to extend the time of drying, and greatly injures the quality of the fruit. But if the rain continues, all precautions are unavailing: the grapes begin to rot, they must be thrown away, without saving even a small

quantity for their cattle. When they have been successfully dried, they are carried in bags to the *seraglios*, or warehouses, where they are kept. The receipt of the keeper of the *seraglio*, as to their quantity and quality, given to the owner, passes for a circulating medium, which may be negotiated.

Another and safer branch of the wealth of Zante is its oil. Wherever there is no *passolina*, the olive is found.

In the year 1711, a hurricane tore up all the olive-trees. The injury would have been immense; but the natives immediately re-planted them, cut them off, and preserved them carefully at the roots against the effects of the sun. Soon after, they had the satisfaction of seeing the trees again thriving, and after a few years they again bore fruit.

The olives grown in Zante are of two species. The natives, called *nostnani*, which yield an inferior oil, and the *dacoren*, so named from the place in the Morea from which they were transplanted hither. The latter yield a better oil, although not equal to that of the Morea, and they are the most productive. The olives are not shaken but plucked off.

From the *passolina* they make also wine, which is oily, very strong, and a fine stomachic cordial. It is not made from the fresh grape, but after it has been dried for four or five days, and partially protected from the sun. When the grapes are crushed, one-third of water is added; nevertheless, the wine is thick and of a dark colour; but, when in the cask, it becomes finer. Besides this, Zante has two other kinds of wine, one of which is made of the muscadel grapes. Both are excellent, but the latter, when old, equals the best Sicilian wine in strength and taste.

The common red and white wines are also sweet, but the ground, impregnated with sulphur, salt, and lime, which produces them, imparts to them a heady quality, which the owners are in the habit of increasing by artificial admixtures, the Zantiotes being very fond of strong wines.

The wine grown here amounts to about eight thousand casks annually, and is sufficient for all home-consumption, and for shipping.

The island being without forests, all the wood for firing, building, and domestic utensils, is imported from the Morea and Albania; and the poor burn the olive-stones.

I found but few myrtles and laurels in my rambles, but now and then pomegranate-trees, which are still more frequent in the neighbouring Morea. Horticulture and agriculture are little known in Zante. In the harvest-time between four and five thousand Zantiotes go over into the Morea, to assist the inha-

bitants in their harvest. They are paid in corn, and thus they bring home a supply of grain for four or five months.

Almost all the cattle for killing come from the Morea, especially the sheep, which there, as well as on the islands, are still in the true Homeric style, roasted whole on the spit. Their hard salt cheese is also imported from the same country. A few only are kept on the Zantian rocks and mountains.

A strange, and, on coming from Sicily, a striking circumstance is the multitude of carriage-roads which cross this island in almost all directions, with a total want of vehicles. The country-people employ asses, mules, and horses for the carriage of their goods. How much time, strength, and expense would they save, if they used small waggons.

It is said that musquitos are very troublesome here, and that there are poisonous worms and insects; but I have not noticed any thing of this, although I always slept with open windows in a dilapidated and deserted house, where there could certainly be no deficiency of insects, worms, spiders, and lizards.

The chace is only known here by name. Even birds are scarce on this volcanic island. On this account the sportsmen of Zante, at the beginning of spring, take an annual trip to the Morea. There they beat through the Elysian fields and forests, and either bring the produce of their chace home to their families, or make it an object of trade.

There is scarcely any fishing on the coasts. Fish must be caught on the coast of Morea; a circumstance which, in Zante, makes this article scarce and very expensive.

In the south of the island, near the village Agala, which lies in the midst of hills and rocks, the inhabitants carry on a strange kind of fishery, which might rather be called a chace. Agala lies three leagues from the sea. Thither a path leads over the horrible cliffs and precipices. From my infancy I have been accustomed to similar countries, and have acquired some skill in passing such roads; but I never saw this equalled, and I scarcely ventured one hundred and sixty steps upon this path, which I should have considered as being inaccessible to man, had I not seen a man and a boy coming from Agala to Chieri, who, moreover, were both loaded. Upon this frightful path they walk with ease and security, to try a still more dangerous experiment for a trivial profit.

Having arrived upon the cliffs over the sea, which breaks itself furiously against them, they fix a thick rope to one of the rocks. By this rope they let themselves down into the sea, where the surf is the least violent. Along the shore are several caverns, in which the seal, which they pursue, keep themselves

concealed. The hunter is armed with a pistol. In order to arrive at the entrance of the caverns, he must wade through the water up to his neck. In his right-hand he holds the pistol above his head, and in his left the rope. The hunter must hit the animal in the head, that being the only part where it can be mortally wounded. Every other wound is but slight, and will not prevent the seal from rushing into the sea and escaping. If the animal is killed, the hunter flays it in the cave, since he only takes its skin and fat. Of the former he makes his shoes, and the latter he burns in his lamp. This sport takes place in spring. I have not witnessed it myself, but I received the account from persons well-informed on the subject.

LETTER VII.

Zante, August.

OWING to the shortness of my stay, my excursions into the interior were confined to the Monte Scopo, the naphtha-springs, to Chieri, and Agala, returning the western side of the island through Nata; I, however, saw every thing on this road.

I must acknowledge I was every where well received with my guide, which was very acceptable in the heat of the day. It is true, I found, in the poor mountain-cottages, but few comforts; however, I met with good-will, a quality not to be attributed to the Zantiotes exclusively, but to their neighbours the Cephalonians.

I should, certainly, not like to remain at night alone and unarmed among these people, who, under the abominable Venetian government, carried on the trade of murder and pillage to a great extent, and partly carry it on still; yet, in the day-time, and with that confidence which will always keep such vile rabble in awe, we ventured among them. Respecting the insecurity of the island, on account of the numerous banditti, the English have done much good. In their peculiar manner they exercise a very speedy and severe justice, which has already shewn its good effects. In the time of the Venetian dominion, the impunity of murder was almost publicly acknowledged. For a slight sum a wretch was permitted to assassinate whoever he pleased. Every day some murder was committed in the town or in the country. It was considered as a common event. Crowds collected round the victim, not to assist, but to behold his agonies, which, to the Zantiotes, formed a pleasing sight. The assassin was often among the spectators. Nay, he was even daring enough to laugh at the tears and lamentations of the wife and children over the murdered corpse, while he still held the bloody steel in

his hand. This was not surprising in a place where almost every respectable family had such *bravi* in their pay, and where they, in some measure, belonged to the household. The murderers were some time at Smyrna, where they carried on the same trade; they afterwards returned to Zante, where the past had, in the mean time, been absorbed by more recent events.

In my wanderings in the interior I sought the beauties which could induce Strabo, Pliny, and Herodotus to speak so highly of this island, and Homer and Virgil to confer on it flattering epithets. These high panegyrics I did not find confirmed. It is true, I saw many delightful spots in the plain, which comprises two-thirds of the island, on the declivities of the hills, and among the steep mountains themselves; I found many a smiling hill—but where is the like not to be found? I inhaled, particularly in the evening, the fragrance of a thousand blossoms and aromatic herbs; but is this not every where the same in the south of Italy, and in Sicily? Besides, there is a privation which will always strip the interior of Zante of the greatest charm, the want of springs and a river. There is, indeed, a torrent on the east-side of the island, but it only contains water during the rains in autumn and winter. Even in those periods it is but small, on which account it is named *Fiumaxa*.

To this may be added, the *axia caltiva* about Litakia, Sakochinado, Ambello, Chieri, and even here and there in the vicinity of the town of Zante. One thing, however, is peculiarly beautiful and charming in Zante; and this is its *Monte Scopo*, called Elatos the Noble.

This epithet could not have been given to the mountain for its height, for which it is rather inconsiderable, as the Monte Nero, in the neighbouring island of Cephalonia, looks proudly down upon it. But the destination of Monte Scapo was noble, for its summit bore the famous temple of the mild *Artemis* or *Diana*. No traces of this temple are now to be seen; in the village of Melinado, in a church dedicated to St. Dimitri, a stone is placed near the altar, the inscription of which commemorates the consecration of a virgin to the service of *Diana*, by her parents. The portico of the same church is supported by four marble columns, of one foot in diameter, which may have formed a part of that temple. On its scite now stands the convent of the *Madonna di Scopo*, which is rather an extensive structure, although it only contains an abbot, a preacher, and two monks of the order of St. Basil. The convent is rich, and splendidly fitted up within. The office of the abbot is always vested in a clergyman of an old noble family. The present abbot, too, is an ancient noble. The convent, although situated on the



summit of the mountain, is built in a dell, which protects it from the violent winds. Close by it is a small wood and rock, where the air must be very cold in autumn and in winter, but which presents the most beautiful prospects. Many pilgrimages are undertaken to this convent, either for heaven or the earth, for it also serves the inhabitants of Zante as a resort for amusement, and oftentimes their joy is displayed in very loud and, sometimes, even indecorous expressions.

Both the abbot and his monks are distinguished for their kindness to strangers; a monk and the young sculptor to whom study has been assigned in the convent, conducted me to the above-mentioned rock, from which they pointed out to me the whole island of Zante, together with the beauties of the neighbouring Peloponnesus in the golden light of the evening sun. There I saw to the left Cephalonia, Leukas, and Ithaca, with the mountains of Acarnania, and adjoining the Capo Tornese on the site of the ancient Kyllone; more to the right, in the interior of the country, the Erymanthus; straight before me, the well-known Elis, with Olympia and the faithful Alpheus. I even thought I could distinguish the low mountain of Saturn. More to the south begin the Triphylian hills. Behind them I discerned Ithome and the Spartan Taggetus; in clear days, even the Strophadian islands are seen.—Evening was now approaching; dark blue shades descended upon the Doric hills; the Peloponnesus gradually vanished from my sight.

The courteous abbot would not allow me to return to town, although the distance is only one league and a half; he pleaded the danger of the road in the evening. At break of day next morning, I left the hospitable convent and its philanthropic inhabitants.

LETTER VIII.

Zante, August.

ZANTE, on the eastern side of the island, lies on the declivity of several mountains, one of which presents a steep, naked, and shattered appearance; upon this is built the fort, which commands the city. The others, however, more resemble a chain of green hills, which form the fore-ground to Monte Scopo, rising behind them in beautiful waving slopes towards the south. The Finmara, when it has any water, enters almost in the centre of the bay from the plain. With the exception of Monte Scopo, and the green hills at its foot, all the mountains look bare and bleak.

The city itself surprised me much by the German appearance of its architecture, which is peculiarly striking on approaching from the south of Italy. Every thing reminded me of my native

country. The houses were neat and clean, and principally one or two stories high, with pointed roofs. The roofs, windows, and the painting or colouring of the houses, seems to be borrowed from our country. The reason for building the houses so low is the frequency of earthquakes.

On entering into the city, its German character is lost amid many peculiarities. Zante has no distinguished buildings; for what is termed the Bishop's palace, certainly does not deserve the name; nor do the churches or the houses built by the English, after the last earthquake, for their resident governor, the collector of the customs, the government-house, &c.

Almost every street and square shows traces of this earthquake; but they gradually disappear, giving place to new structures.

The principal square of Zante is that of St. Mark, so called after that of Venice: but with this it bears no similarity, except in the name. Its irregularity, a sort of distorted triangle surrounded by a wretched low arcade, which was partly destroyed by the earthquake, only leads to unfavourable comparisons. Under these arcades are some insignificant jewellers' shops, whose heavy and clumsy articles shew the degree of taste possessed by the inhabitants in this respect. The principal coffee-house is also under these arcades, and is certainly the largest in the city. It is frequented by the lawyers, physicians, and merchants; and here I have heard many a sensible and striking opinion on the affairs of the Greeks. In the square adjoining the principal guard of the English soldiers is stationed, under a cover of vine-leaves, which shelters them from the sun. Near this is the Latin or Roman Catholic cathedral of St. Mark, which is rather small, and distinguished by no work of art nor any particular splendour. An attempt was made to impose upon me in showing me a picture of our Saviour as by the old Palma, and a St. Francis and Elijah by Titian, but the deception was too gross to pass.

Near St. Mark's, by the side of a small Greek church, is the well-known monument of the British governor of the Ionian islands, General Sir Thomas Maitland. It is a large, high pedestal, on which is placed a bronze bust of Sir Thomas; underneath is a small basso relievo of bronze, shewing Minerva embracing Virtue with her right arm, but throwing a veil over Vice in a crouching attitude;—an English symbol of the political events in Zante. Both the bust and basso relievo are well executed. Below the latter is the following inscription:

ΘΝΜΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΜΑΙΤΑΝΔΙΩΙ
ΖΑΚΥΝΘΙΟΙ
ΔΙΑ ΤΑΣ ΧΡΗΕΤΑΣ ΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ
ΑΝΙΖ.

“To Thomas Maitland, the Zakynthians, on account of their good hopes, 1817.”

The whole is surrounded by stone posts and bronze chains, and deserves great commendation for its noble simplicity.

Adjoining St. Mark's is the market for the sale of provisions, called *Piazza dell' Erbe*; it is merely a narrow, dirty lane, where the country people expose their vegetables, fruit, eggs, cheese, &c. for sale. Here are also shops for the sale of salt-fish, with peaches, and rusty bacon, all mixed together. In this narrow, dirty lane, is the *Caffé de' Nobili*; where, formerly, nobles only were admitted. Now they have become more liberal, and people fond of market-cries, dirt, and peculiar smells, may go thither even without a pedigree. I could not forbear visiting the spot a few times. Whoever may wish to hear conversations on the short-sighted policy of Russia; on the electors of Germany, whose health is still drank by these kind gentlemen; on the good qualities of the King of Naples; on Napoleon's arrival in England, &c. must go to this place. I could not possibly make the gentlemen conceive, why the emperor Francis was now no longer called the second, but the first, for the stock of their ideas has not yet reached so far as the dissolution of the German empire.

This dirty market leads to the principal street of Zante, which, in the Venetian style, is called *Calle Larga*. Here are the handsomest houses, clean, and one story high. The arcades which support them run along both sides of the street, and there are the shops and warehouses. The streets are badly paved, which is peculiarly disagreeable, after the foot has been accustomed to fine large paving slabs: the place of St. Mark itself is paved in this style. The *Calle* extends to about an English mile in length.

On the south side of the hills below the Monte Scopo, are the buildings of the lazaretto, for those who are put under quarantine. Thank God! I escaped this confinement. Here the masts of the ships which were sunk last year in the harbour, are still seen projecting above the surface. They went down with their full cargoes, and nothing could be saved.

The interior of the houses is comfortable, and often elegant. Among the English, and the well-informed Greeks, we meet with every domestic comfort. But the difference among the other Greeks is very great, and among them their favourite Turkish fashions prevail. They even keep the windows of the apartments of the ladies grated on the outside, by which means they suppose them impenetrable to every stranger's eye. A great, and to me, in a southern climate, inconceivable inconvenience, is the hot floor of fir-deals, the receptacle of all sorts of vermin.

If these slight floors are used on account of the earthquakes, they ought, at least, not to have them on the plains.

Of the sanguinary disposition and depravity of the Zantiots under the Venetian government, I have spoken in my last letter. According to English report, the people in the city, as well as in the rest of the island, still possess all the bad qualities which formerly distinguished them; only that they are restrained by strict justice and an ever-vigilant police. As I heard these same Englishmen doing justice to the good qualities of the neighbouring Cephalonians, I am inclined to think them correct in their opinion with respect to the inferior classes of the people: but that excellent individuals are found among the higher classes, I know from experience.

Oriental habits are strongly indicated in the dress, which is only a modified Turkish; in the turban, caftan, arms, pompous walk, and motions; and, above all, in the internal customs of the house. Here, too, women, married and unmarried, are seldom seen, but in the gloom of the evening they are met in swarms, who, whether dressed in black or white, are always veiled, and move through the streets like the swans of the river Kayster. It is remarkable that many of these companies are seen without any male attendant. But notwithstanding all this retirement, a depravity of morals is said to prevail among the Zantian females, such as is not to be found in any other of the Ionian islands. Judging by what I saw, few among the women or girls may be called handsome. But even these few disfigure their natural charms by their awkwardness of deportment and dress. They are, at the same time, such as the eastern people wish to see their wives,—uncultivated and illiterate in a strange degree.

In Italy, ignorance and want of refinement are common enough among females; yet they are occasionally counterbalanced by great beauty or originality, which, at least for the moment, surprise and please. Among the women of the east nothing is original, except the wide contrast between their mental and personal attractions.

The men of Zante, on the other hand, have many good qualities; and among these I reckon their politeness to strangers. I have met with kindness from poor people, without being able to make them accept any thing for it more than my best thanks. This is very striking after coming from Italy. Of Italian manners we find some vestiges in the immoderate gesticulations with their heads and hands in speaking. This custom has existed since the time of the Venetians.

But one thing not to be met with in Italy is the pretty and modest manner of the beggars and beggars' children. They

have something so insinuating in their solicitations, that it is difficult to refuse them.

I was told that they have here a very good establishment for education, where, besides the Greek, Latin, and Italian grammar, the literature of these languages, archæology, &c. are said to be taught. But I have not been able to visit it. Many wealthy young Zantiots frequent the universities of Italy, Germany, and France: but not one of them has returned during the recent events in Greece.

The Greeks here are strangely mixed. First, a great portion of Moreats, then the Albanese, Epirots, Sulliot, Hydriot, Saliot, all wearing their more or less beautiful original dresses. According to what I have been told by the English police, there are now here above 7000 Moreats, who have fled hither with their families and property. Among these are about 2500 men and youths capable of bearing arms. I have seen these people scattered about the town and the country in crowds, otherwise I should not have believed it.*

There are but few Latin or Roman Catholic Christians living here. In spiritual matters they are under a bishop; but

* The English government may be said to act inconsistently in supporting those sturdy Greeks in Zante, where they have never an abundance of provisions, which now, in consequence of the increased consumption, have become much dearer. Yet, with the principles adopted by this government, this may easily be understood, which, although it proclaimed its neutrality for both parties, nevertheless greatly assists the Turks, sending them corn and arms, and even surgeons; whilst it strictly, and under the severest penalties, prohibits any supply being carried to the Greeks. What severe edicts it hurled against the Zantiots serving among the Greeks; how violently it punished the captains Gianniessi and Dionysis Pocca. The English government has discovered many connections of the Zantiots with the Greek armies in the Morea and Epirus, with Hydra and Spezia; it has discovered many a well-concealed letter upon persons coming from the Morea and those islands; yet it is very far from knowing the degree of participation of many inhabitants of Zante. Many things it, perhaps, does not even suspect. There are combinations, unknown to the English, which may lead to very important events, if the Greeks in the Morea, and the Hellenists in general, be prosperous. It is nothing new that the English are disliked in Zante. Much of this hatred was produced by their position against the Greeks, with whom the Zantiots still believe themselves united by fraternal ties. Imprudently, the Zantiots have already come to threats, assuring loudly, that at the proper season they shall find it easy to take the fort, and drive the English troops from the island. Although there is in all this much of the modern Greek bombast, no one can blame the English that they have been made doubly strict, cautious, and more averse to the cause of the Hellenists. However, the number of troops has not been increased yet. The garrison of the city and fort consists of about two battalions of riflemen. But the fort itself is very difficult of access, besides being well supplied with every requisite, and prepared for any attack. Only one English armed brig lies on the roads outside the harbour.

the Greeks are under their protopapas. Both he and the bishop are worthy men, and live on the most friendly terms with each other.

I frequently assisted at the exercise of the troops, and could not forbear admiring the precision with which they executed their various manœuvres. They were dressed in white, and were very clean. I do not know whether this colour becomes the rifleman, and is fit for the mountain-service. The Tyrolese sharpshooters certainly look more in character, and also take an infinitely better aim. Their defect in aiming would be injurious to the English troops, if hostilities were commenced with the inhabitants; for the Zantiots, like the natives of all the Ionian islands, are distinguished marksmen, and well know how to use their rifles on their steep crags, surrounded by precipices; and an English soldier could scarcely follow them through their glens and over their rocks. What could be undertaken against such mountaineers, if they were possessed of courage?—This is the comfort and security of the English.

The fort lies on a high, bare rock, commanding the city. Only one steep, narrow path leads up to it, and which is generally ascended on mules or horseback. Before the fortress lies the village of Bukoli, the inhabitants of which were notorious under the Venetian government for their vindictive and sanguinary spirit. The summit is reached over three draw-bridges, and the prospect from it, over the whole island and the Peloponnesus, is delightful. The fort lies on a chalk rock which, they say, daily decreases in height. Upon this the Zantiots build their hope, that the fort will one day be demolished by an earthquake or by water; an event which would certainly be very convenient for them. On this height excellent water and the purest air are found, which induces many rich people to live there. Other districts about the city may also be called agreeable, for instance, Krissopleti, the point near Strani, and the hill of Akratici. With this I bid farewell to Zante: to-morrow I sail for Cephalonia.

LETTER IX.

Cephalonia, August.

I PURPOSELY embarked in one of the boats, of which the masters have little trading concerns in all the Ionian islands; which induce them to stop for a few days in each. There was no one in the boat besides myself and five spirited Korfiots, who plied their oars merrily as often as a calm came on.

Before leaving the harbour in the evening I enjoyed a very

interesting sight. Some vessels, with Moreat families, had arrived at the custom-house from the quarantine hospital, who, having fled hither some time back, had now finished their seclusion, and received their discharge. They seemed to be wealthy people, perhaps persons of rank, as I concluded from the quantity and richness of furniture, carpets, plate, &c. which they brought with them. Among them was a handsome lady, with an infant: her features only expressed the delight and pleasure which she felt in the child, who was smiling to her while he played with the ends of her turban and her veil. Absorbed in maternal solicitude, she took no notice of the bustle among her people, who were carrying away the earthly treasures she had saved.

At sunset we started from the new Molo and left the harbour; but the wind being contrary, and the sailors wishing to rest till midnight, to gather strength for rowing, we cast anchor in a bay near Cape Shinari.

About midnight a boat, with singing females, approached us. Their airs were new, without being agreeable; for the national songs of the present day have, in general, something barbarous in them, which is grating to our ears. They sing much through the nose, and their songs are unsufferably monotonous. Towards one o'clock in the morning we rowed off. The adverse northerly wind allowed us to make little way, and the current in the channel of Cephalonia was also against us. During the heat of the middle of the day, we were again obliged to rest. The following morning at last brought us near the small rocky island, which is justly called Guardini for the navigator; and a favourable S. E. wind carried us into the harbour of Argostoli.

Argostoli lies on a small bog towards the east, which is a branch of the northern one, at the foot of a range of hills, behind which the high mountains belonging to the Monte Nero raise their heads. These hills are pretty well cultivated, which makes them an ornament of the town, which has no other. On one of them are windmills and a small village, and not far from it are marshes with a very noxious air.

There are not so many traces of the earthquakes under which this island suffered, coeval with Zante, as in the other island. The sanitary buildings and the house of the British resident are the best which the small town of Argostoli possesses. They have also a square of St. Mark here, which was formed from the space gained by the removal of a number of houses which were destroyed by earthquakes. As these earthquakes allow of no cellars, the inhabitants make use of the ground-floor to keep their wine, oil, and other stores; on which account the entrance to many houses is in the first floor, which is ascended by a flight of steps at the outside.

The English have completed many new and useful works here. One of their best is the Ponte Novo, a beautiful bridge built of stones similar to marble, over the neighbouring marshes. In the centre of it stands a pyramid, with an inscription.

The British resident, Colonel Travers, is very obliging to strangers.

Argostoli having no distinguished edifice, the stranger is the more surprised at the internal arrangement of the private houses belonging to wealthy merchants or to native noblemen. There every thing is in the European style. The luxuries of the west have entirely supplanted the customs of the Levant, which is not the case in the neighbouring island of Zante. Here we met with looking-glasses, carpets, lustres, elegantly bound libraries of books, with the old French and Italian classics, &c.

The amiable accomplishments of the inhabitants of this small town is in perfect unison with this external splendour; and the female sex is not excluded from it. I have made acquaintance with several married and unmarried ladies, who spoke very good French and very excellent Italian. To this many now add the English, and almost all the ancient, or what they call the literary Greek. I found many young merchants occupied in their leisure hours with astronomy and the study of ancient coins. Almost all the young gentlemen are educated abroad, in Germany, France, or Italy; so that none of the Ionians are so well informed as the Cephalonians.

With these literary attainments, the inhabitants of Argostoli unite the most cordial hospitality I ever saw. I only brought three letters with me from Zante. These would have been sufficient to procure me for months a kind reception, elegant lodgings and board, together with the most obliging kindness of treatment, in two good families, who were almost offended when I told them that my stay in Argostoli would only be for two days. They supplied me, however, with many letters to their friends and acquaintances in the interior of the island and the neighbouring isles.

Argostoli displays much wealth and mercantile spirit. The principal objects of their trade are currants, oils, wine, cotton, silk, fowls, &c. It is an interesting sight to see the wharf of Argostoli. The bustle here is very great, Argostoli having always the largest shipping among the cities of the Ionian islands.

Several of the Greek churches have no belfries, but their small bells are hung up between two cypress-trees, which, according to Greek custom, stand close by the church.

Here, too, I met with several Greeks who had fled, not only from northern Morea, but likewise from Epirus, Rumeli, the

ancient Acarnania, Ætolia, Lakris, and Bœotia. Thousands of them were said to be in the interior of the island, the small town not being sufficient to contain and provide for them.

I have obtained the acquaintance of many well-informed Greeks here, and from what I heard, my former opinions respecting the Moreat Greeks, and the Hellenist insurrection in general, were confirmed. Nay, on many subjects I was better informed, about which I could obtain no clear information even in the Morea, at Kalamata, and in Zante, and therefore left them unnoticed in my former letters, as it concerned matters injurious to the Greeks and the spirit by which they are led.

I formerly only faintly alluded to the want of harmony among themselves: I ought to have called it, separation and schism.—It began shortly after the breaking out of the insurrection, but became mischievous enmity, when, in June of this year, Prince Demetrius Ypsilanti appeared in the Morea, in the quality of delegate of his brother Alexander, then commanding on the Danube, and who was subsequently betrayed by the Greeks.

Demetrius appeared in Kalamata without any pecuniary means, surrounded by a kind of court formed of foreigners, demanding that the chief command of the war in the Morea should be given to him; and the metropolitans, bishops, and other chiefs who then held commands, should be placed under his authority. The temporary senate of Morea had no objection to this request; as they wished for the good of their country, and felt the necessity of having one leader to direct the whole; Demetrius, as the brother of Alexander, certainly could aspire to the gratitude and confidence of his countrymen: but the principal motive of the senate in their resolution was, by means of Ypsilanti to humble the arrogance of the clergy, who opposed them in every liberal wish and work; or, at least, to diminish their influence with the people.

But now the Lernaean hydra, which has destroyed so many fair and great enterprizes, priestly ambition and priestly pride, began to raise its head at Patras.

Before all, the metropolitan of this city, who at the beginning of the insurrection had been very active, but afterwards rather drew back, demanded the staff of the dictator and general-in-chief of the army. Similar pretensions, although in a more moderate manner, were made by Londogia, primate of Patras, the metropolitan of Kalamata, and the false Papa Diomondopulo. Behind them Andrea Loudo, the Bey of Maina, that of Kalamata, the brave Koloktroni, who has more merit than any of these, Gerakaris, Brosso, Pelimsa Sebastopalo, Maironi, with

many others, called out for commands, urging their early services, imaginary or real.

Demetrius Ypsilanti, however, who knew the Greeks, did not allow himself to be embarrassed by their noise; judging that he should gain his object sooner if he could strike at once a great blow; by which he should gain the public confidence. He also succeeded in immediately gaining over to his plan some of those non-clerical chiefs, who, at least, wished to see something done, and therefore deferred their ambitious views to another moment. Thus he marched with an army collected at random, and in which he introduced some order and discipline, against the principal fortress of the country, Tripolizza; hoping to take it by a coup-de-main. This army, I was told at Kalamata, amounted to at least twenty thousand men. The Moreats in Cephalonia, however, some of whom had seen it, assured me that there were not four thousand men in it. So difficult is it, even in the country itself, to get at the real state of the affairs!

But the starving Turks in Tripolizza offered a brave resistance; and, in the beginning of August, the fortress had not yet fallen. In the mean time many, who had calculated on a rapid, splendid, and lucrative success of the enterprize against the fortress, had left Ypsilanti, and either gone home or to the islands.

Demetrius now addressed himself to the powerful Hydriots, who are said to have acknowledged him as archistrategos, or general-in-chief. But the acknowledgment of Hydrais, not that of the continent, had no effect in the Morea, where it even proved injurious to the prince.

The hostility of the clergy, who had now become more powerful, against the prince, reduced his little army still more, and compelled him to renounce, for the present, the siege of Tripolizza, and withdraw with the troops who had remained with him to Leondari.

At that period suddenly a new light appeared in the Morea, from which, at first, great expectations were formed. It was Maurokordato, who had arrived in the peninsula from a French harbour, in company of some French officers. However, as long as I remained in Greece, it was not known that he had made any military achievement.

Morea is now divided into two parties, which again have their subdivisions, not, however, decidedly marked. The league of the clergy, with the metropolitan of Patras at their head, and that of Prince D. Ypsilanti. Here, again, the chiefs under him become discontented, by which they frustrate Ypsilanti's enterprises and confidence; as he is well acquainted with their views.

These parties not only refuse each other support, but they actually counteract themselves; and nothing more is wanted to

complete their wretchedness, but one of them joining the cruel Turks against their brethren. However, this is not to be apprehended.

Every one knows the great influence of the clergy over the ignorant mass of the Greek people; and, whoever has observed them closely, will agree with me that these people are more faithfully and firmly attached to their clergy, and the whole hierarchical Babel, than to their glorious cause.

It is owing to this unfortunate discord that the Turks are enabled to retain the wretched fortresses which still are in their hands; for, considering their want of provisions, ammunition, their deficiency of knowledge in artillery and fortification, all the fortresses would have been reduced, long ago, if the Greeks within them, whose numbers are as five to one against the Turks, had done their duty. But they, also, are divided, and only calculate on assistance without the walls.

Misguided by the information I received in Kalamata, I gave, in my former letters on the Greek affairs, a false statement of the fortresses taken by the Greeks, and those still in the hands of the Turks.

If the information of those intelligent Moreats in Argostoli be correct, (and it tallies with all creditable accounts received from the Morea) I gave the Greeks more than they hitherto had the courage to take. I then stated that they had taken the small forts of Navarino (Neo-Kastro), Monabasia, Corinth, and Kalamata. This is only true as regard Kalamata, of Monabasia uncertain, and of Navarino and Corinth false. For the latter are still bravely defended by the Turks. *

A proof how ill-informed the French newspapers are, is that they consider the small fort of Monabasia as being identically the same as the powerful Nauplia, or Napoli di Romania. Monabasia, the ancient Laconian Epidauros, lies about twenty minutes N. from Cape Malea, and is also called Malvasia, and in Turkish Mengeshé. But Nauplia lies above one degree of latitude farther to the N. and is the principal fortress of the Morea. This error, which is shewn in every map, has been faithfully copied by other journals.

The success of the Greek arms in the Morea is, therefore, still less sure than I thought at that period; for Corinth is of great importance, in a military point of view, and Navarino has a garrison of 4000 men. If the Turks should advance over the isthmus, to relieve their fortresses in the Morea, they would find Corinth an excellent place of support.

* They have since been taken, together with Tripolizza and several others.—TRANS.

Thus, all the important fortresses in the Morea, Patras, Corinth, Napoli di Romania, Tripolizza, Coron, Modon, and Arcadia, are yet in the hands of the Turks, and those taken by the Greeks are reduced to a few small forts, such as Pyrgo, Vostitza, Kalamata, Kalavrita, Gastuni, Dimitzana, &c.; perhaps, also, the insignificant fort of Monabasia, which they had besieged in vain as early as the 5th of April.

A ruinous disunion is said to prevail now between the two islands of Hydra and Spezia, and the other important Sporades, such as Mykoni, who refuse submitting to their authority. I was assured that it had been seriously debated whether they should not withdraw and return home. The Greeks of Smyrna, and of the whole of Ionia, who believe that they have been sacrificed by their European brethren, are said to have greatly urged the execution of these plans. It would be terrible, if thus the superiority of the Greeks by sea should also be broken.

During the course of our conversation, I could not forbear hinting, with some warmth, to those gentlemen, the injury to their country by their unpatriotic flight. All of them agreed that appearances were against them, but assured me, that scarcely the sixth part of those which have actually fled, would have abandoned their country in this moment of danger, if those unhappy differences and discord, combined with the horrors and abominations practised by some of their own countrymen, had not deprived them of all hopes of a favourable issue; and, as it were, compelled them to retire. I then told them what had been done in Russia, in the year 1813; what glorious sacrifices were made, in 1813 and 1814, in Germany; and what kind of spirit had been displayed by our countrywomen in those days of danger and contest. They seemed to listen with emotion, but they said, "Yes, but that was a *national* war."

LETTER X.

Bay Viscardo, Cephalonia, August.

AN abbate, who took much interest in the antiquities of Cephalonia, offered to accompany me on my rambles through the island; a proposal which I gratefully accepted. We began by examining the antique ruins of a subterraneous passage, situated near the new fortress. They are evidently of the latter times of the Romans, and by no means remarkable. We then went to examine the walls of Cyclopiian architecture on the declivity of the hills above Argostoli, which are supposed to have belonged to the ancient *Kranii*. They at least prove the high antiquity of the city which they once surrounded. Ruins of

detached buildings are no more to be found. In vain, too, the traveller looks for those large ruins, farther down towards the town, of edifices which, in ancient times, may have served for naval store-houses or wharfs: all have vanished during the earthquakes.

A boat took us to Lixuri, which is now the second town in Cephalonia. It lies directly opposite Argostoli, on the west-side of the bay. The natural position of the town is very favourable to trade, and it has not that noxious marsh-air which renders Argostoli so unhealthy. But it has suffered more than the latter town from earthquakes. Lixuri has also some shipping; but the inhabitants have a very poor appearance. Here stood, probably, a city in the time of the Romans, the name of which has been lost to us. Forty years ago, in cleaning a well, some remains of antiquity were found here. First, a marble vase, the foot of which had been injured. It bore a Roman inscription, recording the death of a young man who had been a friend of Mark Anthony. The second discovery was more important. It was a female head, belonging to a statue which was assigned to the most flourishing ages of Grecian art. The abbate shewed me a sketch of it, which forcibly called to my memory a very similar one found last year in Capua, and, if I mistake not, it received a place in the collection of the Crown-Prince of Denmark. From the same well were also drawn several coins and bronze tablets with illegible Greek inscriptions. The whole of the discoveries were taken to Venice.

About one league from Lixuri, we found the ruins generally believed to be those of the ancient Palis or Palle. The surrounding district is still called Palichi, and the ruins Paleo-Kastro, or the old castle, a name very frequently met with throughout Greece. What may have been here twenty years ago is no longer to be seen: earthquakes and time have left nothing of any interest, not even the Cyclopiian walls, such as those we saw near Kranii. Here, about fifty years ago, a Greek inscription on Parian marble was dug up, of which I have already spoken, and which proves the republican constitution of Palle. The people and senate decreed to the high-priestess, Flaviana Eutyches, daughter of Pithodoros Glaukos, and the wife of Bion Aristomantides, the honour of a statue, which she deserved by her virtuous life and manners.

ΦΛΑΒΙΑΝΑ ΕΥΤΥΧΗΝ ΠΙΘΟΛΩΡΟΥ
ΓΛΑΥΚΟΥ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ ΒΙΩΝΟΣ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΝΤΙΔΟΣ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ
ΑΜΗΝΗΝΤΗΣ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΣ
Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΛΗΜΟΣ ΠΛΑΛΕΙΩΝ
ΕΥΤΕΝΕΩΣ ΕΙΝΕΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΗΣ
ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΝ ΒΙΩΝ ΣΟΦΡΟΣΥΝΗΣ
ΥΦΙΣΜΑΤΗ ΒΟΥΛΗΣ.

This interesting inscription was likewise carried to Venice. Since that time no searches have been made either in this place or at Lixuri; nor is any thing now doing in that way. We returned with our boat to Argostoli, from whence we rode to Kasamatta on asses.

Here we were received with kind hospitality at the country-seat of a friend. The elegance, comfort, and arrangement of the interior of this seat, recalled to my recollections the country-seats of France and Germany; but the kindness of the owner and his family I have not found equalled any where. Here, in this spot, apparently sequestered from the busy world, we found, upon a small table, Byron's works, De Pradt's Colonies, and a fine edition of Dante.

As I was assured by the abbate that nothing could be found on the Monte Nero of the ancient Cephalonia and the temple of Jupiter Enius, we crossed the steep mountain towards Same, which we reached in three hours, under a burning sun. The whole road lay over barren hills, where only here and there a few green myrtle or olive-trees are seen. On the summit we found an enchanting prospect over the island and the neighbouring isles, Zante, Thiaki, Paxu, Zanta Maura, and in the back-ground Corfu. Our unobstructed sight now carried us even to the Echenadian islands, and to the continent of Ætolia and Acarnania. An hour before arriving at Same, we entered a smiling and very fertile plain. Large trees, seldom met with in the Ionian islands, are seen here, and a view upon the isle of Ithaca contributes to the beauty of the whole. Ithaca is much more picturesque on its southern than on its western side, towards the channel Viscardo.

Same lies on a hill, and its declivity towards the east is in fact upon a small peninsula projecting into the sea. Its former glory, and its glorious struggle under Roman tyranny are universally known. All the traces of this city the Romans could however not destroy. Its former circumference, particularly on the declivity of the hill, is still pointed out by walls, which are partly of Cyclopiian architecture, and partly constructed with enormous pieces of granite, regularly cut, without any cement or brases, to resist the ravages of both earthquakes and time. On one side of the hills near the Cyclopiian wall stood the Acropolis. Farther down towards the shore, where the air is very unhealthy, we saw the ancient tombs, which are not formed like the Roman columbariæ, nor like the Greek tombs at Pestum and Nola, but consist of recesses cut in the rock for the reception of the dead, in which they resemble the catacombs of Naples.

Fifty years ago remains of antiquity were found here, which shewed the high degree of perfection to which the arts had arrived in Same; particularly vases of bronze, marble, and burn

clay; all which were sent to Venice. It is affirmed that many of these vases still emitted a strong scent when they were dug out from the ground. The Egyptians, as well as the nations of Palestine, embalmed their dead. The Greeks, who were fond of imitating all Egyptian practices, nevertheless could not adopt the embalming, as they would have had a very high price to pay for the spices to the Phœnicians. They, therefore, had recourse to the expedient of placing in the urns of their dead small phials of perfumes. The other vases found here resembled those of Crete, which, according to Pliny, were much in request among the Greeks.

Since the arrival of the English many objects of antiquity have been found in the tombs. Unfortunately, however, they were of silver, gold, or bronze, such as idols, cups, bracelets, necklaces, rings, small vases, &c. I say, unfortunately, because owing to their mercantile value, they have been lost to the world. I do not say it inconsiderately, but what I advance has been unanimously corroborated by respectable Englishmen and Cephalonians. These objects were scattered among the English civil and military officers in the Ionian islands, and were for the most part melted down for the purpose of forming into the shapes of tea-pots, spoons, knives and forks, &c. Nothing of all that has been found, is to be met with in the Ionian islands, nothing was carried to London to the British Museum, nor any where else. I shall, however, when speaking of Ithaca have an opportunity of recurring to this subject.

The present Same is only a small village, but its harbour is accessible to large ships, being protected by the Cape Alexander. Here also I saw an interesting convent, being a monastery and fortress at the same time. Adjoining it stands a square tower, which communicates with the convent by means of a drawbridge. On the top of the tower is a terrace, with embrasures for cannon. Four small pieces with other arms and ammunition used to be kept here; and thither the monks retreated on the landing of pirates at Same. The road to the convent is very steep, but the whole forms a very picturesque group.

Of the cities of Prona and Nesos, whose station is rather uncertain, as no ruins are found in the spots pointed out as such, I saw nothing; nor did I see the fortress of Axo or Asso. I was compelled to hurry from the bay of St. Steffano, whence my boat was to take me on-board in the evening.

With a small parcel tied up in a handkerchief, which was not likely to entice any robbers, I proceeded from Same in a S. E. direction towards the appointed bay. I had to cross some rugged hills, where I arrived on an eminence from which I had

again a beautiful view of the channel and Ithaca. The bay also, with its ruined houses, lay beneath me. I arrived in time; but the coast-keepers would not allow our boat to land to receive me, supposing it to be a Greek boat, coming under the Ionian flag to Cephalonia, for the purpose of propagating Greek principles, and at the same time to carry on a contraband trade. But by dint of a hand-full of oboli the strict guardians were silenced, and the boat permitted to enter the bay.

This sequestered spot possesses many picturesque charms. Passing by the ruins of two houses, destroyed by earthquakes, I arrived at a rocky cave of bold masses, formed by the sea. To the right, before descending into it, lies a ruined chapel, from the early ages of christianity. The guards said it was the chapel of St. Cecilia. An antique painting of the hemisphere, on the cieling, shews, in rude groups and forms, the whole of the christian hierarchy. A great part of it is destroyed, but the principal objects may still be traced. This painting seems to be of the fifth or sixth century. Over the cave rises a hill closely covered by a shrubbery of myrtles. Here again is a beautiful prospect of Ithaca.

The evening gave us a high treat. The master of the boat had brought a goat from Argostoli, which was put on the spit and roasted by a clear fire. Under the bright starry heaven I lay by the side of the fire, in the company of our five mariners and the two guards, who would not lose sight of us, and who probably, for the sake of the goat, became attached to us. They even pointed out to us some neighbouring springs close by the sea-shore under the sand, such as I had seen in Zante. Two sailors, one of the guards, and I, went for the water, and brought a sufficiency for the evening and the next day. On that side too stood some oleanders in beautiful bloom, between bold groups of rock and colossal aloes. Thousands of aromatic plants exhaled their perfumes, which for a native of the north offers the sweetest enjoyment; whilst the inhabitants of these climates scarcely notice them. Towards midnight we parted from our guards, rowing from the coast in a dead calm.

Passing by the bay of Alexandria, at the southernmost extremity of which lies Same, we entered into the channel Viscardo or Cephalonia, the breadth of which in some places is not above an Italian mile. Both the islands only display here rude chains of mountains, almost without any cultivation, particularly that of Ithaca. Trees are not to be met with only here and there, whilst the high shelving rocks are merely adorned with a few wretched shrubs.

A favourable breeze having sprang up, we had advanced about fifteen miles, when a thunder-storm began to threaten us.

The master, not wishing to expose himself with his small vessel to its effects in this dangerous channel, (where with their short cables and small anchors they reached no ground,) quickly entered the bay Viscardo, situated near the cape of the same name. Thus we were sheltered against a very violent gale, by which, even in the bay, our vessel was very much tossed about. In the terrible currents of the channel it would have been inevitably lost, as it would have been thrown against the rocks of Ithaca. During the night we were disturbed by the shrill noise of the cicada on deck, a noise which annoyed me in all the Ionian islands, and in the Morea. I must, however, contradict the opinion that the night air on the Mediterranean sea is injurious to health. During my excursions from Naples to Messina, from Agrigentum to Syracuse, from Messina to Zante, thence through the Ionian islands, and ultimately from Corfu to Venice, I almost invariably slept upon deck, without experiencing any bad effects from it. I even cured many of sea-sickness by making them exchange at night the confined air of the cabin for the open air of the deck. Can there be any thing more beautiful than the nights in the southern climates? The following day it blew a brisk gale from the N. W., which prevented us from leaving our harbour. Taking advantage of this delay, I made an excursion on the beautiful hills, which in this spot were tolerably green; but the time was too short for a trip on the west side, where Nesos is said to have once stood. At the back of the bay Viscardo I saw the sacred ruins of a Roman bath. On the north-side of the bay rises a hill, strewn over with large stones. On the top are the ruins of the castle Viscardo, destroyed by earthquakes. This is the famous Cape Viscardo, which in the wars on the Adriatic made so great a figure. The view from these ruins is one of the most interesting in the world. On the other side of the channel lies Ithaca; and the roaring of the sea, breaking against its rocky shores, sounds like distant thunder in the ear. Quite to the left is Leukas, or Santa Maura, and on its extremity the Leucadian rock. The view of the bay, surrounded by its beautiful hills, is also very pleasing. On the south-west side lies a small church surrounded with cypress-trees; higher up is a small village, delightfully picturesque; to the west a hill, covered by olives and myrtle-trees.

The island of Cephalonia is the largest of the Ionian islands. Its length is about fifty-two and its breadth thirty-one miles. The number of its inhabitants is estimated at from sixty to sixty-two thousand.—It has three towns: Argostoli, Lixuri, and the fortress of Axo, and about one hundred and twenty-five villages, for the most part poor and wretched. A great part of the island is rugged and overspread with barren rocks. The Monte

Nero was once thickly covered with wood, whence it was also called *Silva Nero*; but the trees have all disappeared, being cut down for fuel by the natives during the supineness of the Venetian government. A great part of the island might be cultivated, if the natives were willing and industrious. Its rocky and mountainous soil, covered with luxuriant herbage, seems to be particularly fitted for the breed of sheep; but no attempts have yet been made to introduce them, and there are no sheep in the island. This is the only kind of pastures. The corn grown by the natives only supplies them for four or five months of the year; the rest, together with the oxen and sheep for consumption, must be imported from the Morea. There are only herds of goats in Cephalonia. The island, however, produces nearly seven millions of pounds of currants; which, together with the large quantities of oil, are their chief produce, and the branch of commerce with which they cover the expences incurred for the importation of the necessaries of life. They also raise cotton and silk, which are better than those of the Morea; but in small quantities. The wine grown on the island only suffices for the home consumption, and in quality it is inferior to that of Zante. About sixty years ago, an adventurer tried to introduce the cultivation of indigo and sugar: the introduction of Spanish sheep would have answered better. Horticulture is only practised by those who unite wealth with the knowledge of other countries. Much has been done by the English for its extent; but the mass of the people have as yet no idea of it. They grow, however, some very good melons, which are preferred to those of Malta. The island possesses an abundance of medical herbs, many of which are remarkable for their properties. What an early traveller says respecting the plants which form an absolute remedy against the gout and palsy, I have found confirmed. It is remarkable that both these diseases are so prevalent on an island in the same latitude as Calabria; whilst at Naples, which is two degrees farther north, they are unknown. A plant was also mentioned to me as growing here, which, as I was told, covers the enamel of the teeth with an indistructible bright gold colour, and another, which seems to impart to gold a silver tinge.

The chace is unimportant on the island. Moor-fowls, and birds of passage, are only seen in some places. The fishery might be more considerable, if the inhabitants would exert themselves. The roads, in the interior of the island, are rough and rocky, and only passable on foot, or with animals accustomed to them.

On the summit of Monte Nero manna used to be found upon the leaves of the trees, which are now cut down. Human bones

are still dug up there in large quantities. This circumstance seems to confirm the tradition that the inhabitants used to seek refuge upon this mountain, whenever the Turks or Moors landed on the island. When the Turks became masters of the island, thousands of the inhabitants are said to have been starved to death on this mountain. The earthquakes are here as frequent as in Zante; and there seems not only to be one connecting train for both, from S. to N., but Cephalonia seems also to have its distinct volcanic laboratory. Besides its own earthquakes of 1736, 1743, and 1752, from which Zante was exempt, Cephalonia was also violently shaken by those which desolated the latter island. That of 1820-21 was very dreadful in its effects. The water in all the wells on the island has a sulphurous smell. The climate is but moderately hot, considering the latitude of the country. Rapid and dangerous transitions from oppressive heat to great coldness are not rare. Perhaps they are the cause of the frequency of the gout and palsy. In summer it hardly ever rains, more than in the south of Italy. In winter snow falls only on the Monte Nero, but thunder-storms are both frequent and violent.

What I have said above concerning the respectable inhabitants of Argostoli, may also be applied to those of the same class in the interior of Cephalonia. Every where I met with a kind reception and hospitable politeness.

The Cephalonians, upon the whole, are the most acute and dextrous among all the Ionian islanders, and are the most amiable in their manners. Persevering in the execution of any plan upon which they have once fixed, they exert all their physical and intellectual strength in it: nothing deters, nothing stops them. But it cannot be truly said, that for the attainment of their object they consider every means equally just; but they have the dangerous talent of assuming all forms and shapes. The English also say that the Cephalonians are fond of intrigue and revenge; but the source of this opinion is to be suspected. The superior order of natives love and cherish the sciences. This island, as well as Corfu, gave the Republic of Venice several distinguished statesmen and heroes.

Hospitality is really a national virtue with these islanders. I have met it in the interior, even from the poorest; and they offer a draught of water and their coarse bread with the greatest pleasure. Strangers are much respected among them. It is pleasing to see, however, the meanest of the inhabitants try to enlarge their knowledge by a strong spirit of enquiry. This is not common among the Greeks, who proudly despise every thing that is foreign. Besides this, the inhabitants, who, as I have

said before, are strangers to oriental customs, are fond of boisterous mirth and pleasure, a peculiarity which is particularly noticed among the higher classes.

If I am not misled by appearances, the Cephalonians take less interest in the present affairs of Greece than all the Ionians. This may be seen from the conduct they have hitherto observed, and it is also confirmed by the English. Their judgment in these affairs had always been calm and steady. Yet I have often heard that the Cephalonians also would gladly join the Greeks, if they once saw a prospect of success.

The internal security of the country forms a great contrast with the insecurity which is said to prevail in Zante. Yet, it is said, that in former times it was different here, in this respect, although they had a *capitan del bosco*, whose office it was to keep the forests of Monte Nero free from robbers. With these forests, also, the robbers have disappeared. Under the efficient police, kept up by the English on the island, they would not be suffered to remain long.

LETTER XI.

Ithaca, August.

ON the third morning after our entering the bay Viscardo, the wind having again abated, we left it, and entered the same forenoon the harbour of Thiaki or Vatki. I had not much time left to examine this island, as we were to sail this same evening for Santa Maura. It was, therefore, fortunate for me that all the objects of antiquity and interest on the island were brought together in a narrow compass. An old Albanian, who had long lived in Ithaca, and who generally accompanies the English of Corfu upon their excursions to the island, acted as my guide. He told me that it required nothing but to go to the top of the hill, to see there, as well as on the road thither, ever thing of note contained in Ithaca. We first went to the objects nearest Thiaki or Vatki to the S. E., to the well-known rock Korax, to the fountain Arethusa, and close by this to a spot where the brave Eumæus is said to have resided. Within an hour we arrived at the top of the hill, which traverses all Ithaca, keeping it together like a bandage. At the top of the hill, near Vatki, are the celebrated walls said to be the remains of Ulysses' castle. The architecture of these walls, (for nothing else is left,) is Cyclopiian, and their colossal character, at all events, bespeaks a high antiquity. Their proportions are remarkable, being about twelve feet high and six feet broad,

and of considerable length. They must once have formed part of a very large edifice.

At half-an-hour's journey from these walls we came to the ancient Greek tombs, the simplicity of which would not lead any one to suspect that such precious articles were found in them as actually have been there discovered. Ten years ago some English travellers caused excavations to be made here, for which they were rewarded by the discovery of a considerable quantity of coins, gold, silver, and bronze utensils, &c. Colonel De Bosset collected coins in Ithaca which had not been known before, but whether he has published any thing concerning them I know not. Lately some other valuable articles were dug out here; but all this is done in private by British officers. Many of the articles lately found are said to have been sold to the British Museum; but the most valuable objects have disappeared, and among these, also, a crown. This I have heard from many well-informed English gentlemen, but I was particularly told by Count R. a well-informed man, who, during the first years of the English administration had been a member of the senate, and has lived above twenty years in the Ionian islands, that all objects of value found since the introduction of the English administrations in Cephalonia and Ithaca, had been divided among the civil officers of that nation, who had them melted down for domestic use; but that the beautiful crown which, according to the description given of it, seems to have had the shape of the Lombard crown of Monza, had been broken, and the pieces divided among several British officers; that he himself had held some of the pieces in his hand, and, therefore, could vouch for the truth of the statement.

But no one can be astonished at this profanation of Greek antiquities by the English, who has seen what class of men the British government think proper to send out for the government and administration of the Ionian republic!

The breaking and dividing of that crown will not surprise the English, if once the spirit is understood which induced Lord Elgin to plunder the Parthenon, and which tempted some others to commit the Vandalism of carrying off, by a military force, the Phigalian frios from the Temple of *Bafae*, of which it had formed a part. "We destroy all that others call most glorious, we destroy it, if we can but obtain a piece of it, for we are Britons, and despise all the rest, even the public opinion of the whole world, except that of Old England!" This is every where the guiding principle which explains all.

In the vicinity of Vathi the ruins of a Roman edifice are shewn, which are commonly described under the name of

Homer's school. I have not been able to distinguish whether it had been a temple or a private building. I saw no other antiquities in Ithaca; and my cicerone assured me faithfully that there was nothing else left.

The island (the inhabitants of which, according to some, amount to 6000, and to others not to above three or 4,000) consists almost entirely of rude, bare mountains, and is on all sides, where it has no harbours, surrounded by steep rocks and projecting cliffs. The whole of the western coast, towards the channel of Viscardo, shews not the least trace of cultivation, or human habitations, except two wind-mills on the top of the northern mountain which Strabo calls Neius. It also seems impossible to force cultivation upon these rocks. Nevertheless, the small quantity of corn grown here not only suffices for the consumption of the whole year, but affords some for exportation to Cephalonia and Zante, where it fetches better prices than the corn of the Morea.

The quantity of currants grown here amounts to about four millions of pounds per annum. These, together with some oil, and some good wine, form the object of their export trade; and with which they purchase their cattle from the Morea, since they have none in their island.

Game is insignificant; their fishing is more productive. They also have excellent poultry, particularly some large turkies, which would have pleased the ever-feasting lovers of Penelope, in times of yore. But they grow very little fruit and few vegetables on their rocks. The earthquakes are less frequent here, as the subterraneous laboratories which run under Zante and Cephalonia, do not seem to extend to this island. The number of villages is about five.

The island has a most excellent harbour, from which every breath of air is excluded. The harbour of Thiaki is entirely enclosed by mountains, which forms a very interesting sight. But there are several more places round the coast which might be used as harbours. The natives are addicted to trade and navigation, perhaps more even than those of Cephalonia; but their mental capacities are not so great. In other respects they resemble the Ionians in character, manners, customs, and dress.

LETTER XII.

Santa Maura, August.

WE left Ithaca in the evening. It was with some difficulty I persuaded the captain to promise that he would put me on-shore near the cape Ducato, in a bay below Dragano, if we should

be allowed, under the condition that I should join him at Santa Maura in the evening. Before reaching this bay, in the south-east of the island, we reached a spot, where the sea had the appearance of an extensive lake, as we saw ourselves completely encompassed by land, except near Cape Ducato in the south, where a small opening remained perceptible. Thus the coasts of the three islands of Cephalonia, Thiaki, and Santa Maura, appeared united. When arrived in the bay, some guards opposed our landing; because, only a few days before, an Epirot bark was landed there with revolutionary letters and contraband goods. On producing my introductory letters from Cephalonia to the resident at Santa Maura, Major Temple, they immediately withdrew their opposition. As I only intended to go to the top of the Cape Ducato, which is the ancient Cape Leucas, one of the guards gave me his two stout lads, who happened to be near, to accompany me. The rock from which the Leucadian leap used to be taken, is on the west side of the cape, and about 140 feet high. However, I do not wish to guarantee this height, as I merely measured it by the eye, which is frequently deceptive.

I heard much in Cephalonia about a Greek inscription which was said to be cut in the rock, about ten or eleven feet under the surface. This matter was of too great interest not to spend a few of my oboli upon it. I therefore sent for a strong rope from Dragano, which I fastened round my waist and shoulders. Two men who brought it undertook with the two lads to hold the rope, and to let it slip gently till I reached within ten or eleven feet below the top, which I first measured off. Thus I swung myself over the edge, and gradually descended to the required depth, without perceiving a trace of any inscription, either before me or on the right or left. It created a singular sensation thus to hang by a rope high above the sea; while the raging surf already seemed to welcome me with its spray, which it dashed upwards. However, after a few minutes, my people again pulled me up, and I was safe.

They informed me that several strangers before me had undertaken the investigation of the supposed inscription without any better success; and the above-mentioned Count R. told me in Venice, that he himself had made the attempt without discovering any vestige of an inscription. This inscription, therefore, has either never existed, or it has fallen down into the sea with the rocks; or, perhaps, it is still lower than ten or eleven feet from the top. The traces, too, of the once-famed temple of Apollo on this promontory are very slight and difficult to discern. A heap of old rubbish was pointed out to me as the ruins of the temple; but they seem to me rather to have belonged to a tower than to a large temple. There is, however, an old shaft of a

pillar among them, which is the only criterion to lead any one to consider these as the ruins of a temple.

Of the fabulous story of the discovery of an unknown poem of Sappho to Phaon, in a Greek tomb near the ruins of the temple, by a M. Ossur, of St. Petersburg; I suppose, nothing farther has been heard since its first promulgation. After Sappho, the leap into the sea from this rock was often tried as a remedy. In an after period, this sacred spot was degraded by criminals condemned to death, being thrown from the rock into the sea. If they effected the leap without being killed, their lives were granted to them.

In the bay where I landed lay a small bark, which was immediately about to sail for Santa Maura. I preferred this conveyance to a journey over-land, which would have been without interest, besides the risk of being too late for the evening, as I should have lost two hours of my day's journey, owing to the excessive heat on this island, during the month of August.

LETTER XIII.

Santa Maura, August.

WE passed with our little boat between Meganisi and the continent, making our way among a great number of small islands, banks, and rocks, which are very dangerous to large vessels; and happily entered the harbour of Santa Maura. The town is also called Amaxichi, or Aja-Maura, and lies on the north-east side of the island. It has been the capital of the island ever since the fortress was abandoned by government. But it is still small and insignificant, ill-built and dirty; although the English have effected some improvements by the building of new houses, the paving of one street, and a good police. The town contains but one principal street, which was only paved in the latter times of the Venetian government. There is also St. Mark's square here, which contains two churches, the Latin and the Greek. In the centre of it stands a column which had been found in the ruins of Nicopolis. Owing to the earthquakes the houses are but one story high, with the exception of a few, and among these, the houses built by the English have two stories. Many of the older ones are surrounded by galleries, which are covered with canvass, and are very pleasant during the heat of the summer. They are without any taste or architectural beauty. The town has fourteen Greek churches, the best of which is devoted to St. Mina.

The neighbourhood is very pleasant. The prospect from the hills over the town, which seems to be situated in the midst of a garden of orange, lemon, almond, and olive-trees, is delicious;

it also includes part of the adjoining continent, and some of the islands.

About five months ago, the pressure of taxation, together with the political events in Greece, caused so violent an insurrection in Santa Maura, that the English troops on the island were repulsed, and the natives could not be subdued till after the arrival of a reinforcement of men and artillery from Corfu. Two priests were taken and executed on this occasion. Their bodies are still seen dangling in the wind, a spectacle hardly calculated to add to the beauty of the town.

The present British resident in Santa Maura is Major Temple, who has only been here these seven or eight weeks. His predecessor, Colonel Ross, will always be remembered in the island with gratitude for his humanity of disposition and kindness to strangers.

Santa Maura contains about 6,500 inhabitants, almost all Greeks. The fortress, built in the thirteenth century, by a prince of the Spanish family, Tocchi, was almost entirely demolished in 1715; but afterwards restored by the Venetians, and lately improved by the English. Its situation is on the neck of land to the north of Santa Maura, near the lagoons or shallows which separate the island from the continent; it is almost entirely surrounded by water, and difficult of access.

This sand-bank is so shallow that the natives often wade across it. It would be a great benefit for the trade and navigation of Santa Maura, if this bank was again removed, as it was formerly done, by the republic of Corinth; for which, too, the inhabitants re-applied to the government of Venice. But the Venetian republic of that time was not that of Corinth.

The well-known aqueduct, constructed by the Turks under the famous Bajazet, leads across the lagoons which separate the fortress from the town of Santa Maura. It has been much injured by the earthquakes. The water-channel running between the top of the arches and the pavement of the aqueduct, is almost destroyed. The breadth of the aqueduct, exclusively of the side-walls, is three feet. It is now only used as a path for foot-passengers, which is, however, not without danger, as it frequently breaks under them, and the unfortunate people are precipitated into the marsh underneath, from which it is difficult to escape. The aqueduct is supported by 370 arches, so closely built together, that they will not admit the smallest boat to go through them. The people of Santa Maura have an old tradition of this aqueduct. They say that Bajazet having given 100,000 zecchins to the architect for the raising of the structure, the latter saved 30,000, and returned them to the sultan. But the latter, enraged by his not having employed the whole sum

as had been ordered, had his head struck off. There is great probability in this tradition, as it entirely bears the character of Bajazet's barbarous age. To the south of Santa Maura are the salt-pits, so important to the island.

The ancient city of Leukas lay, probably, south of the present town. At least, it is there where ruins of Cyclopiæ walls are still seen, and which, I think, may best be compared with those of Fondi, on the borders of Naples; and which are, unquestionably, of Greek origin. I have not been able to learn whether any antiquities have been found here. The population of the whole island amounts to about 16,000; which are distributed over one town and thirty-two villages. This small island, nevertheless, contains six male monasteries; of which, those of St. John the Baptist and of St. George are the wealthiest.

Santa Maura, like Cephalonia and Thiaki, is covered with rude and barren mountains, of which the highest are situated towards the centre of the island. They might, however, be improved were it not for want of hands and industry. It has but one very fertile and agreeable plain, in which the town is situated, and one small valley.

Santa Maura may rather be called a peninsula than an island, being, in fact, connected with the continent by the sand-bank, which begins near the gulf of Arto, and extends for an hour and a half as far as the town of Santa Maura; about which the water, in its deepest parts, is but six feet. The channel between the continent and the island is only navigable for boats. Vessels of any burthen are compelled to keep on the west side of the island, where they meet with a small harbour.

The navigation near this island, especially near cape Ducato, or Leucate, has always been considered dangerous; and several ships are annually wrecked there through the powerful currents. The island, like the other Ionian isles, has no river of any importance, but it has more good springs of fresh water.

In a small valley surrounded by mountains, in the vicinity of the town, the waters, towards the middle of October, accumulate, and form a lake of about an hour's journey in circumference. In the month of May the water runs off, and then the fertilized ground bears corn, fruits, and vegetables in abundance. But the produce goes entirely to the monks of the neighbouring convent.

Notwithstanding its barren mountains, the island furnishes more wood than the neighbouring isles; and the natives are relieved from the necessity of drawing their fuel from the continent. Near Santa Maura I was agreeably surprised by the sight of some fine oaks. Almond and olive-trees are frequent, and they often grow to a prodigious size.

This plain, as I have already observed, is very fertile; there

the orange and lemon-tree are ranged by the side of common fruit-trees; under their shade grow corn, wine, and flax, in abundance; and those gigantic almond and olive-trees overshadow the whole, which recalls to the mind the richness of Campania and Sicily. Currants are not much cultivated here; but the soil and a more northerly climate being against them. Their wines too, are not distinguished for their qualities, nor are any produced for exportation.

The vegetables, however, are peculiarly large and fine; particularly the artichokes; there being many fine gardens about the town. Cattle are much wanting, as in the other islands, and are imported from the continent. Besides the mules requisite for the cultivation of the soil or the carriage of goods, only a few wretched flocks of goats and sheep are seen on the island. The mountains are rich in game; the chase, however, is very little followed. The fisheries near the coast are exceedingly productive; there being an abundance of the most excellent soal, and other fish.

Of metals there seem to be none: but the salt-pits are very productive. Salt also forms the principal article of trade of the island; being exported in large quantities to all parts of Italy, and even to Sweden.

The shipping of the island has been a little increased since the administration of the island fell to the English; and the natives do not now so frequently entrust their cargoes to foreigners, especially the Greeks of Pevesa, as they used to do.

The climate is very mild in autumn and winter, which both resemble a mild spring; but in spring and summer the island suffers from excessive heat, as I can witness from my own experience, although this summer was not reckoned among the hottest.

In the vicinity of the lagoons and marshes, and, consequently, in all those parts of the island nearest the continent, the air is very unhealthy: near the town it is most unhealthy. The easterly winds still increase their injurious effects, as they bring pestilential vapours with them from the gulf of Arta, and create frequent fevers. In summer, north and west winds are most prevalent; in winter, south and east.

Santa Maura likewise suffers much from earthquakes. Scarcely a month passes without some commotion of the earth more or less strong. The subterraneous connection, however, seems not to extend to the south towards Cephalonia, Thiaki, and Zante, but more to the west; for the dreadful commotions which devastated those islands, were less felt here than that which, in 1783, desolated Calabria and Messina. But, moreover, Santa Maura has its own laboratory of earthquakes.

The national character of the natives essentially differs from that of the neighbouring islands, which may be occasioned by their proximity to the continent, and their frequent intercourse with its inhabitants. In general, it is true, the St. Mauriot is gentle, peaceable, and credulous, but if long teased he becomes furious. This was proved in the last insurrection in March.

There is much of the manners of the Turks and Moreats among them, the same as in Zante; with the exception that the women, who, in that island are much restrained, live here in perfect freedom. This circumstance is the more pleasing, as they are handsomer than the females of any other of the Ionian islands. Their dress, in the variety of its embroideries, bears the character of the east; but it is tasteful, and made to fit their handsome shapes. The dresses of the males are also distinguished from those of the other Ionians, by a greater display and more embroidery.

LETTER XIV.

Corfu, August.

OUR captain having arranged his mercantile affairs, and wind and weather being favourable, we weighed our small anchor towards midnight, and steered towards the south, through that intricacy of sand-banks and clusters of islands round the cape Ducato, the white rocks of which now magically shone in the pale light of the moon.

Near the rock of Sessola, so dangerous to seamen, we met with a perfect calm; and the current from the north was so powerful, that, in spite of all our exertions with our oars, we could not advance against it. Already our captain prepared himself to enter a small harbour of Santa Maura, when a brisk scirocco sprang up, and forced the current to change its direction. This brought us so quickly forward that we soon left Santa Maura far behind us.

With a little wind, in a southern summer, it is very pleasant to sail in such a bark, under so bright a sky, especially in a sea where you may, every moment, land on some interesting spot. Thus I hope one day to circumnavigate the coasts of Calabria, Apulia, and Sicily, with which, as yet, we are so little acquainted. Besides, the life which I led in my Ionian bark, corresponded with the voyage, void of all enjoyments and comforts, which are neither known nor sought for in the south of Italy.

In the morning, when the sun rose, his early rays gilding the distant mountain-tops, the master, with his people, lifted up their eyes to him in prayer. We breakfasted on salt-fish, a

little ewe-cheese from Perigo, and wine, accompanied by onions and ship's biscuits. At noon, when the sun darted his burning rays down upon our heads, the dinner was very welcome. Whenever the position of the sails permitted, a mat or sail was spread horizontally, in order to afford us a shelter. Next came some salt-meat, or, at times, fresh, having been bought in the last harbour, when it had not been too dear there. Again, salt-fish, onions, and a refreshing water-melon. The wine was served up in a large jug, which went round from mouth to mouth. We then slept for an hour and a half. If the wind was not favourable, the sails, during this time, were taken in, and the bark went backwards with the current. At evening, when the sun set, spreading its rich tints over the earth, the mariners again sent their prayers after him, and a supper was taken resembling the breakfast.

Our men performed their labour, which was often very hard when they had to pull against the current, even during the greatest heat, singing, and with the most perfect good-humour. I had learnt one of their favourite Greek songs, and when, during the evening and at night, I plied my oar, I sung it with them, a circumstance which gave them much pleasure. Indeed, they were all very fond of me, and did whatever they could to please me; so easy it is to gain the affection of simple people. They also placed great confidence in me, as at the first jug of wine I had drank to the success of the Greek cause.

From sun-set till midnight we slept soundly upon deck, with the exception of the man at the helm, being sufficiently tired by the labour of the day. The bare boards formed our bed, a thick boat-cloak our covering, and some small barrel, an oar, a buoy, &c. served for a pillow. After midnight the voyage was continued, either sailing or rowing. The people sung and seemed perfectly happy.

I took my share in all their inconveniences and pleasures, and was more and more firmly convinced, that the greatest simplicity in living, together with bodily labour, imparts the most delightful elasticity to our existence, by imparting strength and physical energy to our bodies. Nay, I may say more, such a manner of living also cures various bodily affliction. In the summer of 1820, in sailing from Naples to Leghorn, I had hurt my chest in assisting the men in casting anchor; the effects of which, together with the pain in my left arm, caused by the blow I had received from the robbers in the Morea, I had still felt on leaving Zante. But I lost both through my plain and active life on-board the small vessel, my journeys in the heat of the day, and through frequent bathing in the sea, which I often

did three or four times a-day ; being almost the only refreshment to be procured in a southern climate.

Misled by false statements of travellers, the thing I dreaded most in the south was the scirocco. But neither in Italy, Naples, Sicily, nor the Ionian islands, did I feel it differently from any other southerly wind. The natives of those countries scarcely perceive it, and there are but few foreigners that feel any heaviness or oppression from it. The scirocco should not be confounded with the solano, which blows with a burning and suffocating heat from the deserts of Lybia ; but it is of rare occurrence. I have only felt it once, and this was in the gulf of Naples.

Our favourable scirocco blew still ; it was night, and we had arrived opposite Anti-paxu. We were all asleep except old Dimetri, who, like Palinurus, sate by the helm. All at once the bark ran upon one of the many sand-banks between Anti-paxu and Paxu. We all instantly awoke : and a terrible noise ensued. Dimetri was accused of having been asleep, which might have been very possible. He, on the other hand, maintained that the bank must have been lately formed, since, during a twenty-five years navigation upon these seas, he had never known it. All our exertions with oars and poles proved ineffectual, although only half of the bark had got upon the bank. If a puff of wind had pushed it further, there would indeed have been no danger, but we should have been kept on the spot till another vessel had assisted ; which might perhaps not have been for some days. We therefore all jumped into the water, which only reached to mid-leg, and after long and repeated exertions, our *St. Magdalen*, (this was the name of the bark) was again set afloat. This was hailed by a general shout, and the wine jug at breakfast was, for the first time during our voyage, filled twice.

Anti-paxu is now more cultivated than it used to be. The Paxiots, who only come here for the purpose of cultivation and reaping, grow figs, oil, wine, and almonds on the island, which only contains three huts for the keepers.

We saw the small harbour of Paxu, with its rocky island in the middle of the entrance, but we did not land. We perceived on the island the few remains of the fort built by the Neapolitans when they were in possession of Corfu. A light-house is built here, the only one in the southern Ionian islands.

The small island of Paxu supports a very laborious race of people. The cultivation of the olive, which produces better oil than that of Corfu, and that of almonds, are the principal branches of industry of the island. It looks green and cultivated, which has a very pleasing effect upon the eye, on arriving from

the naked rocks of the more southern islands. The coast of Paxu also offers great inducement for fishing. No poisonous plant, no venomous reptile, is found on Paxu; nay, the sailors told me very seriously that the mere sight of Paxu relieved the St. Mauriot from many little grievances.

It is more than probable that Paxu was formerly connected on the north with Corfu, from which it was torn by an earthquake. The nature and form of the rocks of the cape Blanco in Corfu and those of the northern point of Paxu, together with the similarity of soil, prove this former connection. Besides, Homer and Virgil, who in general are so minute in their description of the Ionian sea, also are silent about Paxu.

We saw Parga lying on its pointed rocks, and saw the flash and smoke of its cannon. The town was just attacked by a troop of Epirots, under Perevos; but, as we subsequently learnt at Corfu, unfortunately without success. Passing by Cape Blanco, we soon arrived in the channel of Corfu.

The situation of the city of Corfu, with its old forts, jutting out into the sea upon the lofty rocks, with the mountains behind them, and the Mount St. Pantaleon in the vicinity, presents a very picturesque appearance.

Passing along the beautiful bay, south of the old fortress, where many country-seats are scattered among the green hills and between the dark shades of cypress-groves, we arrived in the road and harbour of Corfu. We passed under the stern of a British ship of the line towering majestically above us. They were just hoisting the flag, and the band on-board performed in their manner *Rossini's Cenerentola*.

LETTER XV.

Corfu, August.

THE island of Corfu is separated only by a narrow channel from the continent of Epirus, which in its widest parts is not above eight miles in width, and in the narrowest places its breadth is only two miles. The air of the island is considered salubrious. The number of its inhabitants, which has been constantly decreasing, is now scarcely sixty thousand, who are for the most part Greeks. The island must once have contained at least three hundred thousand people, if we consider what they effected during the time of their independence, and even subsequently under the Romans.

The climate is mild, but rather changeable, and not warm enough to impart the requisite sweetness to currants, which, only half a degree more to the south, come to perfect maturity.

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But the vicinity of the high mountains of Epirus may have a great influence on the climate. The island has several small rivers. The largest however, named Mensogni, is scarcely wider than a large rivulet. Another, which is near the city of Corfu, bears merely the name of Potamo, i. e. the river. The island too sometimes suffers from earthquakes, which, however, are not so violent as in the other more southern islands. And although both sulphur and coal are found, it seems to have no volcanic laboratory of its own. Its mountains are likewise barren, yet of all the mountains of the larger Ionian islands, they seem to be most wooded. But all their wood for fuel and timber is imported from Dalmatia.

Oil is the chief produce of Corfu, and its cultivation might be increased, if the natives were more industrious. Nevertheless, they grow sufficiently for their home consumption, and also export enough to pay for all their imports. The wine grown in the island supplies the inhabitants for half the year only; for the remainder of the year they obtain it from Dalmatia. It is far from being of a good quality. Corn is only grown sufficient for four months of the year.

Horticulture is of little importance in Corfu, being checked by the want of running streams; yet the natives produce excellent winter melons, oranges, lemons, figs, and almonds. Between the mountains and hills which cover the greater part of the island, valleys and plains are found; yet they have not grass enough to keep large cattle on them. The inhabitants, therefore, have only herds of goats, and all their cattle for slaughter as well as their poultry is imported from the continent. Game is rather plentiful, and is now eagerly pursued by the English. The fisheries are also important. The harbour of the ancient city of Chrysopolis contains some excellent fish; coral is found near the capes Sidero and Blanco.

Salt forms a part of the exports of the island, which possesses several beds of coal; also some sulphur mines, and a spring of mineral water. It likewise produces a species of grey marble.

Whatever I saw of the interior of Corfu, I found to be well cultivated; and I was told that the same degree of cultivation also prevailed in the central parts of the island. The English, in this respect, have acted very beneficially, and by the building of country-seats and cottages, and the formation of gardens, parks, &c. they have given to the country a more inviting appearance than it probably had before.

The island is divided into four districts. The first is Leschimo, and lies in the east. It contains the site of the ancient city of Gardachi, at a distance of about a league from the coast, and which is now occupied by a small village, and the ruins of an

ancient fort. This district has about twenty villages, and from eleven to twelve thousand inhabitants.

The district of *Argiru*, in the west, is the most fertile. It is said to contain eight thousand inhabitants in fifteen villages. In this district lay the ancient city of *Argiru*, on a peninsula, the site of which is now occupied by a Greek convent. This city was destroyed by the Saracens, and upon its ruins Alexis Comnenus built a fort, which, in the year 1403, was unsuccessfully besieged by the Genoese.

The district of *Mezzo* is the most important. It contains the city of *Corfu*, with a population of about twenty-five thousand inhabitants. To the south of this city, are the spots pointed out as the former cities of *Chrisopolis*, and the famous gardens of *Alcinous*. The district of *Oros*, however, has but seven thousand inhabitants, living in twenty villages. Here lay the once famed city of *Kassiopeia*, with the splendid temple of *Jupiter Casius* in the site now occupied by *Rassopo*.

In the weddings and funeral ceremonies of the people, many customs of ancient Greece may be recognized. But they are nearly lost among immoral and ridiculous practices.

The English in *Corfu* give the natives of this island a very bad character. If their opinion concerning the Ionian islanders, and indeed the Greeks in general, were free from suspicion, we should be led to believe that nature and education had denied these people those good qualities for which the inhabitants of *St. Maura*, *Ithaca*, *Cephalonia*, and *Zante*, are more or less distinguished; and instead of them we should only find a combination of vices, which would place the *Corfiots* in the scale of morality below all the other Greeks.

It is possible, that many of the bad qualities for which the Greeks are so often reproached, such as indolence, cupidity, want of faith and gratitude, sycophancy, superstition, &c. may be more clearly traced among the *Corfiots*; much also may have been added by the vices of the Venetian administration, the effects of which may yet operate for many years. Nevertheless, it appears to me very severe and unjust, to deny them every opportunity for obtaining mental improvement honourable of principle and domestic industry.

As yet nothing having been done towards such improvement, the people live in darkness; and those, whose duty it would be to elevate and enlighten them in their sphere, are, some of them, uneducated and illiterate themselves, and others find it their advantage to keep them in ignorance.

When the British administration has established proper means for the instruction of the people, and the improvement of the

clergy; and if in this labour of restoration, after persevering for an age, the inhabitants shall not become wiser or better, then, and then only, will the British be justified in denying the Corfiots the opportunity of moral improvement.

It cannot be denied that the natives are variously connected with the armed Greeks of the continent.—that they participate in the wishes and hopes of those who are there contending for the sacred cause;—that they enthusiastically receive and propagate every account from that quarter, whether true or false, probable or absurd; and that they are connected with many plans entertained on the continent and the islands. I am not inclined, altogether, to approve of such conduct in their present circumstances. But does it prove their abjectness? does it prove the total enervation of the people? their total indolence in every moral effort? a people which, although sunk in vice and prejudice, has still a sense of its nationality: such a people is not lost, but is still capable of a superior cultivation and moral improvement.

Can it be considered a proof of the abjectness of the people, when they complain, and are indignant at the oppression of the English? And when they know and distinguish the measures which the British administration allow themselves, in order to make an Indian colony of an independent republic?

LETTER XVI.

Corfu, August.

CONSIDERING the ancient glory of Corfu, we expected to find many antiquities on the island. But this is not the fact; there are, on the contrary, less here than in any other of the smaller Ionian islands. In the city, near the Porta Reale, is a small octagonal Greek church, which was evidently formed from a rotunda, which seems to have been built in the latter times of the Romans. It still has the old columns, consisting of blue-and-white marble. About three miles from Corfu, near the salt-lake, to the west of the harbour, are shewn slight and almost invisible traces of aqueducts. They are supposed to have belonged to the gardens of Alcinous. These gardens, however, are placed by the antiquaries of Corfu in three different spots.

To the S. of Corfu, beyond the high mountain of St. Pantaleon, lies a lake full of fish. It is supposed to have been the harbour of Chrysopolis, the scite of which is pointed out on its western bank. But no traces are left of the glories of the Golden City, in the description of which both Xenophon and Thucy-

dides are at a loss for words. Of the chain alone, which closed the harbour, some remains were shewn to me. There are no traces of the flourishing cities of Kassiopeia, Argiru, and Gardochi.

I was informed that repeated excavations had been made under the old academy in the cities of Chrysopolis and Kasiopeia, upon which a treatise had been written and deposited in the library of St. Mark in Venice. Thus, this academy, consisting of private individuals, did more than the present wealthy administration, which seems studiously to avoid coming in contact with any thing connected with antiquity. When I mentioned to an Englishman of rank, at Corfu, the propriety of establishing an Ionian Museum in the capital, for the purpose of collecting in it all that had been found, and was belonging to the republic, he replied, "we have things of more importance to do here, and, after all, what end would it answer?"

An interesting treatise might be written on the causes of the almost total absence of all traces of the ancient temples and cities of Corfu. One of the chief causes, I suppose, to be the early introduction of Christianity in the island, carrying along with it that fury of destruction which had been every where so fatal to the works of antiquity. The frequent desolations of the island by the Goths, Vandals, Saracens, and Turks; and earthquakes may, probably, have acted as secondary causes.

At different times various Greek inscriptions have been accidentally found, which were deposited into the museum of Cavalier Nani, at Venice, who had once been *proveditore generale* of the republic in Corfu. None of these inscriptions mark the epoch of their origin. Yet it is very probable that they belong to the first ages of the republic of Corcyra. They express that the gods were honoured on the island, that the first authority of Corcyra was composed of four prytanei, that by a resolution of the assembled people, several worthy strangers were elected citizens of the republic, and that many other marks of distinction and privileges were conferred on them.

Some antiquities have been lately discovered, but they are of the later Roman period; for instance, a small statue of marble in the possession of Colonel Whitmore.

The coins of Corcyra, that have been found, generally bear a female head, a Jupiter Agrais, Neptune, Bacchus, Apollo, Hermes, or Hercules; the reverse generally represents symbols indicating the fertility and abundance of the island, its strength, naval power, or its great trade. For instance, a ship, an altar with fruit, a garland of ivy, a bull, a tripod, a trident, a horse, a cow suckling her calf, a grape, &c. All these symbols bear the inscription ΚΟΡΚΥΡΑΙΟΝ, or the abbreviation ΚΟΡΚΥ....ΚΟΡ.. or only the letter Κ. The medals, coined in honour of men who

have rendered services to the state, generally bear their head crowned with laurel, with the galley on the reverse, and the inscription ΚΟΡ..ΚΥΡΙΑΝΝ. The medals of the Roman period always bear the head of the emperor, or the great lady, in honour of whom they were coined; and, on the reverse, one of those symbols, most frequently a seated figure of Jupiter.

LETTER XVII.

Corfu, August.

HOWEVER beautiful the works of nature are in Corfu, art displays very little that is pleasing to the eye. My reader will, therefore, forgive me, if I mention nothing concerning the large houses, there named palaces, and the churches of the fortress and town. The smallest town in Italy is better supplied in this respect, and it is surprising that the republic of Venice built her government-buildings with such architectural insignificance, having had such excellent modes of ancient and modern architecture, as well as many good architects. The edifices lately built by the English are only worthy of notice.

Near the harbour, behind the offices of the dogana (custom-house,) which, likewise, owe their origin to the English, is the new butcher's-hall and market. It is a colonade forming a regular square, with a small peristyle in the centre, combining, in admirable proportions, utility with beauty. But in the centre of the place, formed by the colonade, rises a small rotunda of equal columns, in two stories, supporting a dome. This clumsy piece of architecture only forms a well, and spoils the whole.

After traversing the wretchedly paved streets of the city, which leans against the side of a hill, you arrive, without having met with any building of note, on the spacious and beautiful place called the Esplanade. On the north-side of it, detached from all other houses, rises the palace, which is now building by the English government for the lord-high-commissioner. It is almost completed, only a little being wanted for the second-floor, which is to support a dome. This edifice, worthy of a ruling emperor, attracts for a moment, but, after a short examination, the faults of its architecture appear to a practiced eye. The principal building forms a regular square of two stories, which displays both symmetry and simplicity; but, unfortunately, the architect hit upon an idea of placing before this massy edifice a colonade, nearly of the shape of a horse-shoe, and formed of small Doric columns, which is concealed by the large building that seems to rest upon it. The architect, himself, seems to have felt the deformity of this construction,

and, therefore, placed at both ends of the colonade, where it diverges, in two bent arms, large triumphal arches, serving at the same time for gateways, to be ornamented with trophies and other emblems. These arches are much higher than the colonade; nay, in comparison to it, they seem colossal. They are intended as a medium between the principal building and the puny colonade; but, being too large for the latter, they form another architectural defect. The architect seems to have borne in mind the colonade of St. Peter at Rome. But how noble and grand is that work! and how well-proportioned to the church!

The internal division and construction of the building, however, is the most perfect, in its kind, I ever saw. The architectural art has laboured here with the most admirable industry. The stones are so closely united, that their joints can scarcely be seen. It is a piece of truly English elegance. The whole is built of an excellent free-stone, cut and finished at Malta, ready for joining, before they are brought hither. I could not learn why they did not use the beautiful grey-marble which is found on Corfu. The expense of this palace, without the finishing of the second-floor, without roof, statues, and other ornaments, exclusive of fixtures and furniture, is said to have amounted, by this time, to 83,000*l.* sterling. Its architect is Colonel Whitmore.

On the west-side of the esplanade, to the right of the palace, a row of fine houses with arcades, fronting the esplanade, have been built during the English administration. Here is the British hotel, the best, and indeed the only good inn in Corfu, fitted up in the English style, and calculated for English purses. Here are, also, the houses of the Austrian and Turkish consuls. Under the arcades are billiard-rooms, coffee-houses, and reading-rooms.

In this place, also, stands the marble statue of the brave Count Schulenburg. It is of good workmanship, but of that quaint appearance which prevailed at the beginning of the last century. The pedestal bears the following inscription:

MATTHIÆ JOHANNI,
COMITI A SCULEMBURGIS,
Summo terrestrium
Copiarum præfecto
Christianæ Reipublicæ
In Corcyræ obsidione
Fortissimo assertori
Adhuc viventi, Senatus
Anno M,DCC,XVII.

The town of Corfu, the bulwark of Italy and of the east, is covered in all directions, towards the sea and land, by forts which, I was informed, were latterly supplied with every neces-

sary, and even contain numerous cavalry, and besides being guarded by a line-of-battle ship and several frigates, seem to be impregnable.

The prisons in the fortress, notorious from the times of the Venetians, I did not inspect. Nor should I have been allowed to see them, as they have been well-stocked during these last few months.

Corfu used to be called the border of the E. This may have been correct fifty years ago. The city is now completely Italian, and oriental customs are only to be seen, such as they are in Venice, as exotics. Italian manners prevail in the interior of the houses, in the public amusements, and in the language; in fact, they have been adopted by all, except the lower orders of the people. We need only look at the coffee-houses, which play so distinguished a part in Italy. Are they not till midnight the rallying-point of both sexes?

If you go into the interior of the families, you find as little relish for society and domestic pleasures as in Italy. All their affections are turned abroad, towards public assemblies, the theatre, promenades, and coffee-houses. A magic circle seems drawn round the house, which a stranger can but rarely pass. They will there submit, in private, to all possible privations, if, by such sacrifices, they can preserve splendour, or at least a decent appearance in public. If we go to the villages, which on Sundays form the rendezvous of the fashionable world, we again meet with Italy. We only miss its charming women, its Psyche and Niobe forms. We see the same rage for carriages as in Florence, Rome, and Naples, however wretched they may be, and whatever domestic sacrifices they may require. I saw, for instance, an ancient Corfiot Count, in a public ride, in an old machine, drawn by one mule, gaudily dressed up; whilst the driver, who had no seat, was obliged to run by the side of the wretched vehicle. We see the same gracious nod to pedestrian acquaintances, with inconsistency in female dress. Gaudy colours, awkwardness of appearance, without those delicate efforts to please, so conspicuous in the ladies of Venice, Milan, and Florence.

The English give a very unfavourable account of the inhabitants of the city; they endeavour, especially, to ridicule the nobility and their foolish pride. But this nobility once possessed great merit; they have displayed bravery and civic virtues, which are recorded in every page of their history; which, however, the British do not think worth knowing. They are certainly degenerated, like the nobility of all countries; Venice, in particular, has spoiled them. Nevertheless, they possess among them some very respectable men, and particularly well-informed

families. But have the British nobility kept themselves free from corruption?

The nobility and other respectable inhabitants compare the English with the Venetians, Russians, and French, who, by their pleasant manners, made themselves so agreeable to them, and have been an ornament to their assemblies. Do they find the same in the English? I believe not. If then the natives try to avoid their society; if they are particularly afraid of the friendship and connection with those numerous military and naval officers, who seem just to have issued forth from the forests of old Albion—ought we to blame them? Certainly not. Even unprejudiced Englishmen are of the same opinion. Those gentlemen would consider every place out of England as a Corfu.

But, in many respects, the city of Corfu has gained through the British. It has become much cleaner and better lighted. Houses, colonades, and palaces have been built; in the neighbourhood of the city gardens, parks, and country-seats have arisen. Many English shops have been opened, and for ready cash every luxury and comfort of life may be procured. The British only purchase what comes from old England. They even extend this patriotism to the votaries of Aphrodite Pandæmas, although I could not learn whether their custom-house officers class them among the articles of luxury. Once a whole cargo of these naiades were imported from the Thames. But they might have had a better article of the kind in Sicily or Venice, where the Englishmen purchase them and destroy the market for other nations.

A great partiality for the Russians is still entertained in the good families, which was fomented by the presence of a renowned statesman in the Russian service, who had lately been here for the purpose of visiting his native country.

Corfu not only gave birth to the minister Capo d'Istria, and still contains many of that name, but likewise to Signora Isabella Tastochi Albrici, a lady of learning, who wrote very ably on several works of Canova, such as bas-reliefs and statues.

Among the modern scholars and artists of Corfu, I ought also to mention Signor Mustoxidi, author of the modern history of the island; Professor Bondioli, in whom Corfu lost a distinguished physician and scholar; and Signor Brossolendi, a good sculptor.

I did not visit the theatre. It is only open during the autumn and the carnival season, and only Italian comic operas are performed in it. Rossini's airs I also heard there in every street.

LETTER XVIII.

Corfu, August.

OF the IONIKON ΚΡΑΤΟΣ, inscribed on the new coin of the republic, the Britannia, which is seated on the reverse, has left nothing, and the once-furious lion of St. Marc tamely crouches under the feet of the fair virgin with Poseidon's trident.

Before I proceed in my remarks, I must premise, that I by no means mistake the distinction which ought to be made between that which the British government wishes to have done for the Ionian islands, over which she has received the protectorate and executive power, and that which the local government at Corfu actually does. I here only speak of the latter. The possession of the Ionian islands is always a financial loss to their possessor, since, even if absolutely subjected, they do not yield so much as they cost, if they are to be properly supported. Their possession can, therefore, be important only in a political, military, and mercantile point of view.

For this reason these islands must always be in the hands of some great power. Such a power might establish in them a government and administration, from which the neighbouring Turks might learn how to govern and treat the Greek states under their controul. This example ought to have been set by the British government; and, although its policy might not have found imitation in the first five years, it would have operated in time, for it has been seen in Smyrna, Thessalonica, Adrianople, Magnesia, and Constantinople, before the rising of the Greeks, how much the Porte, in places that were not oppressed by cruel pashas, considered the welfare of its Greek subjects, and what great privileges, especially in trade, it granted to them above its other subjects, particularly the Armenians.

If the Porte had viewed the Ionians under their new government, contented, tranquil, and growing in opulence, it would soon have adopted as much of the same system as might be consistent with its own. I have been assured, in Corfu, that the English government in 1815, at the time when the islands were made over to them by treaty, had this object in view. If it had been executed by the British agents, it is a question whether the Greeks, in 1821, would have had any just cause for rising against the Porte. But what have the Ionian islands presented since that period? A poor race of people, towards whom no promise was kept,—a people who, only living by trade, have been bound with the tightest fetters, and have not been allowed to engage in any enterprise which might affect the interest of British trade; at the same time teased by a host of English revenue-officers, who curtailed their rights of navigation and mo-

nopolised the use of their own harbours and bays in favour of England,—a people who, often despised and ill treated by the British officers, were forced to hate their government at Corfu, and to try all means of getting rid of it.

Such a result could certainly not inspire the Porte with any desire of imitation; and, mistrustful and timid as it is, it only became more strict and severe against its own Greek subjects, and the pashas became even more cruel.

According to the treaty by which they were delivered over, the Ionians were to found a republic under the auspices of Great Britain, whose protection was to be the security of independence. An Ionian senate was to assist the British governor by its counsels, and a legislative-assembly was to give them new laws.

If, instead of this acknowledged republican form, the Ionian islands had become England's property, if they had become an integral part of Great Britain, with the English constitution, English rights, and English legislature, how happy then would have been their lot, compared with their present state!

An English governor has arrived to rule in Corfu, with the same supreme power as did formerly the *proveditore-generale* of St. Marc. In those times the Ionians could at least complain and petition in Venice, so near to them, and frequently the senate afforded them speedy protection and redress against the Venetian officers. But now the distance from London is much greater: it is so by nature, while the policy of government has made it quite inaccessible. Those unhappy Ionians, who some months ago addressed their grievances to England, now find redress in the gaols of Corfu!

Those who firmly expressed and defended principles unpleasant to the government of Corfu, were soon removed from the senate. This was the fate of four of the ablest and most upright men. Those who remained, together with their president, took warning from this. Very soon the senate had no other wish but those of the English governor, who, moreover, often expressed them rather harshly. Hence, for some time past, the will of the senate has not been distinguished from that of this ruler, and the greatest harmony prevails!

The legislative assembly have not yet accomplished their task of forming a code of laws for the Ionian islands, nor does it appear they ever will accomplish it.

In the mean time, the government of Corfu has seized upon all the branches of the executive administration, and placed them under its controul, by putting them into the hands of Englishmen, foreigners, or such of the islanders who yield implicitly to the will of the English government. Thus the duties

of customs in all the islands are managed in a manner which leads to the belief that these islands are under martial-law. Woe to the wretch who should undertake any thing against which there should even be no prohibition, if it oppose the interest of British commerce! It must be considered of what deep importance this is in so small a maritime state, which subsists only by trade and navigation.

With the cruelty of barbarians they fall upon the Ionian ships and boats, which are prohibited from seeking shelter against the inclemencies of the weather in any bay of the islands, if they do not purchase permission at a high price.

The courts of justice, which ought to be independent, are only unrestrained where the interest of government is not at stake. But, whenever this is concerned, they must, like all the other branches of the executive and administration, serve as the hand-maid of British interest, to which every thing must yield.

The Ionian senate being entirely dependant on the government, the latter has all places at its disposal. Most of these are given to foreigners, but never to Ionians, of whom it is known that they think for themselves, and have spirit and energy enough to have a will of their own.

The most remarkable proceeding of government is that respecting the coinage. All the good silver and copper-coin in the islands was bought up and sent to England. For this good coin the finely coined *oboli* have been returned, but are said to contain $\frac{1}{2}$ less in copper than their nominal value in silver, compared to the Turkish paras, the Neapolitan grane, and the Roman bajocco.* Silver-coin has not been given to them at all; it has only been promised. This is very troublesome and injurious to the Ionians in their transactions with the continent.

It was not till the present session of the British parliament that the defects and faults of the Ionian government were extensively and perspicuously laid open by Mr. Hume. A ministerial member, of the lower-house, attempted to refute him, but without success. Almost at the same time Signor Martilengo, and several respectable Zantiots, addressed themselves, in a respectful petition, to the King of England: they represented their manifold grievances against the local government, and prayed for redress. For this, Martilengo, and all those who had signed

* The following story is current in Corfu, for the truth of which, however, I cannot warrant. In the budget of 1819, mention was first made among the receipts of 60,000 Spanish piastres or talleri, which had been paid by the islands for money sent from England; then this sum appeared among the expenses, as money given by England to the islands; and, ultimately, these 60,000 piastres appeared in the shape of a debt of the Ionian islands for the money sent from England!

with him, were immediately arrested as traitors, and sent to jail in Corfu, where they still are; Martilengo only was afterwards released to avoid disturbances in Zante. I do not believe that the king and his ministers can know any thing of these proceedings.

Thus the poor Ionian republicans were denied what every British subject may do in their parliament, and their attempt was punished by the pro-consular government.

English residents are established in the islands of Santa Maura, Thiaki, Cephalonia, Zante, and Kerigo. They naturally act in the sense of the government on which they depend. There, in their capacity of chief civil and military magistrates, they are looked upon in the light of little sovereigns, and the royal Odysseus could hardly have had such authority on Thiaki as the British resident, although only a captain.

The Greeks accuse this resident of oppressions and arbitrary seizures. These reproaches I consider as the result of the people's discontent; since such vile conduct is not in the character of the English. They also greatly blame the conduct of the government with regard to the revolutionized Greeks. Certainly the government has tried to prevent, suppress, and punish, every real participation of the Ionian Greeks in the affairs of the neighbouring continent; and the numerous ordonnances that have been issued on this subject are before the public.

But this conduct of the government cannot justly be blamed, if we rightly consider the political position which England has assumed towards the Porte and the Greeks. It proclaimed, in conjunction with the other high powers, the strictest neutrality in their war; and, to preserve this, it was compelled to prohibit the Ionians from assisting the Greeks, and punish every transgression on this point. In fact, in several cases the government only did so, after a requisition of the Turkish government; in which the cases of intermeddling on the part of Ionian subjects were officially pointed out.—Thus far, I think, every thing has been correct. But government, incensed at the conduct of the Ionians, has begun to hate the Greeks, and their cause. This is blameable, however natural its origin.

The English government knows, from various discoveries, how close is the connection of the Zantiots, Santa Mauriots, and Corfiots, with the Greeks of the Morea, Rumeli, and Epirus, and even with the brave Hetarists in Moldavia. It has intercepted many letters, containing plans for the co-operation of the Ionians, for their liberation from the English, for the surprize of the fortresses, and even the murder of the garrisons. It knows that, from the moment the Greeks on the continent gain any decisive and permanent advantages, it will be exposed to the enterprizes

and attacks of the Ionians. Nay, if even the government were not acquainted with those combinations and plans through those intercepted letters, it would have learnt it from the imprudent, passionate expressions of the Zantiots and Corfiots themselves, who are unable to conceal their rage and hatred against the government, and frequently speak so violently against the English, that it can only proceed from motives of prudence that the government does not imprison them.

Is it then surprising that the English, in return, should hate the Greek cause, and obstruct its progress? This cause, which they erroneously consider as the foundation of the disaffection and hatred of the Ionians against them. They forget that the Ionians would incline much less towards the Greeks, if they felt themselves happier as republicans under British government; nay, if they were even less oppressed. This feeling is the source from which originate the measures of the government of Corfu, and which can certainly find no rational or just excuse. Thus the government carefully suppressed all intelligence from the Morea, Rumeli, Epirus; so that it is almost impossible, in those approximate islands, to have any correct information respecting the events, positions, marches, or strength of the armies or of the fortresses occupied by the contending parties.

To the injury of the cause and the Ionians, it allows the youth of continental Greece, capable of bearing arms, to reside in the islands; and, what is more than all, it affords assistance to the Turks, by supplying them with provisions, arms, ammunition, &c. by which it infringes upon its neutrality, and places itself in a hostile position towards the Greeks.

It was, probably, in consequence of the above-mentioned discoveries, that the government has taken measures for fortifying and securing all strong points. Thence also the increase of troops, the removal of the cavalry into the forts, the great supplies bought for the latter, &c. The Ionians are wrong in complaining of these measures. They cost them nothing; but have rather been useful to many of them.

The English in Corfu told me that these measures, on the least commotion, would be followed by the general disarming* of the islanders; which they considered the more necessary, as these people are all excellent marksmen, and so expert in climbing and jumping on their mountains and rocks, that they would be almost a match for English riflemen.

But we should, at the same time, duly consider and appreciate the advantages which the English government afford to the Ionian islands.

* This has since taken place.

At the head of these I shall mention the excellent police of the islands and the adjoining seas,—a police which suffers none of the former excesses. The pleasure which many Ionians take in robbery, plunder, and murder,—a pleasure which they share with their Greek brethren on the continent,—they are deprived of by the British government; and, whenever it occurs, a rapid form of judicature quickly puts an end to the criminal. The harbours and bays of the islands are no longer the refuge of pirates.

Since 1815 large sums have been spent by the British government upon the Ionian islands, in draining marshes, in the erection of new bridges, roads, houses, palaces, &c. such as the great bridge of Argostoli, the butchers' hall, the palace of the government at Corfu. These fabrics have cost the islands nothing, and tend to their advantage or improvement, besides bringing money into the country. The taxes in the islands must be trifling, since the English government takes nothing from them; and the whole revenue is said to be employed in defraying the expences of the internal administration. The English government pays its own troops, and keeps them in barracks, which, for the most part, it has built. In the same manner, all the expenses of keeping old fortifications in order, or building new ones, are defrayed by the government. The Ionians are not subject to any military service, conscription, or recruiting.

The English officers, civil as well as military, together with the well-paid troops, amounting to between 3,000 and 6,000 men, put considerable sums into circulation. Many tradesmen in the towns, who were formerly poor, have in consequence acquired some property; but the merchants, sailors, &c. who form the greater part of the population, groan under the British commercial restraints.

Corfu has gained much through the English in pleasantness and comfort; and the towns of the other islands have also had their share of those improvements.

Eight engineers are now engaged on the survey of Corfu. Their labours, of which I have seen some, for their elegance and correctness do honour to British genius. This survey is likewise conducted at the expense of the English government; and it is afterwards to be extended to the other islands. It is to be wished that on this occasion the government would lay aside its proud indifference towards antiquity, and undertake and encourage diggings on interesting spots. It might, at least, put a stop to the vandalism of its officers.

I now return my sincere thanks to the English residents and other officers in the Ionian islands, for their politeness and kindness to me personally. I must acknowledge that I have not.

suffered from them any of those municipal vexations which are so annoying to every stranger, but, especially, to the scientific traveller. It depended only on myself to profit by the kind assistance which the English authorities so often offered to me. I must also observe, that the being a Saxon was every where a recommendation among these authorities; and I was often gratified by seeing their stern features relax, when they saw my country named in my passport.

LETTER XIX.

Venice, September.

About the end of August the Austrian packet, *Il Fenice*, an armed brig, arrived at Corfu. As there was immediately a considerable number of passengers for Venice, she only remained a few days in the harbour, after which she sailed with a favourable wind.

This vessel is well fitted up, and affords, at various prices, the best accommodation, with cheap board. We had some agreeable Englishmen with us, one of whom distinguished himself by his great loquacity, a quality otherwise very rare among his countrymen. We had, also, on-board several young Greeks from Janina, Smyrna, and Hydria, who were going to Paris for their studies. They saw nothing singular in this at a moment like the present, and did not think they were called upon to bear arms in the defence of their country. Nay, they considered it an act of prudence to go abroad in order to avoid trouble.

This voyage along the islands and the eastern continent, which was now and then interrupted by calms, produced nothing worth recording. Safely arrived at Venice, we were shut up in the old lazaretto to keep quarantine, which, by special favour, only lasted eighteen days.

2
A

JOURNEY IN EGYPT,

By M. LELORRAIN;

AND

Observations

ON THE

CIRCULAR ZODIAC OF DENDERAH,

situation &c.
By M. SAULNIER.

BEFORE the time of Mohammed Ali, ineffectual attempts were made to stem the torrent of licentiousness, in the mamelukes of Egypt, which, from the heads, ran through all the members of their government; the power and influence, however, of the present Pacha have proved equal to the arduous enterprise. Since a period was put to their anarchical dominion, great exertions have been made to change the situation of affairs for the better.

One very striking characteristic of his government, is the favour he shews to Europeans; to the celebrity of their talents, on the great theatre of learning, he is no stranger. Hence he has given to some of them an influence in his counsels, and authority over certain subordinate classes, employed and dispersed in his public works and commercial speculations. Not a few traces of the ancient barbarism have disappeared; the arts of Europe are introducing improved modes of cultivating the soil and its produce; canals, roads, and fountains, are constructing. A great change is preparing in the organization of the military service. Manufactories are establishing at Alexandria, at Cairo, and even in the villages of the Thebais. Additional encouragement is given to commercial affairs, which are deemed of more importance than the agricultural pursuits.

Mohammed Ali is not of French extraction, as some accounts pretend; he is a native of Macedon, like the first of the Ptole-
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mies that governed Egypt. Descended from Turkish parents, he is superior to the narrow prejudices of his countrymen in theology and politics; and, whatever private opinions he may entertain, in his public conduct he is ever consulting and availing himself of European skill and industry. An Englishman, Mr. Briggs, is at the head of a part of his commercial establishments; a Frenchman, M. Jumel, conducts his manufacturing concerns; another Frenchman, M. Coste, a young architect, justly commendable for his ingenuity, diligence, and activity, is over his works and buildings; and a brave officer of the old French guard, Colonel Save, expatriated by the storms of the times, finds an asylum, and enjoys a degree of confidence with the Pacha, which he takes occasion to turn to the advantage of his countrymen.

Among other means employed, by the government of Egypt, to allure Europeans thither, is the permission granted to all comers to search for and carry away antiquities, whether on the surface or under-ground. In these undertakings, the execution is necessarily confided to the Arabs, to whom it has proved an event of importance, as they are now enabled to support themselves in comparative comfort, which before was a matter of difficulty. Some of the Pacha's counsellors have advised him to speculate in these matters, on his own account, and to form collections in museums; but he considers the state of civilization in Egypt as not sufficiently ripe for such establishments. The Pacha is for proceeding, step by step, in his plans of regeneration, unlike Peter I. whose attempts to polish his half-savage people were open and unqualified.

The events in Egypt were calculated to seize the attention of enquiring minds, and M. Saulnier had established a correspondence there with certain individuals. In 1818, this connection was more formally cemented, in consequence of an application made to him, on the part of the Pacha, to send him some French books, which he intended to have translated. The note relative to this business was transmitted by Mr. Boghos, the principal drogman. The little sample of books alluded to, contained Plutarch's Lives, a Life of Peter I., another of Charles XII., the Campaigns of Frederic II., those of Napoleon, and the Ninth Book of the Memoirs of Napoleon.

In subsequent communications with Alexandria, M. Saulnier received several packages of monuments, collected at Thebes; among others a mummy, totally different from any in the public or private collections of Europe. But it was not till the year 1820 that he was led to project the means of turning to account the facilities allowed, by the government, of exploring Egyptian antiquities.

Subterranean researches necessarily possess a degree of interest, in bringing to light productions of which the public were not previously in possession; and, indeed, without them our views of the character of Egyptian art will be meagre and imperfect. But numerous hands being already at work upon these, the impression was strong upon M. Saulnier's mind that a scene of greater interest would arise by adverting to some object of acknowledged importance, and obtaining possession of it.

He was not long in preferring the planisphere, sculptured in relief, in one of the upper partitions of the Temple of Denderah. There are three other zodiacs in Egypt, but their colossal dimensions, and the place which they occupy, in the stupendous structures where they are, will ever frustrate any attempts to remove them. And, besides, those in the Temples of Latopolis do not refer to the same period of time as the Zodiac of Denderah, and, of course, represent different states of the heavens. What further adds to the value of the latter is, that it scarcely bears any marks from the hand of time, or of barbarians, while the others are materially mutilated and defaced.

Other considerations also contributed to fix his choice on this monument. By a singular fatality, as M. S. words it, it had lain unnoticed through a long succession of ages. Travellers of great mental vigour, and extraordinary ingenuity, Procopius, Bruce, Norden, and others, have passed very near it; but though their attention to antiquities was very great, it escaped their knowledge and skill. It was General Dessaix, whose character seemingly unfitted him for such a function, that first made the discovery, while pursuing across the Thebais the remains of the corps of Murad Bey.

M. Denon, in whom a love of the arts, (especially when in a high degree of improvement,) was a predominant principle, attached himself to the division of Dessaix, sharing in its perils, fatigues, and privations. He was the first to take a drawing of the planisphere; and the scientific characters that accompanied the expedition to Egypt, in the memoirs which they subsequently published, were the first to make known its importance.

M. Saulnier makes it matter of congratulation that its removal was not attempted at that period, as it must have fallen into the hands of the English, like the inscription of Rosetta, the sarcophagus of Alexander, and other monuments collected by the Institute of Egypt, and ceded to them by a convention between the Generals Hutchinson and Menou.

In addition to that valuable collection, British agents, diplomatic or commercial, have obtained other distinguished relics of antiquity—the Obelisk called Cleopatra's Needle, the

Obelisk of Philæ, the colossal Head of Memnon, a number of statues and bas-reliefs, with a superb sarcophagus of oriental alabaster, discovered at Thebes, in the sepulchres of the Pharaohs. M. Saulnier considers the acquisition of the Zodiac as, in some measure, compensating for the absence of these noble monuments. As to the possibility of removing it, his doubts on that head were dispelled in the most decided manner, after a careful examination of the plans drawn up by the commission of Egypt.

While M. Saulnier was profoundly ruminating on the means of accomplishing this object, a friend of his, M. Lelorrain, whose sentiments were friendly to the measure, and to the expediency of early efforts for effecting it, made an offer of his services for the undertaking. This was readily accepted, as the great industry and ingenuity of his friend, his complete knowledge on such subjects, had been witnessed in numerous instances. As no implements for such an operation were to be had in Egypt, M. Saulnier gave instant orders for the making of saws, pulleys, engines, sheers, rollers and sledges, &c. The construction of the sledge and rollers was on a new and ingenious plan, suggested by M. Lelorrain; the merit of this invention was so important, that M. Saulnier deemed it a presage of success.

Early in October 1820, M. Lelorrain embarked for Alexandria, with the tools and instruments provided as above. He carried with him instructions from M. Saulnier, also from a celebrated artist who had enjoyed opportunities for study, and had obtained an intimate acquaintance with Egyptian antiquities. He carried also notes and letters of recommendation, from several members of the Institute. M. the Baron Pasquier, then minister of foreign affairs, felt interested in the undertaking, and dispatched a letter (to be conveyed by M. L.) for M. Pillavoine, doing the duties, *ad interim*, of French consul-general in Egypt. M. L. arrived at Alexandria in the month of November, and in the beginning of January 1821, he proceeded to Cairo.

His arrival excited the curiosity of all the individuals whose stations connected them with the business of exploring antiquities. Mr. Salt, British consul-general, and M. Drovetti, French consul-general, had assumed a kind of exclusive right to what remains of the superb heritage of the Pharaohs and the Ptolemies. Parts of the soil, where they have struck their shovels or pick-axes, become their legitimate property. At first, it was no easy matter to reconcile their jarring pretensions; from words, their parties occasionally came to blows; but, at length, a treaty was

concluded, by which the Nile was made the boundary of their respective domains.

The Pacha has never intermeddled with their disputes; his favour extends to all the Europeans, indiscriminately. When M. Lelorrain was presented to him, he enquired by an interpreter, (for he does not speak European languages,) what was his motive for travelling into Egypt. M. L. replied, to make search for antiquities, in Upper Egypt. Mohammed Ali instantly gave orders for expediting a firman, and with it, by especial favour, a letter of recommendation for Achmet Pacha, governor of Upper Egypt.

The following is a translation of the firman, which is in the Turkish language. At the top is the monogram, expressive of the name of God; and lower down is the seal of Mohammed Aly. "Order. Agreeably to the declaration and request of a French traveller and navigator, named Lelorrain, who is desirous to repair to Wadi-Halsa, for the gratification of his curiosity, and to make researches and excavations in certain ancient buildings: it is hereby ordained, that he shall travel without fear, in pursuing the object here mentioned; and that no interruption be given to his search of ancient monuments, the governors of provinces, and other officers at the head of the administration of the country, are to grant him their aid and protection. If it please God, let these directions be attended to."

"Given the 20th of the month of Rabiul Thany, 1235, (or January 27, 1821.)"

This firman was a security to M. Lelorrain, from all personal danger. Travelling, with the full sanction from the government, is now nearly as safe in Egypt as in the best governed parts of Europe, and with far less hazard than in several states of Italy. When Mohammed Ali was raised to his present station, by desire of the Albanese militia, one of whose general officers he then was, he was obliged to tolerate their excesses for three days; but, in the height of those disorders, he swore, that in a few years it should be safe for any one to walk through Cairo by night, with his hands full of gold; and he has kept his word. This change of regimen, in countries where formerly there was no travelling but in numerous caravans, may exemplify the kind of police established by the present Pacha. M. Saulnier pronounces his elevation to the government of Egypt as an event next in consequence to the insurrection of Greece, and likely to be productive of other important results.

Though free from apprehension, as to personal danger, M. L. had other causes of alarm, as to the success of his undertaking.

To ensure success, secrecy was indispensable. M. Saulnier explains, that the search for monuments now carrying on about the Nile is not under the invocation of the Muses; he imputes the spirit of rivalry to the evil genius worshipped in ancient Egypt, by the name of Typhon, to mercantile interests, and not to a love of the arts. M. L. circulated a report, that his intention was to repair to Thebes, a direction taken by travellers in general; and in this he believed.

Having freighted a boat, M. L. set out from Cairo, February the 12th, with an intelligent interpreter, and a janissary of the Pacha's guard. They had proceeded as far as Melawi, when, in a difficult passage, he observed a man standing solitary and inactive, while others were tacking and working the vessel. On enquiry, this person was found to be one employed by an European agent, to accompany M. L. in his expedition,—a solicitous interference for which M. L. did not feel obliged; and he instantly ordered this emissary, who candidly owned the name of his employer, to be put on shore. Nothing remarkable occurred in the rest of the voyage, which lasted near a month, and they arrived at Denderah in the middle of the night. The Scheik, with whom he was going to claim an asylum, received him with all the hospitality of ancient times.

Denderah is a village on the west bank of the Nile, about one hundred and forty leagues from Cairo, and twenty from Thebes. The ruins of the ancient Tyntiris, from which it has borrowed its name, are at the distance of about half a league. Tyntiris was formerly one of the greatest cities of Egypt, and the capital of one of its nomes or provinces. Herodotus, Diodorus, and Strabo visited it, and make mention of it. The last, among other objects of curiosity to be met with, notices the splendour of its temples. The one now designated by the name of the Great Temple, was dedicated to Isis, according to the authors of the description of Egypt, or to Nephté, according to M. de St. Martin. It is one of the largest structures of the Thebais, and by far the most beautiful, and in the best preservation.

This monument forms an oblong square, of grey free-stone, extracted probably from the neighbouring mountains. The front is one hundred and thirty-two feet and some inches, in length. Enormous columns, twenty-one feet in circumference, decorate the portico; they are twenty-four in number, as are those of Latopolis. The surfaces of the walls, both without and within, and the contours of the columns, are covered throughout with allegorical or religious scenes, sculptured in relief, and with an endless number of hieroglyphic characters, in like manner sculptured, and apparently intended to be illustrative of the scenes about which they are arranged.

The plan of this structure is so grand and extensive, that the imagination is bewildered, and it will of course be considered that the whole was a work well worthy of the inexhaustible treasures of Egypt. Even now, the aspect is so imposing, the sublime so preponderate in the scale, that uncultivated minds cannot but be struck with it. It is an unanswerable fact, that when after a long march, in which they had suffered cruel privations, the division of General Dessaix arrived at Denderah, none could help feeling the strongest interest in viewing it, it seemed well entitled to be thought the creation of supernatural power. Acclamations and clapping of hands, thrice repeated, strikingly exhibited the powerful workings of nature, on the crude imagination of numbers in the groupe.

It is in the cieling of the Portico that we find the great Zodiac, or rather the remains of it. It has suffered materially since it was surveyed by Messrs. Jollois and Devilliers; many parts represented in their drawings are totally defaced. A few years more, and time will complete the destruction of this antique page in the annals of the universe.

In retiring from the Portico, and turning to the right, to make the tour of the Temple, we traverse a mass of ruins, that rising with a rapid ascent, to a pretty considerable height, give access to a spacious platform or terrace. Here certain Arab families have raised a village of clay huts, the ruins of which yet remain. Their object appears to have been, to find a shelter from the cavalry of the Mamelukes or Bedouins.

Having reached this magnificent terrace, there appears immediately on the right a small apartment, divided into three partitions. The entrance to this formerly was by an interior staircase, the steps of which are not yet destroyed, but much encumbered with rubbish. The first division has been laid open: its walls are adorned with sculptures of admirable execution. The second division is of equal extent, and derives its light from the door. Its sculptures are not inferior to those of the first. On its cieling was suspended the monument that M. L. had come in quest of.

At day-break, leaving his generous host, he proceeded on his visit to the Great Temple. Here the feelings of sudden transport forced themselves upon his mind with irresistible force; the impetuosity with which the strong features of antiquity struck him, even in a country so full of wonders, is not to be expressed. He became enamoured of what he found there, and, in the ardour of his admiration, has ever since declared, that no man of sensibility could survey the Temple without an abruptness and burst of passion that would stamp an indelible character on his memory.

M. L. arrived, at length, at the precinct wherein the circular Zodiac was lodged; and, after inspecting it for some time, judged that his end was to be accomplished by means of the rubbish that formed the ascent to the upper part of the temple. These ruins, and the manner in which they were disposed, first led M. Saulnier to conceive the possibility of bringing safe to the ground the masses to be detached from the temple.

Having thoroughly satisfied himself as to the practicability of his undertaking, he would not enter upon it immediately, as some English visitors arrived at Denderah, and intended stopping there for some time. While they were taking drawings of different objects, M. L. removed from Tintyris, and plunging into the solitudes of the Thebais, visited successively its ancient capital, and Esneh, its modern capital; also Lathopolis, Assouan, and the Isle of Philæ, on the frontiers of Egypt and Nubia, that, within a space of 1800 feet, contains the remains of nine temples. At Assouan, he was presented to Achmet Pacha, for whom he had a letter, and had a favourable reception, as this governor, like Mohammed Ali, is well disposed to the Europeans. The Sheik of Denderah is under the orders of the Cachet of Kenh. M. L. was apprised that one of his rivals (the agents) was in correspondence with the subalterns of the court of Achmet; and to prevent them from penetrating into his real project, he expressed a desire to have letters of recommendation for the Cachet of Kenh, and for those of Quos and Herment. They were dispatched with all speed; having received them, he took leave of the governor of Upper Egypt, and proceeded again on his travels.

At Thebes, he found himself incapable of making any attempts, from his anxiety to be in possession of the monument of Denderah. Indeed, he was apprehensive of being interrupted, by the jealousy of rival agents. His arrival in the ancient metropolis had been a source of uneasiness, and various means were resorted to, to prevent him from having intercourse with the inhabitants of the villages; and, more especially, with the Arabs of Goumah. These Arabs live in ancient sepulchral grottoes, sunk in the mountains of the Libyc chain, at distances unknown, for fresh ones are discovered every day. In these caves, the bodies of a long series of generations, laid there thousands of years ago, are found, sometimes isolated, and sometimes heaped together in pits. There also are found the sarcophagi in granite and sycamore; the canopi vases; the numberless amulets of painted wood, enamelled earth, bronze;—in short, all the sumptuous paraphernalia with which the Egyptians formerly honoured their dead.

The Arabs of Goumah have now almost entirely given up the labours of agriculture, for the search of antiquities, in their

gloomy recesses. But they cannot always vindicate their claim to what they thus obtain, or dispose of the same at their option. Certain Europeans, that would monopolise the antiquities, have no small influence over some of the subaltern authorities of the country; and, by menaces, frequently obstruct and intimidate the natives in their labours.

It was with difficulty that M. L. could procure from them a certain number of amulets, several sarcophagi, and two mummies in sycamore-wood. These mummies are covered with paintings, not inferior in the drawing, and superior in the liveliness of the colours, to the beautiful coloured plates in the great work on Egypt. The smallest is, moreover, distinguished by a striking singularity; the personage whose figure appears there, has, in his hands, two symbols frequently observed in the representations of the Egyptian divinities, the *crux ansa* and the *nilometra*. It is, therefore, probable that the body belonged to one of the sacerdotal order.

With these acquisitions M. L. removed from Thebes, and returned to Denderah, April 18th. Here, with perfect confidence in the soundness of his conjectures, and the solidity of his speculation, M. L. prepared to set about the operation which he had so long contemplated.

M. L. had given out, at Thebes, that his intention was to repair to the coasts of the Red Sea, to collect shells. This information they hastily transmitted to their patrons at Cairo and Alexandria, adding that M. L. had been obliged, from ill health, to stop on his way, in a village of the Thebais, which they did not name. These particulars reached France about the end of June, and M. Saulnier receiving no letters from M. L., as he had no messenger on whose discretion he could depend, the former felt the most poignant solicitude for the health of his friend, more than even for the success of the undertaking.

On the day of M. L.'s return to Denderah, he repaired to the ruins, with his drogman, twenty Arabs, and a sheik, to serve as conductor of the works. In all parts of Egypt, the Arabs have withdrawn their opposition to the search of antiquities. Their opposition arose from a persuasion that it was for hidden treasures, diamonds, gold, and silver, that the Europeans were curious in antique monuments; and to discover these, the Arabs mutilated the most valuable remains of Egyptian art. Even now, their superstition makes them consider the Europeans as magicians, who alone can draw from the monuments the inappreciable riches which they contain. They now, therefore, sell the antiquities which they procure, or assist foreigners for a stipulated salary; and M. L. found no difficulty in getting the

inhabitants of Denderah to aid him in the execution of his project.

On his arrival at the Great Temple he found the English visitors departed, and every thing reinstated in its former condition. There was a fair opportunity, therefore, of commencing his labours, and this he instantly availed himself of.

The cieling in which the circular Zodiac had been framed, was made up of three distinct parts; one of the sides was occupied by this Zodiac; the other, by an astronomical scene of like dimensions, and the centre by a figure of Isis or Nephis, placed between two large hieroglyphical legends. The text of the work, by the commission of Egypt, had led to a supposition that the Zodiac was fixed on a single block of freestone, but this was an error; the whole cieling was composed of three stones; this monument completely occupied one of them, and about the fourth part of the middle one. On one side it touched the wall, and on the opposite side it touched one of the legends, in which the large figure of a woman is framed. The two other extremities were bordered by zigzag strokes, such as are found in various Egyptian bas-reliefs, and which are supposed to signify water. Including the zigzags, that were two feet in length on each side, the monument was twelve feet in length by eight in breadth. In thickness it was three feet, and it might weigh from fifty-five to sixty *milliers*.

His first intention was for bringing away the zigzag borders, but the weight of the great stone was found to be so enormous, that it would be impossible to convey it. It was, moreover, of ornament rather than utility, and hence M. L. contented himself with removing the planisphere, and the square wherein it was inclosed.

It was no easy matter to make such a hole in the cieling as would introduce the saw. Stones three feet in thickness were to be perforated, and, in order to reach the interior of the chamber, after the use of the saw, he was obliged to mine the piece sawn through, and blow up a certain part with gunpowder, which he had brought with him to make presents of; no damage was sustained, and from the precautions taken, success attended this part of the undertaking. It now appeared that the saw could not be worked through more than a foot of the stone per day, and the three sides to saw made twenty-four feet together, an operation which would have taken up a considerable time. Dispatch was necessary, as the matter could not remain long unknown, and two other holes were made in the zigzags, so as to have three saws at work at once.

The business had proceeded thus far, the Arabs labouring with extraordinary exertions, when M. Lelorrain, from excessive

fatigue and heat, fell dangerously ill, losing the use of his limbs, in a violent fever. This lasted eight days, during which he had no physician, as he did not judge it expedient to have one sent for from Farschiout. An Arab, however, cured him, with the juice of a plant, the name of which he has forgotten.

That the work might not be suspended, M. L.'s drogman, who was very intelligent and useful in superintending the labours of the Arabs, persevered in the use of the saws; and, as an interior scaffolding had previously been erected, to rest the monument upon, and the thickness of the stones was cut down to somewhat less than half, to render them manageable, the next business was, by cords and pulleys, to lower them down to the terrace. This, including every other labour in the great temple, was brought to a conclusion in twenty-two days.

The removal of the Zodiac to the Nile was the next difficulty, and this proved to be considerable, as the boat and nearest landing-place were at the distance of two leagues. They had first to get over the ruins, which covered a space of 1200 feet, and then to traverse a very uneven ground, intersected with little canals for irrigation. However, in the first day, the *traineau* or sledge which bore the great stone had cleared the ruins, though several eminences of rubbish, with a steep ascent, lay in the way. The second day they advanced half-a-league, but the pieces of timber on which it rolled, crushed by the mass, became unserviceable; and as to any wood to be procured in the country, it would not last them above a day. The only expedient remaining was by nippers, crows, levers, engines, pulleys, and calling in an extra number of Arabs, to continue advancing, though at a slow pace. Thus it daily proved, till at last, a movement of sixty paces took up, at least, twelve hours.

M. L. though but a convalescent, frequently took a part, personally, in the labours. It required sixteen days and fifty men to bring this valuable conquest, as the French call it, to the Nile. The removal of the smaller stone was effected within the same time as the larger one, but it was attended with much less trouble, although not conveyed on a sledge.

On approaching the river they found the water very low, and the bank more than twelve feet perpendicular in height. A causeway was therefore raised, about sixty feet in length, and with an inclination of forty-five degrees. There were thirty men to hold it with ropes, and it had been lashed or moored to a doum (palm-tree) that grew on the spot. To render the descent easier, two soaped planks were placed under its cylinders. But scarcely had the planks been laid, when the great stone, bursting the cables and rushing with vehemence and impetuosity, overthrew the men that were withholding it, and rapidly shooting

through a pretty long space, sunk to a considerable depth in a soft earth recently drenched with the waters of the river. Though alarmed and disconcerted, this intrepid engineer did not despond. He had gained the goodwill of the inhabitants of Denderah, by his liberal payments, and occasional presents. The courage of his men likewise proved unshaken, although several had been dreadfully bruised by the accident. With renewed activity they resumed their labours; and, in the course of a few hours, they had not only extricated the sledge from its cavity, but had actually removed it into the bark.

Here a danger of a different kind attended them. On getting aboard, their vessel was found to be leaky, through crevices not before observed, and produced, as was thought, by the extreme heat. In less than five minutes the bark had sunk a foot. Here M. L.'s auxiliaries were eminently serviceable, some clearing the vessel of the water, others plunging into the Nile, to stop up the crevices. This was speedily performed, and the second stone was then brought on-board.

What was M. L.'s surprise, when every thing was ready for proceeding on the voyage, to learn from the raïs, or patron of the bark, that the waters were too low near Dischene to be passable, and to find this man obstinately persisting in his refusal to set sail? The next day, he learned from his drogman, that the raïs had been promised a thousand Turkish piasters to delay the departure of the monument for three weeks.

M. L. then recollected that Mr. Bradish, the American agent, had visited Denderah while he was conducting the operations in the great Temple, and the knowledge of it might hence have reached Cairo. And further, that while conveying the Zodiac to the Nile, he had observed a person patrolling in the neighbourhood, and whom he had known at Thebes to be in the pay of a rival agent.

From this M. L. inferred the necessity of gaining the time they were plotting for him to lose, and, without delay, he made an offer to the raïs of a sum equivalent, if he would instantly proceed. This proposal touched the feelings of the raïs, who fell on his knees, vowing that his fidelity should not yield to any future temptation, and, in fact, his subsequent conduct was irreproachable.

The waters of the river were low, and the boat often ran aground; the north wind also contributed to retard their movements. When within about sixty leagues of Cairo, they were hailed by a bark that was coming down the river, and a person whom M. L. knew to be a Frank, employed by the British consul-general, intimated his being the bearer of an order from the Kaya-Bey, to stop the removal of the planisphere of Denderah.

M. L. replied, that he had acted by authority from the Pacha, and that any attempt to take from him the property thus lawfully acquired, must be in violation of the French flag, which he should instantly hoist. This menace, and the absolute tone in which it was pronounced, apparently produced their effect, for after some further intercourse, in which nothing offensive was brought forward, he was allowed peaceably to continue his voyage.

In the month of June, M. L. arrived at Cairo, and here he found that Mr. Salt had been concerting measures for the operation which he had just executed, and that Mr. Banks, a friend of Mr. Salt, and who formerly, in conjunction with him, had explored the antiquities of Egypt, had sent him from London all the implements necessary for ensuring success in the undertaking.

Mr. Salt was for preferring his complaints before the Pacha, but his highness had no leisure to attend to them. He had learned that the garrison of Alexandria, like the Janissaries in other parts of the Ottoman empire, were projecting a general massacre of the christians, and his presence was required to prevent so dreadful a catastrophe. After his departure, Mr. Salt addressed himself to the Kaya-Bey, with whom he had been long intimate, and the result was as already stated.

No attempts were made at Cairo to dispossess M. Lelorrain of his treasure, but the British consul-general had repaired to Alexandria to renew his solicitations with the Pacha. Fortunately for M. L. he was not long held in suspense, for, on the Pacha enquiring whether he had been duly authorised, and an answer being given in the affirmative, he pronounced at once in his favour.

The decision of the Pacha was speedily forwarded to him, and he lost no time in embarking the *Zodiac* on-board a vessel that was bound for Marseilles, and which set sail July 18th. It has thus been rescued from destruction and danger, to which it was exposed, not only on the part of the natives, but of certain Europeans that appear zealous for the preservation of antiquities. Very lately, a foreigner, after taking drawings of some of the paintings of the sepulchres of the kings, at Thebes, destroyed the originals with a hammer, to enhance the value of his copies.

The *Zodiac* of Denderah was, moreover, exposed to a peril still more certain. The waters of the Nile, as is well known, are rising higher every year, and the bed or channel is getting more elevated. By these successive encroachments, the river will ere long arrive at the great Temple, when the pillars and works will have to encounter the shock of its inundations. The preservation of the sculptures that decorate the walls and ciel-

ings, will, of course, be rendered precarious. Political causes might produce effects equally fatal, at a time when revolutionary changes seem preparing in oriental countries, as well as among the nations of Europe.

SECOND PART.

Arrival of the Circular Zodiac in France.

On the 9th of September, 1821, the circular Zodiac entered the road of Marseilles. The vessel brought also a letter from M. Lelorrain, for M. Saulnier, who had received none since the month of March, and was not without alarming apprehensions for the health and life of his friend.

M. Saulnier sent notifications of its arrival to the different classes of the Institute. The Academy of Fine Arts recommended to him, to request of the minister of the interior to defray the charges of its transportation to Paris. He had also a letter of thanks and congratulation from the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, signed by M. Dacier.

M. S. repaired instantly to Marseilles, to superintend the disembarkation, and to guard against accidents. On his arrival, he found the vessel under quarantine, from one of the crew being taken ill. M. Lelorrain, however, arrived some days after M. S. and his presence rendered that of his friend unnecessary. Previous to his quitting Egypt, he was seriously affected by a complaint arising from fatigue and anxiety. Though only in a state of convalescence, he embarked at Alexandria, and he recovered his health during the passage, which lasted forty-five days.

On the 27th of November, the planisphere was landed, when it appeared to have suffered no more from crossing the seas, than it had during the lapse of centuries. A letter from Marseilles, which appeared in the *Moniteur* and the *Journal de Paris*, may be regarded as a descriptive picture recording the sentiments of the inhabitants, and the ardent spirit of curiosity that was excited at the time.

It would be difficult to depict the solicitude of the Marseillaise, to view the Zodiac on its quitting quarantine; on this occasion, they have not derogated from their Greek origin. On its landing, the general who commands the division, M. de Damas, with M. the prefect of the department, and M. de Mongrand, mayor of the town, followed by numerous groups, repaired to the place where it was deposited, and joined the anxious multitude.

I approached the monument with a sort of religious veneration, and was astonished to survey the purity and fineness of the drawing of the astronomical signs. Not is their preservation less wonderful; the only mutilations were in the figures with hawks' heads that support the planisphere. These are not material, and, from a sort of uniformity in their appearance, seem to have been effected by design. We may assign it, perhaps, to the soldiers of Cambyse, excited by the fanaticism of the magi.

M. the prefect offered to defray the charges of its removal to Paris. The journals of the town have notified its importation, as exempt from duties. The Director-General of the Customs had written to the Collector of the Port, to forbear levying any impost, the monument being considered as a public property. Since its arrival, it has been placed in the house of Messrs. Gill, brothers, which is daily thronged with curious visitors. Certain foreigners have proffered considerable sums for it. A degree of enthusiasm so general, I was not expecting in a town so entirely commercial.

M. Penchaud, an architect of superior talents, is preparing the means of its removal.

Previous to the departure of the Zodiac, M. Count Simeon, then Minister of Interior, expressed an inclination, on the part of government, to purchase it, and had written to the prefect of the mouths of the Rhone, to make enquiries as to the condition it was in.

No carriage could be found, at Marseilles, strong enough to support the great stone of the Zodiac, and one was constructed for the purpose. It arrived, happily, at Paris, as also the second stone, in the beginning of January. M. Lelorrain, who had been detained on the road, by a relapse, arrived about the same time. It required three days and twelve men, directed by the ablest carpenter in Paris, to disengage the enormous blocks, and introduce them into a ground-floor.

It was then that all the difficulties of the enterprise arose to view. Our astonishment was excited in reflecting how M. L. could disentangle the mass from the ceiling, and let it down safe to the ground, assisted only by Arab peasants, who had never been employed in such labours; and that, in its various removals, the monument had sustained no injury.

Among other members of the Institute, and of the commission of Egypt, who came to visit it, were Messrs. Jollois and Devilliers, who had made drawings of it at Denderah.

M. de Corbière, who had been just nominated Minister of Interior, appointed a commission, with full powers to investigate the monument, and report to him on its condition. The com-

mission consisted of Messrs. Cuvier and Fourier, of the Academy of Sciences, and of M. Walckenaer, of the Academy of Inscription and Belles Lettres. These members, however, had previously expressed their opinions, in the most favourable terms, and one of them had suggested a public subscription, to make it a national acquisition, should government decline the purchase. This opinion had become universal, and was the theme of journals, of different parties, which uniformly concurred in the expression of this sentiment.

Being strongly pressed by the members of the commission to moderate his terms, to invite government to a negociation, M. S. consented to make these members referees to adjust the same.

When the commission had reported the result of their examination, M. S. addressed a letter to the Minister of Interior, on the subject; but no answer had been received when the pamphlet, from which this is taken, was published.

THIRD PART.

Description of the Circular Zodiac.

It is probable that the compartment which contained the Circular Zodiac was appropriated to the celebration of the mysteries. Within its precinct, the initiated were given to understand, that the divinities they worshipped were symbolical representations of the celestial bodies, and their pretended history only an allegory of the movements and revolutions of those bodies. The planisphere of Denderah was calculated to aid this exposition, as the forms given to the constellations figured on it are exactly the same as those of the deities, the images of which were so multiplied by the piety of ancient Egypt. It was doubtless to this fabulous theogony that the Egyptian priest alluded, when he said to Plato: "You Greeks are but children; you take allegories for realities."

It is well known that Thales, on his return from Egypt, taught, in Greece, the spherical form of the globe, the obliquity of the ecliptic, and the true causes of the eclipses of the sun and moon. He was able to calculate and predict them, making use of the methods pointed out to him by the Egyptian priests. His disciples afterwards introduced the use of geographical charts, and of the gnomon.

Pythagoras, one of them, travelled also into Egypt, and was there initiated in the mysteries; it was by the desire of his master, that he undertook this voyage. On his return to Europe.

he gave instructions, and advanced ideas on the constitution of the universe, much more proper and better founded than those since delivered by the Greeks of the school of Alexandria.

Pythagoras first taught in his own country, and afterwards in Italy, whither he had retired, the double rotation of the earth on its own axis, and round the sun. He taught, also, that the comets are not meteors formed accidentally in the atmosphere, but permanent bodies that circulate round the sun, in immense orbits. The planets, he thought, were inhabited, and the fixed stars were so many suns scattered through space, and the centres of sundry planetary systems. An opinion may be here pronounced, and all circumstances unite to prove it, that the Greeks selected and derived these remarkable data from Egypt, and that the Egyptians had then made a great progress in astronomy.

It is not unlikely that Thales, Pythagoras, and other philosophers who subsequently visited Egypt, saw, in their turn, the planisphere in the great temple of Tintyris, or, at least, similar monuments.

Of the astronomical monuments of Egypt, this Zodiac is the only one, the form of which is circular. The diameter of the medallion, in which the different constellations are sculptured, is of four feet nine inches. It lies within another circle described by an hieroglyphic legend, the circumference of which is much larger. This second circle is included within a square, each side of which is seven feet nine inches in length.

Four figures of women, and eight of men, with hawks' heads, sustain the planisphere, apparently with their hands. The women are at the angles of the square, and the middle of each of the four sides is occupied by a groupe of two men with hawks' heads. The isolated figures of the angles are standing upright; those that compose the groupes are seated squat. Hence it appears, that the circle formed by the hieroglyphic legend is divided into eight sections, by the supporting figures.

The centre of the planisphere here is occupied by a chacal; near it is a certain number of figures, that M. de St. Martin, from their local position, conceives to be the northern constellations. This must be matter of supposition, as with the exception of the great bear, which may be readily distinguished, they have no analogy of form with those by which we designate those asterisms. Several of the figures are of very odd shapes; among others, there is a paw with a cloven foot, and the body of an animal without a head.

These asterisms are inclosed within a spiral line formed by the constellations of the Zodiac, and others mingled with them. The extremities of this spiral, which has but one revolution, are oc-

cupied by Leo and Cancer; the Lion is at the head. He seems to be walking over a serpent; his tail is held up by a woman. Immediately behind the Lion is Virgo, carrying an ear of corn. Further on, we perceive the two scales of the balance, above which is a figure of Harpocrates, framed in a medallion. Next come Scorpio and Sagittarius, to which last the Egyptian artists gave wings and two faces. Behind Sagittarius arise successively Capricorn, Aquarius, Pisces, Aries, Taurus, and Gemini. The procession terminates with Cancer.

These signs, which may be recognised without difficulty, differ but little from those represented in our almanacs; and, what is more remarkable, bear a striking analogy to the signs of the Indian zodiacs.

A great number of other figures, with various forms, describe a double circle about the constellations of the Zodiac. Near each of them, and some other of the interior circles, are a small inscription, in sacred characters, and a star. These isolated stars were probably intended to shew that the figures, beside which they appear, represented constellations or asterisms, whose names were indicated, by the small hieroglyphic legends. All the figures formed in the planisphere are evidently moving in the same direction as the Lion, and the signs that follow him.

The large hieroglyphic zone, and other legends, covered in like manner with sacred characters, and disposed irregularly, as to number, near the figures which occupy the four angles of the square, must obviously have been intended to give an explanation of the monument.

Outside of the planisphere, and in the middle of the large figures that seem to support it, we find two emblems not easy to characterise. They are opposite to each other, at the two extremities of a line that passes through Scorpio and Taurus. According to the commission of Egypt, those emblems were two signs of the equinoxes, at the period when the circular Zodiac was sculptured. Also in the space that separates the planisphere from the large hieroglyphic zone, we remark two brief inscriptions, in sacred characters, opposite each other; they trace a line, in a diameter, that crosses Leo and Aquarius, which were then, according to the last-mentioned hypothesis, the signs of the solstices. These legends and these two emblems are the only particulars sculptured between the large supporting figures, a circumstance which tends to render them more remarkable and significative.

The monument is in the finest state of preservation, nothing having totally disappeared but a small number of hieroglyphic characters, which have not been destroyed by violence, but by the hand of time. This is not the case with the supporting

figures; those of them that have hawks' heads have all been mutilated at one and the same point. Attempts have been also made to destroy the bosoms of three of the women placed at the angles. This mutilation has no doubt been intentional; and we may assign a mistaken modesty as guiding the hand of the destroyer.

This mutilation is not without a degree of interest. They recall the history of one or other of the revolutions that Egypt has experienced. We might ascribe them to the fanaticism of the Persians, to that of the conquering Saracens, or what is more likely, to the enthusiastic zeal of the hermits that lived in the deserts of the Thebais, in the early ages of the primitive church.

This small number of fractures, with some others of inferior consideration, cannot derogate from that attention and admiration which this venerable monument is calculated to attract. Its general aspect is most imposing, and the skilful distribution of the parts seems as convenient an arrangement as could be adopted. The large hieroglyphic band developed about the planisphere is comprehensive in its design, and produces a happy effect. The upright supporting figures at the angles, and the seated figures in the middle of the lines, are a comment on the ingenuity and diligence observable in the labours of the artist.

It is admitted, however, that the human figures sculptured on the circular Zodiac have a roughness of outline that is visible in all the productions of statuary of the Egyptians. But by a singular contrast, in all the monuments of the same origin, the animals compensate for this defect, being full of spirit and truly natural. In the one here treated of, a bull, in an attitude of rage, is darting forwards, into the regions of space; and a lion, outside of the Zodiac, in the turn of his head, and whole composition, has an air of fierceness, not often to be equalled. The vivacity of action in these animals, and several others here represented, give an interest and life to objects merely symbolical, that can only be looked for in historical compositions.

The two masses of stone on which the Zodiac is fixed, are of the same nature, but of different qualities. The grain of the smaller one is more dense and finer; hence its sculptures are somewhat superior to those of the larger. The torches of the initiated, and of travellers, with other causes, have thrown shades on both, that are not natural to them. They have been compared to an antique bronze; but they seem to be more like the hearth of a fire-place, having the tinge of both soot and cinders. From the variety of different tints the monument, taken altogether, may be said, in some respects, to resemble a large cameo.

Volney, Dupuis, and others, admit the remote antiquity of

the Zodiacs, to uphold their theories of the world's eternal existence, to fix the epoch of its creation at an immense distance. M. Fourier, of the Academy of Sciences, who has made these Zodiacs the object of a particular study, admits also their high antiquity, but finds nothing in it inconsistent with the Mosaic history. He traces the invention of the Egyptian sphere to about 2500 years before the Christian æra. The people that created it were able to remark its successive mutations; their observations on the procession of the equinoxes are shewn, evidently, by the astronomical monuments of Latopolis and Tintyris. In the procession formed by the signs of the zodiac, the Virgin takes the lead in one, and the Lion in the other. These differences precisely determine their date. So that the Zodiacs of Latopolis form the first known page in the history of the heavens, and those of Denderah the second.

Other learned men have disputed the high antiquity of the Zodiacs, among whom is M. Visconti, who assigns to them a date no higher than the first age of christianity. Exclusive of the data derived from astronomy, on which he grounds his opinion, M. V. refers to the analogy that exists, as he maintains, between the style of the sculptures of the great Temple of Tintyris, and that of the Greek sculptures. On this point he has been led into error by the exaggerated accounts of travellers. That there is no real analogy appears from this, that all the defects which attach to the works of Egyptian artists, in general are to be found in the bas-reliefs that decorate this construction. They are even more prominent than in some other monuments that have a similar origin. This degree of comparative imperfection may be ascribed to the arts not having reached the height which they afterwards attained.

In confirmation of his sentiments, M. Visconti notices an inscription in Greek characters, to be found at Denderah, in which the name of Tiberius appears. So the initials of the name of Napoleon may be seen occasionally about the Louvre, but it would not indicate its construction during his government. Flattery or fear, on the occasion of some restoration, may have given rise to the inscription.

It is hardly possible to suppose that a tyrannical despoiler like Tiberius, would have expended so considerable a portion of the revenue of Egypt in raising, to deities not of his own country, a temple not surpassed, in magnificence, by any in the metropolis of the Roman empire.

It is more likely that the temples of Denderah, as also, generally, all structures of the same kind erected near the Nile, must be dated from a period wherein Egypt was the seat of an empire that extended far into Africa, at unknown distances. Very

lately, at more than three hundred leagues distance from the first cataract, monuments of a style resembling those in the valley of Thebes have been discovered. During the existence of this empire, and when the priests exercised an unbounded influence over kings and people, these vast and imposing structures must have been raised, just as in the middle ages, before the authority of the Romish clergy had been called in question, by reformers or philosophers, the ancient cathedrals were raised at such enormous expences.

M. de St. Martin, of the Academy of Inscriptions and Belles Lettres, in a curious memoir just published on the planisphere of Denderah, combats the statement of M. Visconti, by ingenious arguments, partly drawn from the names of the kings inscribed, in sacred characters, within the precinct where the monument was placed. And above all may be added, that since its arrival in France, the opinion of those who held it to be subsequent to the invasion of Cambyzes, is every where losing ground, and, according to report, M. Visconti has relinquished his former opinion.

Drawings were made of this monument at three different times, while it remained in Egypt; first, by M. Denon, then by Messrs. Jollois and Devilliers, and more recently by Mr. Hamilton, an Englishman, author of a very curious work, entitled *Egyptianea*. The cuts of this are inferior to the merits of the text; that of the circular Zodiac is extremely defective.

M. Denon had seen the circular Zodiac once before he could take drawing of it. It was not till after his return from the first cataract, that he could find leisure. The following is his own account of this business, in a cursory sketch which he has given of it.

At Kenc, I could see from my window the ruins of Tintyris, at the distance of two leagues on the other side of the Nile. Every recollection of them excites my attention in a very high degree, and I cannot but regret, more especially, a Zodiac which attests, in a positive manner, the knowledge and researches of the Egyptians in astronomy.

The contribution called the *miri* had not been paid at Denderah; a hundred men were sent there, and I went in their train. It is not above twenty minutes' walk from Denderah to the ruins of Tintyris; these now go by the name of Berbe, which the Arabs give to all ancient monuments. In the evening, we arrived at the village. Next day, I repaired with thirty men to the ruins, and then was fully convinced that my enthusiasm for the Great Temple had not been an illusion of novelty. Every thing is interesting; drawings should be taken of every thing, for no description would suffice. In the prosecution of such

undertakings, a regular train of ideas has been employed; nothing has been effected without its proper object.

The floor being very low, and the chamber dark, I had only some hours of the day to work in; but neither the multiplicity of details, nor the difficulty of not confounding when the view was directed in a manner so inconvenient, could impede my resolution. The hopes of conveying to the learned of my country, the image of an Egyptian bas-relief of such importance, made me endure patiently the writhing postures I was thrown into to accomplish my design.

The Sheik of the village wished to rid the country of our presence; and on the very first day he went to pay in his contribution, which, of course limited my time, for then the general recalled his troops, and my expedition was terminated.

The drawing of the circular Zodiac by M. Denon, is not free from errors; but under circumstances which rendered execution so difficult, and considering the multiplicity of drawings which he brought away from Egypt, composed in the alarms of war, when standing in the fatigues and privations of the army, we must rather admire the merit of his designs, and the rapidity with which he copied them.

Messrs. Jollois and Devilliers, who took copies of the planisphere, afterwards had more time at their disposal, but have not perfectly succeeded, from the darkness of the place, in imitating the fine touches of the original. In their design, is one constellation more than in the original. They have taken for a serpent, or a dragon, a small inscription in hieroglyphic characters, which, according to all appearances, is the name of the figure found immediately beneath. The distances which separate the different asterisms are not always strictly observed. The hieroglyphic signs at the side, and at the angles of the square, are, in a measure, incorrect. And what forms a contrast rather singular, while the grandeur and the beauty of some of the animal figures are imperfectly delineated, is, the four women that support the planisphere have an elegance and grace of form and attitude that far outstrip the original.

THE END.

A
VOYAGE TO THE HEBRIDES,
OR
WESTERN ISLES OF SCOTLAND;
WITH
OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HIGHLANDERS.

BY ^{Miss Hunt} L. A. NECKER DE SAUSSURE,

HONORARY PROFESSOR OF MINERALOGY AND GEOLOGY IN THE ACADEMY OF GENEVA;
MEMBER OF THE SOCIETY OF PHYSIC AND NATURAL HISTORY OF GENEVA;
HONORARY MEMBER OF THE GEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF LONDON,
AND OF THE WERNERIAN SOCIETY OF EDINBURGH, &c.

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JOURNEY TO THE HEBRIDES.

CHAPTER I.

Castle of Linlithgow.—Falkirk: celebrated for two famous Battles.—Bannockburn.—Stirling Castle.—Callender.—Roman Camp.—Trosachs.—Comparison between the Mountains of Scotland and Switzerland.—Ben Lomond.—Dreadful Massacre of the Colquhouns at Glen-Fruin.—Inverary.—Castle and fine Estate of the Duke of Argyle.—Church of Glen-Orchy, and ancient Tombs.—Oban.

I HAD long contemplated a visit to the Isle of Staffa, the far-famed Cave of Fingal, and the other islands; which, being but little known, would furnish a rich store of curious observation. The peculiar aspect of nature in these northern regions, and the original and engaging manners of their inhabitants, combined to promise me a journey replete with the most interesting subject-matter. As soon as my arrangements would allow, I set out alone, with no settled plan; but in order to lose no time, and profit by the remaining fine weather, I made towards the port of Oban, where I was to embark.

On the 6th of August I left Edinburgh for Stirling. The route lies through Linlithgow, a small, ancient, and indifferently built town. The ruins of the ancient castle of Linlithgow, situate a short distance from the town, here appear in a picturesque point of view; they command the summit of a little hill covered with groups of fine trees, whilst a large pool of clear and limpid water bathes the foot of the hill, reflecting in its waters all the traits of this captivating picture. An ancient gothic church is built at the side of the castle, formerly the residence of the kings of Scotland: a crowd of interesting recollections rush upon the mind on beholding these ruins. It was here that Mary Stuart was born; it was here, at a more remote period, her ancestor, James IV. on going to the

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church to perform his devotions before joining his army, saw an old man clothed in a blue robe, who, approaching him, strongly exhorted him to renounce his projects, and threatened him with evil and calamity if he persisted in his intention of fighting against the English. This man suddenly disappeared, leaving the king in the firm persuasion that he had witnessed a supernatural apparition, and that God himself had sent St. Andrew or St. John to dissuade him from a battle which might become so fatal to Scotland. James, notwithstanding these warnings, persisted in his intention of penetrating into England at the head of his armies; but having encountered the English at Flodden Field, on the 4th of September, 1513, he lost his life on that fatal day, in which perished the greatest part of the Scottish nobility.

Six miles further I passed through Falkirk, another small ancient town, which now presents an animated scene of commercial industry: there was here at this time a great cattle fair, to which the people flock from all parts of Scotland. This town has been the scene of two battles recorded in history. The first took place on the 22d of July, 1296. Edward I. King of England, commanded the English army; he came with the intention of conquering Scotland, after this country had, by the talent and bravery of William Wallace, the Scottish hero, shaken off the yoke of England. The Scottish nobles, having at their head Cumming of Badenoch, were entrenched before Falkirk, and, although very inferior in numbers to the English, they depended on their courage in defending that independence which they had just obtained, and awaited the attack. Unfortunately for them, Wallace, who alone would have been able to lead them on to victory, fatigued with the jealousy of more powerful nobles, resigned the command of the army, and had only under his orders a small body of troops devoted to their ancient chief. Valour could not resist numbers, and the English obtained a decisive victory. The Scots, driven from the field of battle, were pursued with great slaughter. "Never," says Hume, "did the Scots suffer so severe a loss; never, in any battle, was their country so near its ruin." Wallace, by his military talents, and his presence of mind, succeeded in saving his small body of men, and retired in good order behind the river Carron. Thus a feeble remnant was preserved, around which new defenders of the liberties of Scotland were afterwards destined to unite.

The second battle was that of Falkirk, which proved a more glorious result for the Scottish armies. On the 17th of January, 1746, this battle was gained by the Pretender over the English

army, commanded by General Hawley ; the action took place on a waste plain, a mile from the town. Prince Charles Edward, after the victory of Prestonpans, wishing to profit by the surprise which his first success had caused among his enemies, and by the ardour which he had inspired among his soldiers, entered England, seized upon Carlisle, and, meeting with no resistance, advanced as far as Manchester. A profound consternation reigned in England, the partisans of the King were afraid that the Pretender would enter London before the army, collected in great haste in the southern provinces, would be ready to act. However, Prince Charles was not without doubts ; the succour promised by France did not arrive ; the expectations he had formed of reinforcements from the English jacobins proved fallacious, the partisans of the Stuarts in England were very few, and these dared not declare themselves. His own troops, deceived in their prospects, began to murmur. The English army, on the contrary, was reinforced daily, and the Duke of Cumberland had returned with the troops which he had commanded in Flanders. In these alarming circumstances, the Prince, after holding a council of war, decided instantly to regain Scotland as promptly as possible, and to retreat without risking the hazard of an engagement in England. He displayed in this retreat still more ability than in his former victory. Pursued by a numerous army, harassed on his flanks by bodies of cavalry, he preserved the strictest discipline in his small troop, and retreated in good order through the enemy's territories as far as the frontiers of Scotland. He was there joined by fresh supplies of Scottish troops, which Lord Lewis Gordon had raised in the mountains. The Duke of Cumberland, after taking Carlisle, returned to London, leaving the command of the English army to general Hawley. The young Prince Charles having collected all his forces, seized upon the tower of Stirling, and besieged the castle where the English garrison had retired. General Hawley, with the intention of assisting so important a place, advanced from Edinburgh towards Stirling : Prince Charles also seemed disposed to march to encounter the English. He did not wait to be attacked, but marched onward, and surprised the English before they had time to take up their position. The attack began on the part of the Scots by a sharp fire, which threw the English line into disorder ; but the victory was not complete until the Highlanders, throwing away their guns, took sword in hand, and with loud shouts rushed into the midst of the enemy, who immediately gave way. The loss of the royal army was very considerable : their whole artillery, colours, and extensive ammunition,

were left on the field of battle. Night having arrived, Hawley set fire to his camp, retreated to Linlithgow, and from thence to Edinburgh, having to deplore the loss of several brave officers. In this battle the Highlanders proved themselves, as formerly, terrible in the attack, and intrepid during the action; and on this occasion their triumph was not sullied by any excess.

After passing through Falkirk, the road continues under an aqueduct bridge belonging to the canal which joins the gulph of the Forth with that of the Clyde. Whilst our coach proceeded under the arch of the bridge, a small sloop was sailing in the canal over our head. A thousand fine points of view present themselves over the whole of this route, through a cultivated and woody country. At some distance on the right are the numerous buildings of the Carron foundry, which have the appearance of a small town, and rise in the midst of a plain surrounded by woods of fir, and watered by the beautiful river Carron. This foundry is celebrated for its short cannons employed in the navy, which have taken the name of Carronades, from the place where they have been manufactured.

Some miles further, we arrived at the small hamlet of Bannockburn, celebrated in history for the memorable victory which Robert Bruce, with 30,000 brave Scots, gained in 1304, over Edward II., of England, who came with the ambition of conquering Scotland, at the head of an army of 100,000 men, composed of English, Flemish, and Gascons. This battle, in which the English army was completely destroyed, secured Scotland its independence, and Bruce, the sovereignty of the kingdom which he had just delivered. These places are classic ground for the Scots. The fields of Bannockburn, of Loncarty,* and of Largs, are, to them, what the celebrated fields of Morgarten, Sempach, and Morat, are to the Swiss. As the Swiss have had their William Tell, and their Winkelreid, the Scots have had their Wallace and their Bruce; these heroic names—these places in which the mind retraces the famed deeds of the ancient defenders of their liberty, are still dear to them. Such glorious recollections keep alive the national spirit among them; the historians, poets, and novelists even,

* The battle of Loncarty, a small village near Perth, took place at the commencement of the eleventh century, between the Scots and the Danes. The latter had already obtained the victory, when the peasant, Hay, who worked in a neighbouring field, seizing the yoke of his oxen for his weapon, presented himself with his sons before the flying Scots, and having rallied them, he conducted them to victory. The King of Scotland, in recompence for his valour, created Hay Earl of Errol, which noble family exists still in our day.



have seized upon these scenes, and have animated their works by the transports of their patriotism.

Stirling (where I stopped a day), is situated on an eminence surmounted by a strong castle, built like that of Edinburgh, on the summit of a perpendicular rock of black basalt. From the exterior, the aspect of this town is picturesque, but it is old, and the interior is irregularly built; the streets are narrow, have no pavement, and the houses are very lofty. The town of Stirling presents nothing remarkable, with the exception of its ancient gothic cathedral. The castle is very large, and encloses within its walls a palace, formerly inhabited by the Scottish Kings. The architecture of this palace is by no means tasteful; the exterior is loaded with several grotesque and ridiculous statues. The fortress is kept in good order, and guarded by a company of veterans. It is one of the four castles which, by the treaty of Union, have been preserved. Its batteries are supplied with several pieces of heavy artillery.

The view from the summit of the rock, is as remarkable for its extent, as for the variety of objects which it embraces. On the east extends a fertile plain, well cultivated, and here and there covered with woods, country seats, and farm houses. The river Forth forms a serpentine, of innumerable windings, in this beautiful country. The picturesque ruins of the abbey of Cambus Kenneth rise in one of the peninsulas which surround the river. The plain is still prolonged to the west of Stirling, and from all sides, small hills, adorned with woods, agreeably diversify the scene. To the north, the view is intercepted by the chain of elevated Ochiel Hills, at the foot of which is a rock very similar to the Salisbury Craigs; but here thickets of small trees, of beautiful verdure, crowning its summit and adorning its base, give it a very picturesque aspect. In fine, to the north-west, the mountains of Ben Ledi and Ben Lomond, form the groundwork of this superb picture.

August 7.—At an early hour this morning I arrived at Callender, a village situated at the entrance of the Highlands, and about nine miles from Stirling, after having traversed a country of a very varied aspect, on the banks of the Teith.

Callender is built at the foot of Ben Ledi, a steep and barren mountain, about 3000 feet above the level of the sea. We here easily perceive by the aspect of the country, which becomes wilder, by the height of the mountains, and by the costume of the inhabitants, all clothed in the ancient Scottish costume, that we had passed the boundary which separates the High from the Lowlands.

Before leaving Callender, I went to see a spot which is

shown to strangers as a Roman camp, on the banks of the Teith. Although this kind of bank or dyke may have regularity sufficiently rare in the works of nature, I cannot help thinking, that the river alone has been at all the expence of this construction. At Callender I quitted the coach which brought me from Stirling, and I set out on foot conducted by a guide, dressed in a Highland *kilt*, and wrapped in a large plaid, which he used as a knapsack to carry my luggage. My intention was to visit Loch Kathrin, to pass from thence to Loch Lomond, and after ascending to the top of Ben Lomond, to take the great route which leads to Oban.

After crossing the Teith over a fine bridge, I followed a narrow road, between the small lake Venachar on one side, and the mountain of Ben Ledi on the other. Loch-Venachar is nearly six miles in length, by one and a half in breadth; its banks are marshy, and the lake not being surrounded with trees, has a monotonous and unpleasing appearance; a narrow isthmus of land separates it from that of Auchray, which, although still smaller, is much more picturesque. It is only two miles in diameter; its banks are entirely covered with shrubs of the most delightful verdure; and two little islands, adorned with small trees, rise in the bosom of its calm and pure waters. The hills called Trosachs, seem to close up the valley at the western extremity of the lake; and behind these small hills, in the midst of which spring up thickets of trees, we perceive, rising to a great height, the imposing mass of Benivenow, a steep and barren mountain, which terminates this brilliant perspective.

After having coasted along Loch Auchray, we arrived at the foot of the Trosachs, where it was difficult to foresee how we were to continue our route; since this chain of hills completely closes the valley comprised between Benivenow and Benneon. Formerly, travellers could only pass the Trosachs by scaling the rocks by means of long ladders; at present a carriage road leads over the hills and the woods as far as the banks of Loch Kathrin. We amused ourselves, in wandering through these solitary retreats, where trees of all kinds grouped together in a thousand forms, issue from the crevices of the banks; the rugged and sharp surfaces of the rocks are adorned with a multitude of plants of moss and fern; the weeping birch trees, here and there, raise their ivory trunks above the others, and gracefully droop their slender branches, clothed with leaves of fine green, which the least breath of wind puts in motion; whilst the beech, varnish, and sorb trees, form thick groves, which afford a retreat to a multitude of singing birds. Among this concert, we did not hear the sweet

voice of the songster of our woods; the nightingale, inhabiting mild countries, dreads the cold of the northern regions, and does not visit Scotland. The thrush replaces it; and this bird, which is not heard in spring, nor in summer, in the south of Europe, animates the forests of the north, by its melodious and varied warbling. Thus Linnæus has, with reason, called it *Turdus Musicus*.

If the unlooked-for spectacle of such fine vegetation, in a country where nature appears to have raised so many obstacles to the growth of trees, causes an agreeable surprise; how much more additional pleasure will the traveller feel, when, after having cleared the narrow defile of the Trosachs, he arrives on the banks of Loch Kathrin; which justly passes for being the most picturesque of all the lakes in Scotland. I shall not attempt here to describe this lake,—so pure, so tranquil, and so solitary,—the outlines of which, gracefully designed, are cut into long promontories, flying one behind the other, and dividing the lake into small basins of multiplied forms. No language can describe these small islands, nor that assemblage of trees and rocks, whose image is reflected in the mirror of the waters, and those perspectives are so varied that they appear changing in proportion as we advance; whilst the wild mountain of Benivenow constantly presents its barren sides, and its summit crowned with rocks, as an invariable ground-work to these enchanting panoramas.*

I followed the northern bank of the lake for the space of three miles; beyond that, the prospect takes the appearance of an immense sheet of water in the midst of a narrow and barren valley. I returned by the same road. A party of English travellers had just arrived on the banks of the lake; their carriage was waiting their return from the Trosachs; some scaled the rocks; some sketched the remarkable points of view, while others again threw their lines into the lake to catch small salmon trout. In the midst of these mountains, lakes, and alpine torrents, I, for a moment, imagined myself in Switzerland. In travelling, we amuse ourselves in comparing the most attractive objects, with those which resemble them in our native country. Thus, Loch Kathrin appeared to me, the portrait in miniature of the Lake

* Sir Walter Scott, in his elegant Poem of *The Lady of the Lake*, has placed the scene of his romance on the banks of Loch Kathrin, and he has described in his verses the charm of this fine country, with such truth and originalty of colouring, that in reading that work after having quitted Scotland, I experienced with renewed vigour the sensations I felt on beholding these beautiful scenes.

of Lucerne, with its gulphs, its bays, and its assemblage of rocks, woods, and lengthened promontories.

It may probably be supposed, that the great difference between the height of the mountains of Scotland and those of Switzerland would prevent all comparison as to the aspect of these two countries; however, it is not so. I have already said how much we may be deceived as to the height of mountains, above all, when they are bare, and cut into bold forms. It is also worthy of remark, that the highest mountain seen from its base, does not hold a place in a vertical line, proportionate to its real elevation; consequently, notwithstanding the difference of height, the mountains of Scotland, seen from the valleys open at their feet, produce as much effect as the highest in Switzerland. In fine, although the Scottish mountains are less elevated above the level of the sea, than the highest mountains of the Alps, yet as the latter rise above an elevated ground, whilst the former have their bases at the very level of the sea, there is in reality less difference in their height, to the eye of the observer, than might be imagined. Another source of illusion which induces a comparison between the views of the Highlands and those of the Alps of Switzerland, is the relative proportion of the objects composing the landscape, being pretty much the same in both countries. Thus, in the alps where the mountains are very lofty, the valleys are very wide, and the lakes very extensive. In Scotland the narrow vallies, and the small lakes, are proportionate to the height of the mountains; the enormous forests, seen in Switzerland, commanding at great elevations, the inaccessible summits of the rocks, are represented in Scotland by masses of small trees or shrubs, which produce an analogous effect in the landscape. Consequently, if our views in Switzerland present an *ensemble* more stupendous and striking, in grandeur and majesty, no where to be equalled, the views of Scotland are, perhaps, more picturesque, taking this word in its true sense; viz. that they offer subjects for a picture more agreeable to the painter, and more varied and graceful in their features. Scotland has not, like Switzerland, those mountains covered with eternal snow; those peaks of bold and light granite, which, by the beauty of their outline, and the contrast which they produce, with the brilliant verdure of the valleys, give to all the distant places so striking an effect; but it has in compensation, lakes abounding with islands of all forms and dimensions; it has the Atlantic Ocean, its isles, and interior gulphs, which give a peculiar beauty to the first ground-work of the landscape.

I reluctantly left the banks of the charming Loch-Kathrin,

and directing my steps towards the south, I passed the hills of Auchray, which form the continuation of the mountain of Benivenow; during all this route, which is nearly six miles, we travelled in the midst of a high and thick heath. Nothing can be more solitary and more deserted than these hills. The lofty pyramid of Benivenow rises alone above the thickets of dark heath which extend as far as the eye can reach. Having descended the length of a hollow road, dug by a torrent, I listened with pleasure to the conversation of my guide, a sensible man, who appeared to me better informed as to the state of the country, its policy, and the war, than persons generally to be met with among men of the same class. At last the open country presented itself, the heath disappeared, and we entered into the valley of Aberfoyle, a beautiful open tract of country, fertile, well cultivated and watered with limpid streams. The handsome village of Aberfoyle is surrounded with trees, fields and meadows, and I here found a very passable inn for so retired a place.

8th August. Leaving Aberfoyle at an early hour, I directed my steps towards the west, by ascending the valley into which the Forth runs, which is here only a shallow brook. I passed by the banks of the two charming lakes called Loch-Ards, in the waters of which the surrounding mountains are reflected as in a mirror. *Upper Loch-Ard* is one of the handsomest basins I ever saw, surrounded on all sides by green meadows, groves, and picturesque rocks; it is bounded at the extremity by the lofty mountain of Ben-Lomond, the bases of which it waters. The district of Monteith, in which I travelled from Callender, is, perhaps, the most romantic portion of Scotland; a multitude of small lakes of varied aspects occupy the bottom of the vallies, and the sides of the mountains are covered with flourishing vegetation. After passing the Loch-Ards, we entered into a wild glen, without verdure or trees, which terminates at the foot of Ben-Lomond. Here I found a small farm-house, similar to a *chalet* of the Alps; the peasants inhabiting it, hastened, in the most obliging manner, to offer me cheese and milk. After resting some minutes in the hut, I began to ascend Ben-Lomond, following up a steep hollow road, of difficult access, along a torrent. The slope of the hill is very rapid, and is entirely covered with a woody heath, forming a thick mass, through which we made our way. The ascent of this long mountain is thus rendered very fatiguing; but on arriving at the summit, the traveller is amply repaid for his trouble, by the beauty of the scenery which suddenly bursts forth on his view.

The position of Ben-Lomond is particularly favourable for the
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extent of the prospect, being placed on the first line of the chain of the Grampians; it rises perpendicularly 3,000 feet above the plains of the Lowlands, and commands the surrounding mountains on the north and on the west. A circle of nearly one hundred and fifty miles in diameter is at once presented to the view of the spectator, who, placed on this point, embraces at a single glance nearly the half of Scotland; at this height, and in so immense an horizon, minute objects disappear, but the whole scene is as remarkable for its variety as for its grandeur. In the south and in the east, a vast plain, fertile, cultivated and studded with innumerable towns and villages, extends to a great distance, and terminates at the horizon by the blueish chain of the hills of Galloway. The eye follows the course of the Clyde in all its extent; the Forth, the Teith, and a thousand other less remarkable rivers water this fine country, in the midst of which are seen the basaltic masses, commanded by the Castles of Dumbarton, Stirling, and Edinburgh. The hills, which surround the latter city and the rock of its castle, are lost in the distance, and appear only as small prominences on an even surface. The light clouds of smoke which rise above Glasgow alone indicate the site of that great city. Greenock is nearer; we see the Clyde enlarging, opening and then mixing itself with the unlimited ocean, in the large bay which bears its name. In the midst of this fine gulph I again saw the Islands of Arran and Bute, which I had visited some months before; at a still greater distance appeared the conical rock of Ailsa as a point at the extremity of the liquid plain, and the long peninsula of Cantyre, between the gulph of Clyde and the Atlantic Ocean. If we turn towards the north and the west, we behold a very different prospect; long chains of wild, dark and dreary mountains are displayed in successive lines. I counted towards the north ten ranges of these mountains, and only seven towards the west; the nearest of them, which already darkened the brown colour of the heath which covered them, are separated by vallies equally as dark and uncultivated: further on, the rows lie closer, and are at length lost in a blueish vapour. A multitude of small lakes are scattered in the vallies, and even as far as the tops of the mountains.

Some mountains more elevated and barren still attract attention; these are the heights of Ben-Ledi, Benivenow, Ben-Lawers, and at the north, Ben Nevis, the highest mountain in Great Britain, at an elevation of nearly 4000 feet above the level of the sea. Behind the western chains, we still see the Atlantic Ocean extending to a distance, from which issue the Isles of Mull, Isla, and that of Jura, all covered with moun-

taina. If we are desirous of resting our eyes, fatigued with wandering over such an immense field, we must look at our feet, and we shall see nearer, on one side, the verdant vallies of Monteith and their charming lakes, Loch-Ards, Loch-Monteith and Loch-Kathrin; and on another side, the beautiful Loch-Lomond, whose calm and limpid streams bathe the foot of Ben-Lomond. Here we command a view of this lake to its full extent, the several islands which adorn it, and its banks covered with rich vegetation.

In approaching the precipice, I saw a large brown eagle (*Falco Fulvus*) fly off at a little distance. This fine bird had probably built its nest in the midst of these inaccessible rocks. It came hovering round me, by which I could examine it completely at my ease. I spent a great part of the day on the summit; and in contemplating the prospect from this magnificent point, I felt an interest in surveying the sites with which I was already acquainted, and which gave rise to a thousand interesting recollections; I amused myself also in observing those I was about to visit; and the sight of the Hebrides, whither I was going, gave me fresh zeal, and made me anticipate further pleasure.

The weather was delightful, and the sky was perfectly serene, during the whole of the morning; but in the afternoon, I observed at a distance light clouds rising towards the west. I saw them gradually advancing, and form into columns of rain, concealing first the Isles of Mull and Jura, and afterwards the remotest hills of the main land; in drawing nearer to the place where I stood, this curtain became still darker, and the sky still more portentous; the storm approached us with incredible rapidity, it soon reached the mountains which bounded Loch-Lomond to the west; in a few moments it cleared the valley, and we in our turn were enveloped in the stormy cloud, which poured down torrents of rain.

The brilliant spectacle with which I had been enraptured but a few minutes before had now vanished. The rich plains, the lakes interspersed with little islands, the innumerable mountains, the sea, with its gulphs and islands, had all disappeared: immersed in a thick mist, I scarcely saw the distance of a few feet around me. I then quitted this elevated station to descend the length of the western declivity of the mountain, and after a long and tedious route through heaths and marshes, I arrived on the banks of Loch-Lomond at the small hamlet of Rouerdanan. Here I quitted the guide who had conducted me from Callender, and crossed the lake in a small boat. The rain ceased as suddenly as it came on, and the sun was just setting when I embarked. After a short but charming sail, and a walk

of nearly three miles on the enchanting banks of this fine lake, I arrived at Luss.

I had a letter for the pastor of Luss, Dr. Stuart, a distinguished naturalist and fellow-traveller of Pennant, and of Lightfoot, author of the "*Flora Scotica*:" he had many years ago, with these two learned individuals, travelled over a great part of the Hebrides. Wishing to enjoy the conversation of this intelligent gentleman, and the hope of receiving useful directions from him for my journey;—in short, the curiosity I had to visit the environs of Luss and the banks of Loch-Lomond, induced me to accept the obliging solicitations of Dr. Stuart to pass the Sunday (9th of August) with him. I had no reason to regret my resolution in any respect; I learned in his company many curious details on the natural history of the mountains and islands of Scotland, and on the manners and language of their inhabitants.

The parsonage is a small house on the banks of the lake, surrounded with fine orchards and beautiful gardens. Dr. Stuart showed me his botanical garden, where he has collected a great number of plants from Scotland and the northern countries of Europe. As the weather was very fine, I took a boat to visit the largest of the isles of the lake, Inch Stavnach, or Monk Island. It is a small rock, and partly covered with trees. From thence we have two views very different in character, and equally remarkable. To the south, Loch-Lomond extends like a large sheet of water, surrounded by small hills, covered with abundant vegetation, and in the midst of this liquid plain a multitude of islands appeared here and there as if floating on the surface. This landscape is cheerful and agreeable. To the north, nature presents a more rigid aspect; the lake becomes narrower and confined by high mountains, having at a distance the appearance of a river; one or two small islands are only seen on the plane. The banks of the lake are also covered with woods and meadows, but the trees and verdure no longer flourish on the sides of the naked and barren mountains which surround it.

My boatmen did not fail to point out to me the curiosities of the country. Here, on a small steep island, are the ruins of a tower formerly inhabited by a robber, who made frequent incursions into the neighbouring domains of the lake, and into the fine estate of Roesdue, belonging to the Chief of the Colquhouns, pillaging and laying lords and vassals under contribution. In another island was formerly a convent of religious nuns, which has given it the name it now bears, Inch Ceallach, or the Isle of Old Women. In a third there exists an establishment

destined as a retreat for insane persons belonging to rich families. In short, they detailed to me the war between the two clans of Colquhoun and Macgregor, showing me all the places where the principal events of the contest took place. The account of so many battles, marked by traits of unheard-of cruelty and ferocity, is found consigned in the private histories of the families and of the Scottish tribes. From such authorities, more authentic than those of the boatmen of Luss, I will relate in a few words the most striking circumstances of those feudal expeditions, which are characteristic of the times and manners of that warlike people.

In the year 1602, after a protracted quarrel between Allastor Macgregor, chief of the powerful tribe of that name, and the Laird of Luss, Sir Humphrey Colquhoun, they were anxious to treat for peace, and agreed to meet for that purpose in the valley of Glen Fruin, on the banks of Loch-Lomond. The two chiefs arrived at the place of rendezvous, each escorted by a considerable troop of his vassals, well armed, and ready to terminate the difference by combat, should they not agree on the conditions of peace. They disputed, and a terrible combat ensued; the Macgregors were victorious, two hundred of the Colquhouns were killed, and a still greater number fell into the hands of their enemies; the Laird of Luss took refuge in one of his castles; whither he was pursued by the Macgregors, taken and massacred. Many youths of the first families in Scotland, who were receiving their education at the College of Dumbarton, went to Glen Fruin to witness the battle. The Colquhouns, in order to protect them, shut them up in a barn; but, after the victory, the Macgregors broke open the doors, and massacred the whole of these unfortunate young men.

The King of Scotland being apprized of this act of atrocious cruelty, and being much irritated against the clan Gregor, the most turbulent of all the tribes of the mountains, decreed the total destruction of the clan, proscribed even the very name of Macgregor, spread fire and slaughter throughout all the country which these rebellious vassals inhabited, and chased like ferocious beasts, with dogs, all those who were concealed in the mountains. Macgregor was taken, conducted to Edinburgh, and decapitated, with eighteen of his comrades. Those of the Macgregors, who were enabled to escape punishment, changed their name and fled to the Continent. Notwithstanding all the severity of this decree, and although it was renewed by the Parliament of Scotland under the reign of William III., the tribe of Macgregors re-appeared as powerful as ever in the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, and has continued from that time to form part of the Scottish clans.

The Macgregors always denied the participation of their clan in the murder of the Chief of the Colquhouns, as well as in the still more horrible one of the young students of Dumbarton: they accused the Laird of Luss with having treacherously conspired against the lives of those of their tribe who were negotiating for peace at Glen Fruin; they also pretended, that the proscription of the tribe, and of their name, was less owing to the excesses by which they had rendered themselves culpable, than to the pity which the widows of the Colquhouns killed at the battle of Glen Fruin inspired in the breast of King James VI. These widows, it is said, sallied forth to the number of sixty, to demand an audience of the King at Stirling, each mounted on a white horse, and carrying at the point of a lance the bloody clothes of her husband; a spectacle well calculated to excite the indignation and vengeance of the monarch.

The environs of Luss are considered very salubrious; the inhabitants live to an advanced age, and are but seldom visited with sickness. Pennant, in his work, gives striking examples of their longevity; he mentions the ages of six old men at the time when he visited Luss, the youngest of whom was eighty-six years, and the oldest ninety-four.

August 10.—I quitted Luss, and the hospitable roof of Dr. Stuart, with regret, to take the route for Inverary. I wandered along the shores of the lake, enlivened with the morning sun. Its banks are covered with groves, whilst bold and picturesque mountains rise in the back-ground; but it is a gloomy picture to see such beautiful foliage about to fall under the pitiless hatchet of avaricious proprietors, who have already stripped the greater part of these banks of their finest ornament.

I regretted passing the charming village of Tarbet, placed on a small promontory, and in the most agreeable situation: the houses are clean, well constructed, and separated from each other by small orchards of fine trees. I quitted at this place the banks of Loch-Lomond, and entered a small valley, planted with trees, well cultivated, and a mile and a half in length. At the extremity of the valley is Arroquhar, a house surrounded with gardens and lofty trees; at first sight it may be perceived, that Arroquhar has not always been an inn, as at present; it was, in fact, a few years ago, the residence of the Chief of the Macfarlanes. Loch-Long, which environs it, is not like Loch-Lomond, a lake of cheerful and peaceable water, surrounded with verdant and woody banks, since we no longer see here the shrubs dipping in the calm and pure waters. Loch-Long consists of salt water, being a narrow and long arm of the sea, stretching among barren and naked mountains; no

tree grows near its banks; the steep rocks, which the ebbing of the tide leaves exposed, are here and there supplied with *ulva* and *fucus*, which spread a sea odour to a great distance. Among these primitive mountains, which bound the arm to the north and to the west, I remarked that which bears the name of Arthur's Seat, or Cobler's. The top of the mountain is at present terminated by a crest, fantastically notched. The lake of Arroquhar is little more than a mile and a half in width; I crossed it in a long boat, and was much amused by seeing a troop of *porpoises* pursuing the herrings. These fish seemed to roll on a level with the water, sometimes disappearing altogether, at others elevating their backs and thick fins above the surface.

I rejoined the great route on the other side of the lake, but was not able to find a guide at Arroquhar, as all the men were at the herring fishery: having met some waggoners at the small inn near which I disembarked, who were going to Cairndow, I put my luggage into the waggon, and journeyed with them.

The valley of Glen-Coe, by its severe and desert aspect, recalls to the mind the most elevated defiles of the Alps, and if we saw it covered with snow, we might imagine ourselves passing St. Bernard. In this narrow passage we did not see a single tree; on all sides nothing is to be seen but masses of rocks in immense heaps. The declivities are not covered with heath (a rare thing in Scotland), but with a short and shaggy turf, furnishing another resemblance between Glen-Coe and our Alpine passages.

Before the memorable year 1745, it was scarcely possible for a traveller to find a path to penetrate into the valley; at present there is a fine road, forming part of the great line of military routes, commenced after the rebellion, by General Wade. The object of the English government, in facilitating the entrance into the mountains and valleys, until that period inaccessible, was more securely to render itself master of the enterprising and formidable people who inhabited them. At the most elevated point of the road is a place so arranged as to afford a convenient seat for the traveller; an inscription invites him to rest himself, and to acknowledge his gratitude—“*Rest, and be thankful.*” A little further we pass near a small solitary lake, commanded from all parts by barren rocks. There Glen Kinglas commences, a valley equally as wild as Glen-Coe. We afterwards arrived at Ardinglass, the fine estate of Sir Archibald Campbell. It is the entrance to the country of the Campbells: this clan has the Duke of Argyle for its chief, who has always been celebrated for his attachment to the House of Hanover. The family of Argyle has always embraced the Whig party;

thus, we find, that in 1715 and 1745 the Campbells were fighting with the English army, against the other Highlanders, attached to Prince Charles Edward.

I stayed the night at St. Catherine's, a small inn, situated on the banks of Loch-Fine, another salt water lake, parallel to Loch-Long. Like the latter, it penetrates much in advance into the land, under the form of a long and narrow gulf. Its banks are not so wild, nor its mountains so high, and their forms are less rugged. From St. Catherine's we see Inverary on the opposite side of the lake. This small burgh, with the castle of the Duke of Argyle, which rises in the middle of a fine park—the plantations of lofty trees—and the neighbouring mountains surrounded to their summit with thick forests of fir,—the whole together forms an enchanting scene. The weather was very favourable for the enjoyment of so agreeable a prospect, and the calm surface of the sea, reflecting the rich hues of the sky on a fine summer's evening, presented a fascinating groundwork to the beauty of the picture.

The sun had scarcely set, when the lake was covered with an innumerable multitude of small boats, which directed their progress towards the end of the gulph, for the herring fishery during the night. It was an animated spectacle to see so many boats covered with nets and tents, lashing with rapidity, some with their small sails hoisted, others aided by a great number of rowers, who made the air resound with their songs.

August 11.—I was awoke at break of day by the bagpipe of the fishermen, who after passing the night on the gulph, came to take their morning repast at St. Catherine's. I crossed Loch-Fine, and landed at Inverary. This burgh presents a scene worthy of the pencil of Vernet; its port was filled with small vessels and fishing boats, and others were arriving every moment: the pier was covered with fishermen, who brought the fish caught during the preceding night to the fishmongers and inhabitants of the burgh, who came to purchase. Inverary, although inconsiderable, is, notwithstanding, the capital of Argyleshire, one of the most extensive counties of Scotland, but very thinly populated. One of the finest ornaments of this place is the estate and castle of the Duke of Argyle. The avenues leading to the castle are equally remarkable for their magnificence; a large causeway, in form of a quay, and supported on the sea side by a wall of porphyre, leads to an elegant bridge, built also of porphyre, taken from the open quarries in the park itself. From thence we see the imposing mass of the castle rising above a hill, blooming with verdure. This edifice, when seen at a distance, produces a fine effect

above this beautiful grass-plot, but appeared heavy and massive when we approached nearer to it: we could not determine to what kind of architecture it belongs. The four huge towers, the angles of which are flanked, the turret surmounting the castle, and the battlements, are of a gothic style, whilst the windows are rather Moorish. The stone with which the castle is built contributes also to give it a ludicrous appearance; it is a species of the talc genus, or pot-stone, of a clear green. With the exception of a grand vestibule, with two flights of stairs, the interior of the building appeared to me no way in harmony with the exterior. It is true, the furnishing of it was not yet finished. In the vestibule, or hall of entrance, I remarked two charming groups of statues from Italy; but I was astonished not to find, in the castle of one of the greatest noblemen of Scotland, a single picture worthy of remark. I could not, however, sufficiently admire the beauty of the gardens and the park, as well as the situation of the castle: trees of the finest shape forming groups on the green turf; groves surrounding the grass-plot, and plantations extending to a considerable distance on the hills. A beautiful winding brook crosses the whole extent of the park, and flows among the thickets of trees and shrubs, whose branches bathe in its limpid waters.

The Duke of Argyle has not excluded strangers from seeing his fine estate. Every individual may, without permission—without being watched by gate-keepers or avaricious *Ciceronis*, perambulate at leisure every part of his domain, and take up his abode there, without any one offering him the least interruption. This privilege gives the humble individual an idea of independence, that adds much to his enjoyment. The stranger, in wandering through this place, may imagine himself the master of these extensive woods, green turfs, and beautiful lake; and no importunate object tends to dispel such illusions. Thanks to the liberal proprietor of this enchanting paradise: this is a noble instance of liberality, which well merits the imitation of all country gentlemen.

I much wished to see the herring fishery, and waited with impatience till the evening, especially, as I was informed that a whale of a considerable size had entered Loch-Fine, and was pursuing the innumerable shoals of herrings. A storm came on in the evening, which obliged me to relinquish my project.

August 12.—Wishing to reach Oban with all possible speed, I endeavoured to procure a coach to Inverary, but it was impossible to find one; neither cart nor horse, nor vehicle of any kind. An English gentleman, travelling over the mountains, seeing my embarrassment, obligingly offered me a seat

in his carriage, as far as Bunawe; this circumstance procured me the society of intelligent persons and the pleasure of their conversation.

We left Inverary at an early hour, and travelled through a barren and deserted valley; the weather was dull and rainy, and the route extremely monotonous. After proceeding several miles, the aspect of the country changes, and another lake presents itself, viz. Loch-Awe. This lake, like the preceding ones, is long, narrow, and surrounded with high mountains. Its direction is also the same, from south-west to north-east; but it only communicates with the sea by the river which runs out of it.

On seeing this succession of lakes similar and parallel to each other, some of salt water and others of fresh, the idea is irresistible, that the latter have themselves been, at a comparatively recent period, gulphs of the ocean; a few fathoms only from the level of the sea, has sufficed to break up the communication between these waters and those of the gulph. The latter, shut up in an isolated basin, would, by the lapse of time, have lost their saltness, when the salt had been drawn towards the sea by the rivers. It is thus that I account for the lakes of Lomond and Awe becoming reservoirs of fresh water, instead of being arms of the sea, as formerly. Perhaps a small retreat of the ocean would also suffice to change into lakes the salt gulphs of Loch-Long and Loch-Fine.

Loch Awe, towards its northern extremity, encloses a group of small islands; one of them, more woody than the others, is surmounted by the picturesque ruins of the castle of Awe. On the bank opposite to the one we were travelling on, rise the high and majestic mountains called *Kruachan Bens*. The storm, which beclouded the landscape with a black and sombre tinge, gave an imposing and sublime appearance to the whole of these ruins, as well as to the barren and deserted mountains, and this dreary lake.

We soon arrived at the extremity of the lake, where stand the gothic ruins of the great castle of Kilchurn: Sir Colin Campbell, one of the Scottish knights who sallied forth to attack the infidels, built this vast edifice on his return, in 1480. This brave knight, one of the ancestors of the Earl of Breadalbane, belonged to the order of St. John of Jerusalem; his exploits entitled him to the surname of Great, and the Highlanders still call the Dukes of Argyle "the sons of the Great Colin," *Mhie Caillan Mhor*. Further on, the fertile valley of Glen Orchy bursts in view. This narrow and well cultivated defile, abounding with villages, and watered by a fine rivulet, is an agreeable contrast with the sharp rocks which surround it on all sides. The church of Glen Orchy, built on an eminence,

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is itself a picturesque object at a distance. The eldest son of the family of Breadalbane derives his name from this district. We stopped at the little village of Dalmaly, situated at the entrance of the valley.

The ancient tombs which surround the church engaged our attention for some time: the figures which cover them, although very rudely sculptured, are not without interest, being strongly characteristic of the costumes of the country in the middle ages. Many warriors, celebrated in olden time, lie buried under these stones; they are represented by rude sculptures, some on foot, others on horseback, all armed with large swords and shields, and wearing the *philibeg*, the ancient Scottish tunic. Their descendants still live in these mountains; they carefully preserve the tombs of their forefathers, and proudly point out to strangers the places where their warlike ancestors repose, and where the tradition of their exploits is transmitted from generation to generation.

Curiosity led me to pay a visit to the blacksmith Macnab, to see the MSS. of the poems of Ossian, which, according to report, were long possessed by his family. I saw the old man, but not the manuscripts; they had long ago been sent to Edinburgh, for the use of the members of the Highland Society. He showed me the ancient armour of his ancestors, for he gloried in a long succession of them, all blacksmiths like himself. This family inhabited the same cottage upwards of four hundred years. In the ages of feudalism, they handled successively the hammer and the sword.

One of the ancestors of Macnab had been employed in building the castle of Kilchurn, and many of them, no doubt, contributed to defend it against the attacks of the enemy's clans. What appalling vicissitudes in human affairs! The castle of that powerful lord, of that once formidable chief, is now deserted and in ruins; whilst the hut of the humble vassal still exists, and has never changed its masters. This long succession from father to son, who have followed without interruption, the same profession, and in the same place, is considered as a high mark of respectability. If they cannot boast, as other men in a more exalted sphere, of famous names, and of illustrious warriors among their ancestors, it is to be presumed that integrity, irreproachable conduct, and hereditary adherence to the virtues and duties of an obscure state, have insured to subsequent generations the protection of their chiefs and the laws.

These examples of ancient families in an inferior rank of life, are by no means rare among the Highlanders. Whilst I was walking in the park of Inverary, I met a Highlander, who,

with the natural curiosity of these people, came to ask me what country I belonged to, and whither I was going? After satisfying him, I put the same questions to him; he replied, "I am going to that cottage which you see there between those trees high above, on the hill: we have lived in it during the three hundred years that we have been vassals of the Duke of Argyle."

We pursued our route, with fine weather, near Kilchurn castle, and having again reached the banks of Loch-Awe; we followed the northern bank of this lake, by a charming route, in the form of a cornice on the slope of Kruachan-Bens. Here the mountains raise their cragged summits; below us we saw the lake, and its fine woody and verdant isles reflected in its tranquil waters; by degrees the basin grows narrower, the mountains on both its banks contract, they soon appeared to unite, and a rapid current indicates that the lake is become a river. We soon found another lake, viz. Loch-Etive, a gulph of the Atlantic Ocean, confined between two mountains, whose forms are altogether Alpine and picturesque. It was late when we arrived at Bunawe, where we were obliged to sleep.

August 13.—I reluctantly quitted my amiable fellow-travellers, who continued their route in the mountains, and I hired a carriage to conduct me to Oban. The weather was rainy, the country barren and deserted; the road winds on the banks of Loch-Etive, and the appearance of the soil changes; there are no more high mountains, but little hills, which, by their number and forms, do not ill resemble the waves of the sea.

I passed near the Connal Ferry; this short and narrow canal, by which Loch-Etive communicates with the sea, presents a singular phenomena in the ebbing and flowing of the tide. When the tide flows, it rises rapidly to a great height, and runs with violence into this canal where it forms a rapid torrent. The surface of the waters of Loch-Etive being still much under that of the sea, as the motion ascending has only been able to communicate with it through this narrow passage, the waters of the canal rush down in the form of a cascade into the lake, till the moment when the lake and the sea become of the same level, which takes place a little after high water. The contrary effect happens when the tide ebbs, the sea retiring very rapidly, the level of the lake is then above that of the ocean, and it takes a certain time to empty itself by the narrow canal; a strong current settles from the lake to the sea, and forms into a cascade in an opposite direction to that which took place six hours before. A passage boat, however, has been established in a place

which appears very dangerous, but it only plies in the hours when the sea has reached its greatest height, or has retreated to its lowest level.

Some miles farther, on the right, we passed the ruins of the castle and chapel of Dunstaffnage, an ancient royal residence, built on a peninsula; tradition attributes the foundation of this fort to a Caledonian King, contemporary with Julius Cæsar. These gothic masses produce a fine effect in the midst of so wild a country. From thence I began to perceive the Atlantic Ocean, and the long island of Lismore, whose form is like that of a small hill; it appeared to me covered with woods, but this was an illusion; for although it is pretty fertile in rye and pasturage, yet no trees grow there.

I arrived at Oban, where I met some young Scotsmen of my acquaintance, who were going to visit the Isle of Staffa; they had been waiting two days for a favourable wind to embark; we instantly agreed to travel together.

Oban is a fishing village, situated on the sea-coast, it has a pleasing appearance of cleanliness and comfort; the trade of the Hebrides with the mother country, which is almost entirely transacted at this port, keeps the inhabitants employed. The sea here forms a vast bay, protected against every wind by a multitude of small and large islands, and calculated to receive a fleet of a hundred ships of the line; thus, those vessels which make the voyage of the north, when overtaken by a tempest, lay at anchor in great security in the Bay of Oban.

I was struck with the beauty of the view which this bay presented. Opposite is the little Island of Kerrera, covered with basaltic rocks, and heath, cut into the form of benches; and behind this island rise the conical summits of the mountains of Mull. Lismore appears to the north-west, and over an adjacent plain rise the ruins of the tower of Dunolin. The sun was setting behind the Isle of Mull, fringing the clouds with purple and gold, and colouring all the islands with a thousand varied and brilliant hues. The sea, as smooth as glass, was tinged with the same rich colours, and reflected the small vessels lying at anchor in the bay, whilst the tranquillity of the waves formed a pleasing and agreeable picture, presenting a very different aspect from the idea I had formed of the Atlantic Ocean in these latitudes.

CHAPTER II.

FROM OBAN TO STAFFA.

Adventure of the Lady's Rock.—Castle of Aros.—The Macdonalds, Kings of the Isles.—Flora Macdonald and Prince Charles Stuart.—Ulva-House.—Staffa.—Cave of Fingal.

August 14.—The weather being very fine, we took a large open boat at Oban, provided with rowers; the wind although favorable was slight, and we advanced but slowly. Leaving on our left the uncultivated and rocky Island of Kerrera, and on our right, first, the venerable castle of Dunolin, and, afterwards, the fertile Lismore, (the name of which, in Gaelic, signifies a large garden,) we arrived in the sound or strait of Mull; it is a long and narrow canal, which separates the mountains of the Isle of Mull from those of the main land; and the navigation in so confined a place, and so sandy, is often dangerous. Having entered the sound, we saw nothing but the barren, uncultivated, and rocky mountains of the Island of Mull: these mountains are entirely covered with heath, and not even the smallest bush is to be seen; during the space of three hours, we scarcely saw a miserable hut on this barren and deserted coast; the other side did not present a more agreeable perspective, in the hills and the rocks of Morvern, the ancient domain of Fingal. This country, celebrated by Ossian for the grandeur of its forests, and to which he has given the epithet of "*the woody Morvern*," has lost all its beauty. At this day, there are scarcely a few young trees to be seen—the descendants of those noble oaks—of those venerable firs represented by the Caledonian Bard, as displaying their light foliage amidst these masses and piles of rocks.

The breeze which impelled us now ceased to blow, the boatmen took to their oars, but we advanced with difficulty, having a strong tide against us, which descends the canal with such violence, as to give to the sea the appearance of a rapid river; it strikes with great force against the breakers along the coast, against the sandy banks of the strait, and covers them with foam and spray. We passed by the foot of the hills of Mull, on which stands the old castle of Duart. It is the abode of one of the tribe of Maclean, still numerous in the Isle of Mull, and its heavy gothic turret well accords with the gloomy aspect of nature, in this district. Near the castle rises on a level with the water the small island

or rock, called *Lady's Rock*; the following, according to tradition, is the adventure which has given it this name. Maclean, Lord of Duart, having married a sister of the Earl of Argyle, and, suspecting his wife of infidelity, he exposed her on this rock to be devoured by the monsters of the ocean, or engulfed by the tide. This lovely and unfortunate victim of the jealousy of Maclean, saw the waves approaching, which were about to bury her in the deep, the sea having already reached the summit of the rock; when a fortunate chance brought a boat into the strait, in which was Argyle himself. The cries of a female led him towards the rock; he recognized his sister, saw her about to perish, and having rescued her, he conducted her to his castle. He did more; he avenged her wrongs by killing her persecutor in a desperate combat, fought in the presence of the King of Scotland.

A great quantity of sea birds were swimming in numerous groups in the strait, and resting themselves on the *Lady's Rock*, and on the small rocks adjoining; these groups were principally composed of penguins, turtle-doves, and sea-gulls.

Along the coast for some distance is a narrow pathway at the foot of the mountains, on which we saw, from our boat, some inhabitants of the Isle passing from time to time.

After sailing ten hours we entered into the little bay of Aros, where two Norwegian vessels were then lying at anchor, and we disembarked in the Isle of Mull on rocks of a fine black basalt, covered by a meadow of sea plants of various species. I felt much pleasure on finding myself at last in the Hebrides, and reflecting that I should shortly behold the famous Isle of Staffa.

On whatever side we turned our eyes, we saw nothing but rocks and heath without a single tree. Aros is only a miserable hamlet consisting of three or four houses, constructed in the same way as all those of the Highlands. A house of better appearance is occupied by the steward of the Duke of Argyle, to whom Aros and its environs belong.

We saw on a rock of basalt in a heap, situated on the banks of the sea, the remains of the Castle of Aros, formerly inhabited by the Macdonalds, kings of the isles. Somerled, ancestor of these insular princes, was, in the twelfth century, the first of that family who possessed the sovereignty of the Hebrides. Before him these Isles, first subjected to the kings of Scotland, were governed by a Norwegian viceroy. One of these viceroys profiting by his distance from the metropolis, declared himself independent, and fixed himself in the Isle of Man. Somerled, already powerful in the province of Cantyre, and become still stronger by his marriage with the daughter of Olave,

king of Man, seized upon the Hebrides and a part of the county of Argyle, there established his dominion, and styled himself king of the Isles. His successors had to struggle against the pretensions of the kings of Scotland, England, and Norway; sometimes happy and independent, and at other times subjected and tributary to one of these great monarchs; the kings of the Isles nevertheless preserved the sovereignty of the Hebrides, and there maintained their sway.

In the fourteenth century the Macdonalds, descendants of Somerled, made a successful effort to gain the independence of the kingdom of the Hebrides. Having acquired considerable possessions in the mother country, these powerful chiefs, at the head of their warlike bands, often alarmed the king of Scotland, with whom they considered themselves upon an equality. The Stuarts, when seated on the throne of England, still paid every respect to these formidable vassals of the crown, which shews what power the Macdonalds exercised at that time in the mountains and Isles; but the revolution of England, and the increasing strength of the monarchy, considerably reduced their strength.

The descendants of the kings of the Isles, although deprived of their feudal power, still possess very extensive property and considerable influence in this part of Great Britain. The Clan-Donald, divided into three branches, has no longer a single chief like the other tribes. One of the branches acknowledges Lord Macdonald for its chief, who possesses a great part of the Isle of Sky; another, Macdonald of Clanronald, to whom several isles belong, besides a considerable district in the main land; the third, Macdonald of Glengarry, whose very extensive domains are situated in the centre of the county of Inverness.

In the wars of 1715 and 1745, the Macdonalds proved themselves zealous defenders of the Stuarts. They were seen to the number of 1500 following the standard of their ancient kings. The family of Clanronald rendered the most eminent services to the young pretender, after his defeat at Culloden, when he wandered as an outlaw in the isles of the Hebrides. A young and beautiful lady of this family, made herself particularly remarkable for her romantic attachment to that unfortunate prince. In the summer of 1746, Flora Macdonald, aged 24 years, learning that prince Charles had fled into the Hebrides pursued by a troop of English soldiers, she hastened full of enthusiasm towards him, and fearless of the rigour of the laws which condemned to death whoever should receive or protect the royal outlaw, she shared his dangers, and accompanied him when he braved the fury of the ocean in an open boat; she then followed him into

the wild glens, where he retired to conceal himself from the pursuit of his enemies. She conducted him across the mountains by almost impervious paths, and braved the fatigues and the inclemencies of the severest climate; she frequently went alone undisguised, in order to ascertain the march of the English, and flew towards those whom she knew were attached to the cause of the Stuarts, hazardingly to solicit assistance, which was never once refused. The Prince, under the disguise of a female servant, accompanied Flora, and passed, in the midst of those who pursued him, as a domestic attached to the service of this young lady. The latter twice succeeded by her presence of mind in saving his life, and rescuing him from imminent danger. After having been twice taken, she succeeded in joining the prince and placing him in safe hands; but soon after, victim of her generous devotion, she was taken by the English and conducted as a prisoner to London, where she was detained for a year. At last, delivered from her captivity, she returned to Scotland, where she remained during her life, and is to this day the object of the admiration and respect of the whole Scottish nation.

We did not stop at Aros, intending that evening to reach the Isle of Ulva, and stay at the house of Mr. Macdonald, proprietor of the Isle of Staffa. I had the pleasure of his acquaintance at Edinburgh, where he politely invited me to visit him in his Island. We were told, at Aros, that we had only six miles to go in order to cross the Isle of Mull, and reach the narrow passage which separates that land from Ulva; but the miles here are double the length of the English miles, as I found to my sorrow, so that we had full twelve miles to walk. The part of Mull which we passed through is a narrow, uncultivated, and almost deserted valley, between high and steep mountains; and during the whole of this journey we only discovered three or four scattered huts. After a march of six miles we arrived at an eminence, from whence we perceived at our feet a large lake, surrounded by lofty and picturesque mountains, called Loch-Nagheal, an arm of the sea, which penetrates very far into the Isle; on the opposite shore, the imposing mass of the hill of Benmore particularly attracted our attention, being the highest summit of Mull, terminating in a pointed cone. The route we followed was only a narrow stony path, and very fatiguing. We passed a hut, and being thirsty, we halted for refreshment. It was eleven o'clock at night, the door was open, and the whole family were asleep in the kitchen. A peat fire was burning in the middle of the room, which was so filled with smoke, that it was a long time before we could distinguish any object. At last we per-

ceived a bed, in which was an old man and his wife; their children were scattered from one side of the room to the other, and slept on piles of peats; mats, nets, or sheep-skins. As soon as they perceived us, they rose, and eagerly came towards us; we explained to them the motive for so late a visit, by asking for a glass of milk or water. Two large wooden bowls of milk were speedily brought, but it was with great difficulty that we prevailed upon these poor people to accept some remuneration.

Continuing our journey on the eminence we soon saw in the ocean the Isle of Ulva, beneath us. We had to descend a sharp high hill, before reaching the banks of the sea. Owing to the darkness of the night we lost our path, and severally wandered groping along, some descending from one side, and some from the other, without well knowing where we were going, through rocks and briers, at the risk of every moment breaking our necks, or rolling into the sea beneath us. However, we surmounted these difficulties, and safely arrived on the shore. But this was not all; it was still necessary to cross the small strait, about the distance of a gun-shot, which separates Ulva from Mull. There was no boat on our side, the passage-boat being in the Isle of Ulva. After calling very loudly, we succeeded in waking a boatman, who came towards us in a small skiff. It was midnight when we crossed, and I observed, for the first time during this passage, that the sea was covered with a multitude of brilliant sparks, resembling stars.

We were conducted to Ulva-House, belonging to Mr. Macdonald; all was closed, as at such an unseasonable hour no visitors were expected. At that time we were not aware of there being an inn in the Isle of Ulva.

15th August. On going to salute our hosts, we were not a little confused at the trouble which our arrival the evening before had occasioned; but the most cordial welcome, and the politeness with which we were received, soon put us at ease. Many travellers, abusing the hospitality which they receive, have thought proper to publish their observations on the inmates of the families in which they have had the good fortune to be admitted. The greater part, warmed by gratitude to their hosts, have thought it worth while to enrich their books with interesting portraits, and with the recital of little incidents which the society furnishes. These details and peculiarities certainly render a work more *piquant* and more amusing; but is it not to be feared that the most merited eulogiums wound the modesty and delicacy of those who are the objects of them, when they are exposed, against their will, to the notice of the public.

The situation of Mr. Macdonald's house is so remarkable that I was astonished at first sight of it; the edifice is built in a handsome style, and presents a singular contrast with the aspect of the surrounding country. Firs have been planted on the barren rocks which environ the house; and notwithstanding all the obstacles of this climate to the growth of trees, the latter appear to succeed very well. A beautiful cascade precipitates itself from the top of these rocks, and falls on the bank of the sea, forming a fine object in the landscape. From the windows of the house we could plainly perceive the mouth of Loch-Nagheal, opposite to which Ulva is situated. This gulph, interspersed with islands, washes the foot of lofty and barren mountains, the most remarkable of which is Benmore. This enormous mass raises its pyramidal summit to the height of nearly 2700 feet above the level of the sea; and its steep declivity is every where covered with heath and marshes. The top of Benmore is almost always enveloped with clouds, which the winds bring from the sea. I have often seen also, in a fine evening, the setting sun colouring the heath-covered summits of the mountains with the richest tints of violet and purple; nothing is then more magnificent than the contrast of the brilliant colours of the mountains with the dark grey of the basaltic hills and the deep green of the ocean.

The want of trees in all these grand prospects, instead of having an unpleasing effect, rather give these rocks a character of grandeur well according with the majesty of nature in these regions. We must not expect to find smiling landscapes in these deserted districts, nor the richly adorned banks of the lakes of Switzerland;—no groves of olives, flourishing oaks, citrons, or palm trees, embellish the declivities, bathed by the peaceful waves of the Mediterranean Sea, under an always clear and serene sky. It was feasible enough to endeavour to plant trees in the places which immediately environ Ulva-House, but there were many obstacles to contend with; not only the violence of the winds and the humidity of the climate, in a country where it rains more than three quarters of the year, oppose the success of plantations, but it likewise appears, that the sea air is liable to check the growth of trees. When a rock or wall shelters the young trees, they flourish for a time; but as soon as their upper branches grow above the shelter they begin to fade, and the tree decays. Mr. Macdonald has planted a great number of firs and larch, at the foot of the high rocks which protect his house from the westerly and southerly winds; the trees being still young, and consequently not lofty, they have, as yet, succeeded admirably; and if these trees can resist the sea air and impetuous winds, they

will one day form a charming amphitheatre round the habitation; thus, a dreary and barren hill, which now presents bold lines of rocks and heath, will be changed into a well-wooded hill. Fine grass-plots, and a large garden containing fruit and vegetables of every kind, immediately surround the house.

August 17.—The sky being serene, I considered myself fortunate in being able, so soon after my arrival at Ulva, to set out for Staffa, with favourable weather: many travellers, constantly thwarted by rains, the winds, and the sea, find themselves obliged, after waiting several days, to quit Scotland without reaching that island, even after having approached so near. We embarked at an early hour in the boat which had been prepared for us; the piper accompanied us with his bagpipe, and the echoes of the neighbouring rocks resounded with the noisy sounds of the *pibroch*, or the March of Clanronald. Every laird in the Hebrides has his piper, who accompanies him in his sea excursions, or plays the marches of his tribe during his repasts, while he remains in his castle. We were regaled with this music at Ulva House every day during dinner, and although the piper was placed outside of the house, it was almost impossible to hear the conversation.

After a passage of fifteen miles in two hours we arrived at Staffa, the place I had so long wished to behold. We descended from the boat on high basaltic rocks, in round masses. The loose stones and blocks of basalt on which we marched, by their number, immense size, and spherical form, indicate the force of the ocean, which continually besieges this isle, and breaks in pieces the hardest rocks. On this shore are embarked and disembarked the herds which are brought every spring into the isle, and taken away at the commencement of autumn; this operation is attended with considerable danger and difficulty.

We ascended at first by a gentle acclivity to the summit of the isle: its surface does not form a plain, as it appears at a distance; but the ground is disposed into small risings, which present varied undulations. A fine meadow covers the whole summit, where sheep find an excellent pasturage. The view of the ocean and of the neighbouring isles from this spot, is at once grand and imposing.

However, we had not yet seen any basaltic pillars, and were anxiously looking for the Cave of Fingal; but our boatmen reserved us this pleasure for the last, knowing that after having seen that fine cavern every thing in the isle would, in comparison, possess very feeble interest. They showed us the vestiges of a hut, in which a family formerly lived during eight years, for the purpose of watching the flocks; they were

the only inhabitants of this isle. Sir Joseph Banks and M. Faujas speak with horror of the wretchedness of this miserable abode. At present the hut is destroyed, and the island is completely deserted.

One of the boatmen who conducted us passed a part of his youth in this solitary habitation, and the account he gave of the life of inquietude and anguish which he led there deeply affected us. He recollected with terror those sad moments in which his companions and himself heard nothing around them but the howling of winds and agitated billows.

When the tempest began to rage on the sea, which is the case for more than three-quarters of the year, the wind then blew with such violence, that every moment they were afraid of seeing the house carried away like the leaf off a tree. The sea rolled its immense waves with such intense fury, that in breaking against the shore, floods of foam gushed out upon the enormous rocks which surrounded the isle, and entirely inundated it. The waves, forcing a passage into the Cave of Fingal, and the other caverns of the isle, struck against the walls with a noise resembling thunder. Staffa was shaken by the shocks of the furious sea, as by an earthquake. In the evening, whilst these poor men, seated in their miserable hut, have been listening with alarm to the terrible commotion of the elements, they have often seen the very rock on which their peat fire was burning move with the ground which trembled under their feet at every shock of these mountains of water, which seemed as if they would have reduced the whole isle to atoms. We might wish to have for a moment witnessed such a scene, to judge of the entire power of the ocean; but the bare idea of men living there for eight years filled us with horror.

We again descended to the sea-shore near the place where we had disembarked, and we arrived on a small promontory entirely composed of basalt, the long and very irregular prisms of which are disposed nearly horizontally, or at least are only straight at their two extremities, on one side towards the sea, and the other towards the interior of the isle. We ascended along these pillars as on a staircase, and on reaching the summit of the rock, an astonishing spectacle presented itself to our eyes. We saw from every part nothing but basaltic prisms displayed in every possible form; some vertical, others horizontal, or inclined in every direction, and under an infinity of angles. However, this mixture of so many directions and different inclinations does not produce the effect of a confused mass. The prisms are formed in distinct groups, in which each pillar has a parallel direction to those which accompany it. Each group, thus composed of pillars perfectly regular, having

all an uniform position, presents a very regular *ensemble*; but each has its particular forms, and does not resemble those which environ it.

Marching from pillar to pillar, we descended towards a small cavern, called Clamshell Cave, near which we perceived the Isle of Booschalla, which a narrow canal of no great depth separates from Staffa. At length, we arrived at the entrance of the Cave of Fingal. I shall not repeat here the circumstantial details which preceding travellers have given, on the form, the height, and the diameter of the pillars. The descriptions of Sir Joseph Banks and of M. Faujas have appeared to me generally exact, and those to whom the short sketch which I am about to give of this wonderful cavern does not appear sufficient, I refer to the works of the celebrated naturalists, above-mentioned.

Figure to yourself a vault of 250 feet in depth, and 117 in height; supported on each side by close groups of prisms, some with six faces, others with seven or eight sides, rising vertically to a height of more than 50 feet, preserving always the most perfect regularity. On entering the Cave of Fingal, we felt an indescribable impulse of admiration. The grandeur and majestic simplicity of this vast hall, the obscurity which reigns there, and which increases still more the solemnity of the basaltic pillars, the rolling waves striking against the walls, and which in breaking against the bottom of the cavern produce a noise at times similar to the rolling of distant thunder, the echoes resounding from the vault repeating and prolonging all the sounds with a kind of harmony;—all these features united produce in the mind a sensation which invited us to meditation and to religious awe.

The greatest silence reigned amongst us, each fixed on some piece of pillar; absorbed by the imposing view which we enjoyed, we could hardly cease contemplating the black walls of the cavern, the vast ocean, the mosaic pavement, and the ocean, which is seen prolonging at a distance across the gothic arch which forms the entrance of the vault. If all these united objects excited a lively interest in us, although previously prepared by the descriptions of former travellers, and the fame which it has acquired, what must have been the surprize and rapture of Sir Joseph Banks, when, on the simple report of an English gentleman, whom he met in the Isle of Mull, he discovered, we may say, Staffa and its cavern! Travelling through the Hebrides on his way to Iceland, Sir Joseph, (accompanied by the Bishop of Linköppinck, the learned Troil), was induced to turn aside a little from his route to view this remarkable island, which was then only known by very few persons; he went to it, by daybreak, and finding himself at the foot of those

superb natural colonnades, he saw the Cave of Fingal, illumed by the first rays of the sun. So unexpected a sight naturally excited the greatest enthusiasm in the illustrious travellers. How were they to announce to the world this original discovery ; in what terms were they to paint their impressions, and describe this wonder, in a manner so as to give a just idea of it. The remembrance of the finest antique temples, of the most majestic gothic cathedrals, presented itself to their mind ; they compared the master-pieces issued from the hand of man with the fantastic works of nature, and both, in contemplating this simple and noble architecture, the outlines of which have been traced by no human hand, turned with contempt on those baubles (for that is their expression) which the most exquisite art has been able to produce. Notwithstanding I perfectly comprehend the sentiment which called forth such a comparison, I cannot entirely concur with their opinion. The perfect regularity of each basaltic pillar of which these rocks are composed, may, it is true, recal in the first instance the idea of architecture ; but this simile must not be carried too far, as it cannot be supported by profound examination.

The great natural monuments may, like this, present regularity in their details, but there is never symmetry in the whole ; there always reigns an infinite variety, a certain picturesque disorder, which is like the seal of nature ; to wish to compare them with the works of men, is, if I may so express myself, to mar the object of our enthusiasm, since it is to invite us to judge of it by the rules of art. The two kinds are so different, that I cannot see how the admiration for the one could prevent the enjoyment of the other ; and I am not of the opinion of Troil, who says, that when we have seen Staffa, we can no longer admire the colonnades of the Louvre, of St. Peter's at Rome, or of Palmyra.

In addition to the pleasure I experienced from the beauty of the cave, were several impressions which added still more to its charm. Among these are the sentiments excited by its situation in the midst of a tempestuous sea, and sheltered from the destroying hand of man in a small isle, for a long period unknown, and continually beaten by floods and tempests : the idea of the possibility that subterraneous fires might formerly have contributed to its formation : the distant view of the isle of Iona : but, above all, the idea recalled to the mind by the name of FINGAL ! Fingal, Ossian, and his bards assembled perhaps in former times under these vaults ; the heavenly music of their harps accompanied the sound of their voices, and mixing with the hoarse winds and waves, it has perhaps more than once re-echoed through these cavities. Here they sung their wars and

their victories; here they commemorated the deeds of those heroes whose shades their imagination depicted to them by the pale light of the moon at the entrance of this solitary cavern!

Whilst we were indulging in these reflections, the *piper*, who entered the cave with us, made it resound with the wild and powerful notes of his bagpipe; this instrument well accorded with the character of the scene, and the notes prolonged by the echoes, produced an effect altogether analogous to that of an organ in pealing through the vaulted aisles of a vast cathedral.

CHAPTER III.

ISLE OF IONA, AND RETURN TO STAFFA.

Monastery of I-Colm-Kill.—Interesting Antiquities in Iona.—Ridiculous Story related by Pennant.—“World’s End Stones.”—Highland Dance.

ON quitting Staffa, we directed our course towards the Isle of Iona, which lies about fifteen miles to the south. We enjoyed first, an extensive prospect along the basaltic range, extending from the Isle of Booschalla as far as the Cave of the Cornwants, situated to the west of the Cave of Fingal.

The wind having fallen, our boatmen took to their oars. Joyous and animated by their Gaelic songs, and by the whiskey, which we poured out to them in bumpers, they ran over a space of fifteen miles in two hours. We entered into the Sound of Iona, an arm of the sea, scarcely a mile and a-half wide, and three miles long; it separates the Isle of Mull on the east, from the small Isle of Iona or I-Colm-Kill on the west. We soon perceived on our right, the ruins of the ancient cathedral of I-Colm-Kill, and afterwards the village, or collection of huts, in which all the inhabitants of this small isle reside; this place, seen from the sea, appears in the form of an amphitheatre.

A little before we arrived, the piper, according to custom, played one of the marches of the Macdonalds, and soon a number of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, sallied forth; while some remained at the door of their huts, and others advanced to the shore to see us land. We leaped on the shore, and were presently surrounded by a multitude of chil-

dren, presenting us small pebbles of a yellow serpentine, hard and transparent, which they gather on the sea shore.

These stones, known by the name of *Iona Pebbles*, are much sought after by lapidaries, who cut them for ornamental jewellery. The schoolmaster, who is at the same time steward of the Duke of Argyle, the proprietor of Iona, and to whom these two offices give the first rank in the island, offered himself as our *Cicerone*; but, before proceeding further, it may be proper to give a sketch of the history of this interesting island.

It appears, from the most ancient chronicles, that before the establishment of christianity in that portion of Great Britain, the Isle of Iona was the abode of a College of Druids, and that it bore the name of *Inish Druinish*, the Druids' Isle. It may also be conjectured, that the Ithona of Ossian, a name signifying, Isle of Waves, was the isle known at present under the same name; for in the Gaelic language, the *th* not being sounded, *Ithona* is pronounced *Iona*. After the arrival of St. Columban, and his pious disciples, had conferred a great celebrity on this isle, among the northern christians, it took the name of *I-Colm-Kill*, or isle of the burying ground of St. Columban. At present, it is called indifferently I. Iona, or I-Colm-Kill.

We must not confound St. Columban, the founder of the Abbey of Iona, and the first christian preacher among the wild Caledonians, with a saint of the same name and country, who, in the commencement of the seventh century, founded the celebrated Abbey of Luxen in Franche Comté. It is very probable that the latter, who lived half a century later, was one of the disciples of the religious order of I-Colm-Kill. However this might be, the elder St. Columban was born in Ireland, and having embraced christianity, he was remarkable for the austerity of his manners. Irritated by the persecutions which he experienced, or urged on by an ardent zeal for the propagation of christianity, he quitted Ireland, his native country, vowing not only that he would never return, but even that he would never establish himself within sight of that island. Having entered into a large boat, with some new converts, who partook of his zeal and his projects, he abandoned himself to the winds, which drove him towards the Hebrides; he landed at first on the Island of Otronsay, but having remarked, that from the top of the hills of this isle the Irish shore was still perceptible at a distance, he hastened to re-embark, and at last arrived at Iona, where, according to the Saxon historian, Beda, he fixed himself in the year 565. Bridius, who reigned at that time over the Picts, being converted

by him to christianity, gave him this island for the establishment of a convent; here Columban founded an abbey of regular canons, of whom he was the first abbot. Respected and venerated throughout Scotland for his piety and learning, he raised Aydanus to the throne, and placed the crown on his head with his own hands. "The authority of this man," says Buchanan, "was at that time so great, that neither the kings nor the people would enter upon any affair, without having first taken his advice." Having left Iona, in order to crown Aydanus, he profited by the occasion to address exhortations to the king and the nation, prescribing to them their mutual duties; and after having conjured them to remain faithful to the worship of the true God, he returned to his monastery. He again quitted it, a few years after, to appease a terrible war which was then raging between the Scots and the Picts; the sway which his virtues and talents gave him, even over the ferocious minds of these northern barbarians, displayed itself in this manner on all important occasions. After having crowned Aydanus, he instructed Eugenius, the son of this king, who was to succeed him, and endeavoured to inspire him with a taste for letters—the love of peace and religion. He died in the beginning of the seventh century; his death was to the King Aydanus, already oppressed with years and sorrow, a loss which he did not survive.

Notwithstanding this event, the kings of Scotland endowed this abbey more richly than ever; a female convent was established; a number of small isles were given to these monasteries, and I-Colm-Kill became the sepulchre for sovereigns, and the most powerful nobles of the mother-country and the isles. Faithful to the doctrine and precepts of their founder, the monks of Iona, at the same time that they preached to these uncivilized tribes the dogmas of the christian religion, dissipated by their learned labours the thick mist of ignorance and error which, at that epoch, reigned over all the north of Europe. In this state of obscurity, one of the smallest isles of the wild Hebrides shone alone with a brilliancy, which it was one day destined to spread to a distance, and afterwards to see extinguished in its own bosom.

Numerous missionaries set out from this interesting community, for the purpose of diffusing the light of the gospel and the knowledge of letters among the remotest, and at that time the most barbarous regions. Many of these missionaries penetrated into Gaul, into the countries of Germany, bordering on the Rhine, and even into the Alps of Switzerland; there founded monasteries, subject to the laws and discipline of I-Colm-Kill, and under the jurisdiction of its abbot, as far

as regarded spiritual matters. Among the holy missionaries of Iona, I shall only mention St. Gallus, who, in 614, established a monastery, in the place where the abbey and the town of St. Gall, in Switzerland, now stand; and St. Columban, the second of that name, founder of several convents in France, and in particular of the fine Abbey of Luxen, in Franche-Comté. All the ecclesiastical historians agree in rendering homage to his courage, learning, and piety.

During this time, those of the monks who remained in the Abbey of Iona divided their time between prayer, study, and the cultivation of the land; accustoming the wild islanders to derive their subsistence rather from the culture of the soil than from the wearisome and precarious occupation of the chase. The labours of the mind also occupied these laborious cenobites; a rich library was formed in the convent, where were found collected, besides the works of the monks themselves, the archives and registers of the Kingdom of Scotland, and many important manuscripts. It also appeared, from what Boëthe says, that this library received from the Scottish sovereign, a considerable chest of manuscripts, which Fergus II., who accompanied Alaric and his Goths to the plunder of Rome, had taken in that capital of the world. Such learning and virtue, in so barbarous an age and country, inspired the people with veneration for the monastery of Iona, and those who inhabited it; many of the monks were placed in the rank of saints, and their names figure in legends at this day; but what will be believed with more difficulty, is, that the isle itself has been canonized, and adored under the name of St.-Columb-Killa: of this, however, we are assured by the judicious Pennant. Is it not more probable, that the name of the isle has been confounded with that of St. Columban, and that this holy man has been at once adored under these two denominations?

All these titles to the homage and admiration of the faithful, did not prevent the Court of Rome from pronouncing strong censures against the canons of Iona, who, observing that the laws of the monks of the west differed from those of the Roman church as to the tonsure and the celebration of Easter, Pope Gregory sent into Scotland, an ignorant and fanatical Augustine friar, as legate, in order to reclaim the Christians of Caledonia to the obedience of the Holy See. Ruchanan justly deplores the fatal effects of this mission, which, on account of some slight differences in the ceremonial, changed a pure and enlightened religion for a multitude of superstitious and useless practices.

An invasion of the Danes in 807, was still more fatal to the

Abbey of I-Colm-Kill; many of the monks were massacred, the rest took to flight, and the monastery remained several years abandoned and deserted. After the expulsion of these devastating hordes, it was restored to its ancient destination; benedictines of the Order of Clugny replaced the canons, and lived in possession of I-Colm-Kill until the Reformation. At a later period, the Bishop of Sodor and Man established his residence at Iona, and contrary to the ecclesiastical usages, then in vogue, this prelate subjected himself to the supremacy of the abbot of I-Colm-Kill. In short, the Reformation put an end to the ancient splendour of this small isle, as the monks were not only expelled, but the religious edifices were devastated and left in ruins. The tombs of so many monarchs, prelates, and chiefs of Hebridean tribes, abandoned to the destructive nature of the elements; the churches and chapels, in part destroyed, still attest the fanatic zeal of the sectaries of Knox; and the Isle of Iona, formerly so celebrated and enlightened, but now ignorant and semi-barbarian, presents a sad monument of human vicissitudes. The library, in which so many documents on northern history were found collected, has not, if we may credit some authors, been totally destroyed; a considerable portion was transported to the Scottish College of Douay in France, and another to the Scottish College at Rome. Should these ancient works have again escaped the revolutionary vandalism of our era, we may justly expect some interesting discoveries on many important and obscure points of the history of the middle ages.

The family of Argyle, at the epoch of the Reformation, or rather that of the abolition of episcopal dioceses, entered into possession of several domains which had belonged to the clergy in that portion of Scotland, and Iona now forms part of the vast domains of the Duke of Argyle.

This isle is three miles long, and its greatest breadth does not exceed a mile and a half: it is divided into small farms, which the inhabitants hold from the Duke of Argyle. The population of Iona amounts to 350 souls. The houses, instead of being placed on the farm grounds, are all built in the form of a village, in the eastern part of the isle. Thus the inhabitants live very near each other, and often at a considerable distance from the place they cultivate: this custom is justly considered as disadvantageous to themselves, and to the prosperity of the isle in general. It fosters idleness, and consequently misery, and I was painfully struck, on arriving at Iona, to see the indolent manners of its inhabitants; some among them, it is true, are attached to fishing, the environs furnish a prodigious quantity of fish. On all sides there are

shelves, in which swarm various kinds of the cod fish, flounder, &c. These fish are, in general, of an excellent quality, and attain a considerable size; but if the fisheries are not more encouraged than they are at present in the isles of Scotland, fishing will only, at the most, be able to support the bare existence of the inhabitants, instead of being the means of furnishing an abundance of provision.

We now pursued our ramble towards the monuments of antiquity in this small isle. We particularly remarked, in the middle of the village, a cross placed upright, such as is generally seen in catholic countries. It is called St. John's Cross; it is composed of thin stone, of an elegant form, and there are still to be seen the remains of sculptures, in bas-relief, with which it was covered, but which time has partly destroyed. If we are to believe tradition, 360 similar crosses were formerly raised round the cathedral of I-Colm-Kill; there exist, at this day, only two, all the rest having been destroyed at the epoch of the Reformation. What appears to me surprising, is, that the two which remain were spared: I cannot conceive the cause, and no reason is given for that preference.

On leaving the village, we arrived at the ruins of a chapel consecrated to St. Oran, a disciple of St. Columban: the walls are still entire, but there is no roof. Near this chapel is to be seen the famous burying-ground which encloses the bones of so many illustrious dead. In this little spot, surrounded by walls, and in a great part covered with grass, are the tombs of forty-eight Scottish kings, from Fergus II. to Macbeth, four kings of Ireland, and eight kings of Norway, or, which is more probable, vice-roys, who governed the Hebrides during the time these islands belonged to Norway. No inscription or exterior decoration indicates the tomb of any of these monarchs. Donald Monro, Dean of the isles, who travelled over the Hebrides in 1549, says, at that time, in the midst of the burying-ground, where are interred the chiefs of the Hebridean nobility, three mausoleums were elevated at no great distance from each other; on the western face of each was a stone, bearing an inscription, which indicated its destination. That of the middle was entitled *Tumulus Regum Scotiæ*, another *Tumulus Regum Hiberniæ*, and the third, *Tumulus Regum Norvegiæ*.

But not even the trace of these monuments now exists, and in the multitude of tombs with which the ground is covered, we sought in vain for those of the kings. It is probable, however, that their coffins still exist, but they are, perhaps, deposited in subterraneous vaults, the entrance to which is unknown, but which may be one day discovered. The school-

master, who accompanied us, pointed out to us a stone of red granite, on which a large cross is sculptured, without any inscription. This tomb is of granite (all the others are of a grey free stone), and it is said that a king of France was interred there. Several modern travellers have spoken of this king without once mentioning his name; this circumstance appears to me very doubtful, and the more so, as neither the Dean of the isles, nor Buchanan, who has copied him, make any mention of it in their descriptions of the burying-ground of Iona.

If the tombs of the kings are no longer to be found, those of the Hebridean chiefs are there in great number, and many more might be seen if care was taken to pluck up the grass which covers a great part of these tomb-stones. It is much to be regretted that more attention is not paid to keeping in repair, and preserving the interesting antiquities, which are contained in Iona.

The greater part of these stones are ornamented with sculptures, either in alto or bas relief; some are entirely covered with arabesques, or fantastic ornaments in the gothic style; others are engraven with armories: in short, there are some in which are seen represented warriors on foot and horseback, players on the harp, dogs, stags, and other animals; nearly all of them have Latin inscriptions, written in gothic characters. Among these rudely constructed monuments, by which we may judge of the state of the arts at so remote an epoch, and in countries which are yet in a state of barbarism, we particularly remarked three tombs contiguous to each other; on each lies a full sized figure, in a sleeping posture, representing a warrior in complete armour, and clothed in the antique costume of the Gaels.

Pennant mentions these warlike statues, and attributes them to three chiefs of the tribe of Maclean; viz., Maclean of Loch Boay, Maclean of Durat, and Maclean of Coll. These three figures, although rudely sculptured, may be considered worthy of notice, as they give a perfect idea of the costume of the ancient Hebridean chiefs.

We entered the chapel of St. Oran by a small gothic door, by the side of which the holy basin may still be seen: the interior of this small building is filled with tablets, covered with ornaments and inscriptions in gothic characters. Here lie several of the chiefs of the divers clans or tribes who inhabited these islands. We noticed a stone which forms the tomb of a Clanronald, chief of the Macdonalds, and that of a Mackinnon, chief of the Clan Alpin, a tribe renowned for its antiquity, and from its reckoning among its chiefs many of the

most ancient Scottish kings. On these stones are sculptured the *claymore*, or long two-handled sword, which the Gaels formerly used, as well as the ancient Swiss; also the shield, emblazoned with the arms of the warrior. In short, in the middle of the chapel, the stone was shown us which covers the grave of St. Oran: it is entire, and without any inscription. In speaking of the chapel of St. Oran, Pennant relates the following story:—

“The legend,” says he, “informs us, that this edifice was the first which St. Columban endeavoured to build, but a malignant spirit caused the walls to fall down according as they were built. After a consultation among the monks, it was decided, that the walls would not be solid until a human victim was interred under them. Oran, a companion of the saint, generously devoted himself, and was interred. At the end of three days St. Columban had the curiosity to cast a last look upon his ancient friend, and caused the earth which covered him to be removed, when, to the great surprise of all the assistants, Oran arose, and began to reveal the secrets of his prison; he declared, that every thing which had been said of hell was only a pleasantry; but Columban was so shocked with his impiety, that he very prudently ordained him to be again committed to the earth. Poor Oran was engulfed, and thus for ever ended his gossiping.”

Pennant has gone laboriously out of his way to relate a story so absurd, and so contrary to the character of St. Columban. It is clear that this tale is of modern invention; for Buchanan, who detested the monks, would not, had he known it, have spoken in such honourable terms of St. Columban, and of the pious and learned monks of I-Colm-Kill.

The ruins of the cathedral have nothing remarkable in them; they, however, serve as a contrast, by recalling the splendour of this edifice with the dreary and barren aspect of the isles and rocks which surround it. This church, as well as other gothic cathedrals, is built in the form of a cross, in the middle of which rises a square massive tower, and without ornament. The whole of this edifice, and those which surround it, are built of red granite from the neighbouring bank of the Isle of Mull. I cannot conceive where Dr. Johnson was able to find traces of Roman workmanship in a building evidently gothic, and above all, in an island into which the Romans have never penetrated. The architecture of the Cathedral, if we except the great window towards the east, does not display, however, those light and varied forms, those innumerable and often elegant details, which the great gothic monuments present in other parts of Great Britain: here, all is heavy and massive.

The interior of the church is, however, more carefully worked than the exterior ; we still see there the colonnades terminating by arches, which separate the lateral chapels from the body of the church ; the chapters of the pillars are short and thick, and contain rude representations, in bas relief, from some passages of the holy scriptures, such as the expulsion of our first parents from paradise, as well as fantastic arabesques and imperfect designs. There are also to be seen in the church, the tombs of two abbots of Iona, of the names of Mackinnon and Mackenzie, or Mackenneth ; both are represented in a sleeping position on their tombs, and attired in their pontifical robes, with mitres on their heads and crosses in their hands. The statue of the first of these prelates is in a remarkable state of preservation ; and although the epitaph, which is engraven in gothic characters round the grave-stone, bears the date of the year 1500, this figure appears recently sculptured.

At the foot of the walls of the abbey we were shown the stone which covers the grave of St. Columban, but it bears no inscription nor sculpture. Near it is a statue of black marble, in a mutilated state, which is called the *Black Rock*. The chiefs of the Hebridean tribes laid their hands on this block when pronouncing the oath of allegiance to the sovereign of Scotland. We also remarked the beautiful cross, named the Cross of St. Martin, or Maclean. It still stands before the entrance of the church, its form is elegant, and it is sculptured on both sides ; one bearing fantastical ornaments, the other representing the serpent and Adam and Eve receiving the apple.

Our guides would not allow us to quit these ruins without showing us the *clacha brath*, or “ world’s end stones,” which are deposited in a part of the wall between the cathedral and the burying-ground of St. Oran ; these are three stone balls, contained in a basin of the same material. The tradition is, that the end of the world will arrive when the basin shall have been completely worn by the friction of the balls ; and it is in order to hasten that solemn moment, that all who come to Iona believe themselves obliged to whirl round the ball three times in the direction of the sun’s course.

We cannot be astonished, that a people naturally superstitious, should attach ideas of fatality to these ruins and tombs, and to so many monuments which recal the vanity of all human grandeur : thus, we find that the inhabitants of Iona greatly surpass in credulity those of the Hebrides. The idea of the “ world’s end stones” is ancient, and appears to have prevailed at the time that the monks inhabited the abbey. According to Mr. Sacheverel, governor of the Isle of Man, who

visited Iona in 1688, there were, within the abbey, three fine globes of white marble placed in three stone basins, which were the objects of the same belief as the *clacha brath* of the present day, and were destroyed by order of the protestant synod of Argyle. . An ancient Gaelic prophecy, which is still repeated, shows the idea of the Hebrideans as to the superiority of the small isle of Iona over all the neighbouring countries, and of the part it was to act in that terrible moment, when a new deluge would inundate the earth. According to this prediction, when all the surrounding isles, when Ireland itself shall have disappeared under the waters, the holy I-Colm-Kill will still proudly raise its head, during the period of seven years, above the liquid plain.

Beyond the village are to be seen the ruins of two convents of canons and canonesses, the bare walls of which still remain ; we were shown the chapel of one of these convents, and some tombs of abbesses, monks, and priests. The stones, half covered with earth and turf, are loaded with sculptures and inscriptions in gothic characters. If the view of these mausolea of the middle ages, in the dreary churches of remote centuries ; if these great figures, extended on their tombs with clasped hands, their countenances turned towards heaven, and their prostrate bodies, produce a strong and solemn impression on the mind of the traveller, who surveys the gothic vaults of edifices still consecrated to worship and to prayer, how much more will he experience, when he contemplates these rude monuments amidst a mass of ruins, in a wild and barren country, and on the banks of a boundless sea ;—when he sees the ground strewn with grave-stones, exposed to the atmosphere from the time the vaults which enclosed them have ceased to exist ;—when, in fine, the sea winds, by agitating the stalks of the nettles and wild grass, discover, at times, the great figure of an old warrior, or the immoveable statue of a venerable prelate !

On viewing the ancient I-Colm-Kill, so changed and so fallen, I was overcome with melancholy reflection ; thus we involuntarily look back to the past ;—we seek to efface, by reflection, the ravages of time ;—to re-establish those ruined edifices, and wish to see them again, such as they were formerly with their pious inhabitants. In these churches and convents, formerly enriched by the gifts of sovereigns, where precious metals and rich stuffs once decorated the altars, and vaulted roofs re-echoed with the sacred melody of organs, we no longer hear any sounds but the rolling of the floods, and the howling of the winds, through ruins and deserted cloisters. Formerly, at every hour of the day, and even night, the Eternal

was adored in Iona; but, at this day, worship is no longer celebrated, and the inhabitants are obliged to go to the church in the Isle of Mull, at a distance of several miles. Ignorance and idleness have succeeded labour and study, and the gardens, which were formerly cultivated by the friars, are now become waste. Formerly, a vessel, when navigating by night in the canal of Iona, was guided by the sound of the bells of the abbey; whilst the glimmering lamp which burned in the cell of a monk,—laboriously occupied in copying an ancient manuscript, served as a beacon to the pilot to direct him in these dangerous latitudes. Overtaken by the tempest, or wrecked upon the rocky shore, he was sure to find an hospitable asylum and consolation amongst these good fathers,—remedies for all his misfortunes. At present, the poor inhabitants of Iona would willingly share all they have with a stranger in distress, but they have scarcely sufficient for their own wants.

Strangers have often testified their regret on seeing the inhabitants of this place, so well known for their religious habits in former times, compelled to go out of their isle to a place of worship. Pennant, Johnson, and Knox, have strongly expressed their surprise at this striking contrast; and they have also deplored the want of the means of instruction for youth. This latter circumstance, at least, has been taken into consideration, and at present I-Colm-Kill possesses a school; the master who directs it appears to be a well-informed man. I was agreeably surprised to hear him speak of Mont-Blanc, in Switzerland, of its ice and perpetual snows, and address to me some very sensible questions on objects so remote from these districts.

We promised to reward our boatmen for their past zeal, by treating them with a dance at Iona, in the evening, as dancing is the favorite amusement of the Hebrideans of all ages. They brought us a fiddler, and we invited the inhabitants of the village to a dance in our hut. We much admired the gaiety, the liveliness of their national dances, and the address with which they avoided the deep holes of the ground on which they leaped. The luxury of floors is unknown here, and in the interior of the houses the inhabitants still tread on a damp and rough soil. We plied the dancers with *toddy*, and in the intervals between the reels they sung several Gaelic songs in full chorus. Although these songs, as well as those we heard on the sea, consisted of a solo and chorus, they differed little in the rhyme, but the words were different; the airs composed to be sung on the water, and accompanied by the noise of the oars, are called *jorrams*, the others bear the name of *Oran luathaidh*, and are only sung on land to amuse the workmen

in their labours; they are a species of ballads, or recitations of adventures, sometimes heroic or tragical, and at other times of a comic and burlesque character.

The men and women seated themselves in a circle and joined hands, or held, in couples, the end of a handkerchief, with which they kept time during the chorus. Two of our boatmen, who were the leaders, made all kinds of grimaces and apish tricks whilst singing, striking themselves on the head one against the other with all the dexterity of Italian buffoons, while the rest of the company were convulsed with laughter. This scene greatly amused us, and we were astonished to see, under so foggy an atmosphere, in so dreary a climate, a people animated by that gaiety and cheerfulness, which we are apt to attribute exclusively to those nations who inhabit the delightful countries of the south of Europe.

It required all the fatigue of a long journey, replete with a thousand interesting scenes, to enable us to pass the night in our miserable abode; some of our party were glad to find a wretched bed, without either mattress or sheets; others were obliged to content themselves with a bed of straw, spread on the cold damp ground.

August 18. At an early hour we quitted our miserable bed, and again embarked on our return to Ulva. The waves threw upon the coast the wrecks of several ships. These wrecks belong by right to the Duke of Argyle, as grand admiral of Scotland, but he generally yields them up to the proprietors of the isles on which they have been found, which at times produces a considerable revenue to the latter; since, by these means, they not only acquire a great quantity of wood and iron-work, which are valuable in the Hebrides, but frequently some casks of wine, forming part of the cargo of vessels lost in the Atlantic. The sea brings also, we were told, extraordinary foreign seeds and fruits. From what they said, I suppose they meant the American fruits, of which several travellers have spoken, and the arrival of which, on the coasts of the Hebrides and Norway, has been often mentioned, as a proof of the existence of a great current which crosses the Atlantic, from the eastern coasts of America to the shores of the northern countries of Europe.

After passing near the rocks of Inoh-Kenneth, we returned to Ulva, where we had the pleasure of engaging Mr. Macdonald, the brother of Clanronald, who was at Ulva-House, to accompany us in our visit to the isles, which belonged to his brother. During the last three days of my residence at Ulva-House, English travellers were continually arriving. They all

wished to see Staffa, which is generally the term of their maritime excursions, and passed by Ulva, most of them alighting at Ulva-House.

CHAPTER IV.

FROM ULVA TO COLL AND TIRRE.

Port of Tobermory.—Proofs of the Existence of the great Current from the Shores of America to the Hebrides, &c.

August 28th. It was with much regret I quitted Ulva-House, and took leave of its amiable inmates. Mr. Macdonald gave me letters of recommendation to all the proprietors of the isles which we were about to visit; he also took care to procure us excellent horses and a guide to conduct us to Tobermory, across the mountains to the north of Mull. We set out pretty late in the morning, and witnessed the manner by which horses are conveyed across the strait of Ulva; they are fastened by the head to the boat, which they are also compelled to follow by swimming. Having arrived in the Isle of Mull, we mounted on horseback, and first passed through the fine farm of Laggan-Ulva; by following a narrow path along the shore, we passed near the cascade seen from Ulva-House. This cascade, already rendered exceedingly terrific by the height of the basaltic rock from which it rushes, had been much swollen by the late rains. A few miles further we passed the beautiful estate of Torloisk, on our right, belonging to Mrs. Clephan-Maclean. The house is a handsome structure, and stands on a fine eminence clothed with verdure, and covered with trees and shrubs. Having reached Balachroi, a small village belonging to Mr. Maclean of Coll, we next passed over a chain of hills covered with heath, and arrived at a narrow and dreary lake, designated in the map by the name of Loch-Friza, surrounded by barren and deserted mountains. After climbing up a second chain of hills, and discovering other lakes as dreary as the former, the fine Port of Tobermory suddenly burst upon our view, and it was not without an agreeable surprise that we saw the charming village of that name, which, by the beauty of its situation, the cleanliness and even elegance of the houses, strongly contrasted with the uncultivated regions we had just quitted. Tobermory signifies in Gaelic, Mary's Well, and was formerly celebrated for a foun-

tain consecrated to the virgin. It is a small town situate at the northern extremity of the Isle of Mull, and owes its existence to the efforts (unfortunately too feebly supported,) of the Society for the Encouragement of Sea Fishing in the Hebrides. When Pennant and Knox visited these isles, the Port of Tobermory was not in existence; for both travellers, who speak with admiration of the beauty of the bay, take no notice of the village. It is probable that what is at present a small town, then much resembled those poor hamlets which are every where seen in the Isle of Mull, and was too insignificant to attract the attention of travellers. At the present day a line of elegant stone houses, of two stories, and covered with slate, rises between a hill and the bay. A handsome quay, of hewn stone, separates them from the sea, and allows trading vessels to approach the shore, so as to load and unload their cargoes. At Tobermory we found a good inn and shops, seldom to be met with in these districts; there is altogether an air of comfort and cleanliness in this place, which is very rare in the Hebrides. The prohibitory laws which exist in Scotland, particularly those relative to commerce and to the manufactory of salt, are the principal and notorious causes of the deplorable state of the fishery in the Hebrides, and why this sea port, which was intended to develope the industry of the inhabitants and diffuse abundance in this part of Mull, has not produced such effects, is rather irreconcilable. The united efforts of the Hebridean proprietors, and of the Society for the Encouragement of Fishery, have not yet succeeded in obtaining from the legislative powers the revocation of those laws so strongly called for by all the islanders.

The bay of Tobermory has acquired some celebrity in history, by the shipwreck of the Spanish frigate, the Florida, which belonged to the famous Armada. It is said that the body of the vessel still remains at the bottom of the water; several persons have been often employed to draw up the effects which it contains, and many precious articles have been discovered. I saw in the house of Colonel Maclean, in the Isle of Coll, some specimens of very fine foreign wood, which has been obtained from this vessel, and converted into chimney ornaments. I was assured also, that at the time of the shipwreck of the Florida, in 1588, some Spanish horses, which were on board, succeeded in escaping and gaining the shore; that they had multiplied in the Isle of Mull, and that the intermixture of this foreign race, with that which previously existed in the country, had produced the beautiful species of small horses which are now seen in Mull, and which are more esteemed than all others in

the Hebrides; I cannot, however, vouch for the truth of this statement.

August 30th. We set sail for the Isle of Coll, and after having sailed six hours, in the finest weather, we cast anchor in the small bay of Brakalla. Leaving our vessel, we took the small boat and landed on the rocks, from whence we proceeded towards the house of Mr. Maclean, the proprietor of Coll, whom I had the pleasure of knowing in Edinburgh. We learned with great regret, that he had set out with his family, the evening before, for the Isle of Sky. Mr. Maclean's steward, who came out to meet us, hastened to invite us, in the name of his master, to fix our abode at his house as long as we staid at Coll. He offered to accompany us wherever we chose, and was in every way anxious to make himself agreeable to us.

The house of the Laird of Coll is modern, elegantly built, and situated at some distance from the bay; we still perceived, on the banks of the sea, the ruins of the ancient Castle of Coll, the former residence of the family of Maclean before the new house was built. The apartments are not spacious, but they are very convenient, and furnished with much taste and neatness. There is a good library, which is a valuable object for a family, who often pass the whole year in a place bereft of all the pleasures of society.

The Isle of Coll is destitute of those grand scenes which distinguish the Hebridean landscapes; having no high and picturesque rocks or mountains, the absence of all kinds of trees is also still more felt. Although the land is in general barren, it is nevertheless, in many places, covered with fine meadows and rich pasturage. Mr. Maclean possesses, to the westward of his house, a vast plain which produces hay of an excellent quality; I witnessed the harvest which had just commenced; this rural occupation, which every where presents an animated scene, has a more pleasing effect in the Hebrides, as it is to be met with there. Agriculture and fishing occupy the inhabitants, whose number is upwards of a thousand. In all our walks we had ample reason to congratulate ourselves with their hospitality. The Gaelic language is more generally spoken than the English, and many of the inhabitants do not understand the latter. The following may be considered as a striking instance of the scrupulous attachment of the inhabitants to the custom of remote ages. When a stranger enters the hut of a peasant, and asks for milk, the man or woman fills a wooden bowl, and after having first tasted it, presents it to the applicant. This is a method of convincing him that the drink contains nothing pernicious in

it; such a precaution might have been necessary when the armed clans were engaged in interminable and cruel wars, and when a Highlander, on entering a strange hut, was ignorant whether it was the dwelling of a friend or an enemy.

Mr. Maclean is not the sole proprietor of Coll; the Duke of Argyle possesses a third, in the northern part of it. The greater part of the inhabitants belong to the tribes of Maclean and Campbell. The isle is divided into two parishes, each of which has its church and school.

At Coll we clearly ascertained the existence of the great current, which, after sweeping the coasts of America, runs through the Atlantic, and beats the western coasts of the northern countries of Europe. Every winter foreign seeds and pieces of American wood are thrown upon the shore. I saw at Mr. Maclean's house the entire trunk of a mahogany tree which had been thrown on the coast by the current; I was also shown a beautiful tortoise-shell and two or three cocoa-nuts, which the sea had thrown up, and which are preserved as curiosities.

September 3d. We set out at an early hour, accompanied by Mr. Maclean, the steward, in order to visit the Isle of Tiree, situated to the south of Coll. These two isles are separated by a strait of five miles in breadth, in the midst of which the little Isle of Guna is situated. Having reached the southern extremity of Coll, we took a small boat which two boatmen drew with great difficulty from the sand in which it was wedged. The canal between Coll and Guna is very narrow, and dangerous, from the quantity of sand-banks and shallow places with which it abounds; and our boatmen were frequently obliged to jump into the water to push the boat from the sand-banks. Having surveyed the Isle of Guna, consisting entirely of rocks of gneiss, we were an hour in reaching Tiree, after sailing with very fine weather and a calm sea.

Tiree presents the most agreeable appearance after passing a rampart of sands which border the shore. It is, undoubtedly, the most fertile and cultivated of all the Hebrides; its length is twelve miles, and its greatest breadth, three. This isle belongs entirely to the Duke of Argyle, and the number of the inhabitants is upwards of 2,400. The northern part where we landed is, like the south of Coll, very sandy; we passed by the foot of several high banks of sand, formed by hurricanes, but soon reached a fertile region, covered with meadows and cultivated lands, where barley, oats, clover, and potatoes grow to great advantage. One half of the surface of Tiree is worth cultivation. The small villages which we passed through, appeared to me cleaner and more com-

compact, than those of the other isles; the habitations are better constructed, and the roofs built with more care. The walls of the houses are extremely thick, and tastefully built with stones placed together without any cement. A multitude of plants, of a fine foliage, grow in the interstices of the stones, and overshadow the entrance into the houses with a canopy of the finest green. In other respects, the interior of these habitations generally resembles the huts of the Hebrides.

We entered a village situate on the eastern coast, where a small port, with a fine pier, has been built. The vessels of Scotland and Ireland engaged in the coasting trade may refit here, in case of bad weather, and find the necessary articles to repair their damage. We saw several sloops in the port, waiting a favourable wind. From thence we entered a plain, of three square miles in surface, the largest and most level plain in the Hebrides, and which is every where adorned by the finest verdure. We passed through a part of it in order to arrive at the farm of Balaphaitrich, belonging to Mr. Campbell. The house is small, but built in a good style, and stands on the western side of the isle, on the banks of the sea, and at the entrance of the great plains on the sea shore.

In the south of the isle, we perceived a rock, on which an innumerable multitude of sea birds build their nests. No species of serpents or reptiles is known here. I asked one of the natives if there were any wild animals. "Yes," he replied, "we have a great quantity of rats, which commit much damage; the rat is the largest, and perhaps the only wild quadruped in Tiree."

In the winter of 1806, a storm cast ashore at Tiree no less than eighty young whales, the largest of which measured twenty feet in length; but the inhabitants not being provided with the necessary articles to collect the oil, could only derive a very small profit from it.

We passed the rest of the day and night at Balaphaitrich, where Mr. Campbell received us with all the hospitality of the ancient Hebrideans. During the repast, which lasted all the evening, a peasant, successor of the ancient bards, came and seated himself near a window, and sung, or rather recited, in a monotonous tone, several Gaelic poems, very different from the wild *Jorrams*, as the latter have at least in their discordant harshness, a peculiar expression, which is not altogether without its attractions.

September 4th. We quitted Balaphaitrich in order to return to Coll, accompanied by Mr. Campbell and Mr. M'Coll, pastor of the Isle of Tiree, who accompanied us as far as the village, where we found a boat ready to cross the strait. Be-

fore embarking we stopped a few minutes in a hut. An old man, who lived there, recited to us the fragment of a Gaelic poem, which Mr. M'Coll translated to me in English; I at once recognized, from the literal translation which he gave me, that the subject was the death of Oscar, such as has been published by Macpherson in the First Book of Temora. I particularly remarked the touching episode of the two dogs, Bran and Luath, howling at the feet of the heroes who had just expired.

CHAPTER V.

FROM COLL TO CANNA.

Scour Eigg.—Horrid Cruelty exercised by the Macleods against the Macdonalds.—Portrait of an ancient Highlander.—Isle of Rum.—Compass Hill.—Protestants of the Golden-headed Cane.

September 8th. We set sail from Coll at 10 o'clock, with a slight wind from the north-west. The weather was very fine; and having cleared the bay, we enjoyed a most enchanting prospect. On the north we saw the Isles of Rum and Eigg, towards which we steered; and on the east, the Isle of Mull and its high mountains. Whilst we slowly proceeded, with a slight wind, along the eastern coast of Coll, we perceived, at a little distance from us, the back of an enormous whale. Our sailors estimated its length from fifty to sixty feet; it showed itself two or three times in succession, and then disappeared altogether. I had never before seen a whale, and this one did not appear to me of an extraordinary size; but having before me such objects for comparison, as the sea, immense mountains, and entire islands, it is by no means extraordinary that this animal appeared to me less than it really was.

The night, although fine, was very cold, and we easily perceived, by the temperature of the air, that we were sailing in a latitude far advanced towards the north; we had in fact passed the 57th degree of latitude. Having descended into our cabin, we found a good peat fire, and after a light repast, we retired to rest, and slept until the moment the sailors roused us to announce that we had anchored in a small bay of the Isle of Eigg. It was one o'clock in the morning when we stepped

into the boat. By the light of the stars, we could distinguish the bay, surrounded nearly on all sides with rocks; and the mountain of Scour Eigg, the highest summit of the isle, rising like an imposing shadow above our heads.

Guided by our sailors, we groped, in the dark, across the rocks, till we came to two or three huts; when we knocked at the door of one of them. An old man rose to admit us; and notwithstanding the early hour, he gave us a hearty reception. A large bottle of whiskey, and some bread and cheese, were immediately set before us; and during this frugal repast, a small neat chamber was prepared for us, where we slept. Clanronald is the proprietor of the Isle of Eigg, and we resolved not to inform our host, till the next day, that he had the good fortune to lodge the brother of his Laird; fearing that were this known sooner, we should not have had a moment's repose. The good old man was a Macdonald, an ancient soldier; he had fought at the battle of Quebec, and by the side of General Wolfe. He also recollected, in his infancy, following his father at the battle of Culloden, where he served in the army of Prince Charles Stuart.

September 9th. The secret was already discovered before we arose, and the good man, who had learned from the sailors, that the brother of the chief of the Macdonalds was in the house, hastened, as soon as we were dressed, to pay his respects to him; his wife clasped him in her arms, and our breakfast, in some degree, proved the effects of their joy, for they gave us all they possessed. These good people never once kept their eyes off Mr. Macdonald, and more than once blessed the happy day on which he entered their hut.

Accompanied by our host, we commenced operations by ascending the Scour Eigg, which is, as I have said, the name of the highest summit of the isle. The rocks, of which the Scour Eigg is formed, rise gradually from the western part of the Eigg, in the form of an inclined angle, its highest elevation being towards the east; this angle is suddenly terminated by a precipice of many hundred feet. From the base of this immense rock, the ground descends by a gentle declivity towards the sea. I cannot give a better idea of the figure of the angle which forms the summit of Scour Eigg, than in comparing it to the crest of an ancient helmet; and the ground under the rock to the helmet itself. From the hut of Macdonald, which is on the eastern side of the isle, we had, looking westward, the view of Scour Eigg in the foreground. From this situation, the mountain presented a most singular appearance, and resembled an enormous tower, rising to a great height above all the surrounding hills. These hills are

The Living of Egypt from the East

Dr. Wood

every where covered with thick heath, except in the hollow and steep places, where the rock is here and there bare. On this rock, are thousands of small regular pillars, forming the long ridge which bound the Scour Eigg, extending from east to west, to a length of nearly two miles. Having reached the eastern part of the ridge, on the summit of the perpendicular rock which terminates it, we suddenly burst on a most magnificent view. Standing on the top of this rock, we were surrounded on the north, the east, and the south, by deep precipices. The wind blew hard, which would not allow us to remain here long, to enjoy, as much as we wished, so fine a panorama, which the serenity of the sky enabled us to discern in its full extent.

Among the numerous caverns on the sea-shore, there is one which is but too celebrated in the history of this small isle. The Macleods, a tribe who inhabited the Isle of Sky, having had a quarrel with the Macdonalds of the Isle of Eigg, resolved, according to the custom of those warlike tribes, to terminate their difference by the force of arms. Having formed a project of attacking the Macdonalds by surprise, in their isle, and of attaining the most decisive revenge, they collected all their boats, and filled them with armed men. Favoured by the wind, this formidable expedition set sail, and soon appeared in sight of the Isle of Eigg. The Macdonalds, alarmed at the approach of an enemy, so superior in numbers, despaired of being able to resist by force, and began to conceal themselves in a cavern of their isle, the entrance to which could not easily be discovered, being low and overgrown with briers. The Macleods disembarked in the Isle of Eigg, but to their great surprise, finding their project defeated, that the isle was deserted, and all the inhabitants had disappeared, they re-entered their boats, and again set sail for the Isle of Sky. In the interval, the Macdonalds judged that it was now time to leave their retreat: they imagined that the Macleods were entirely gone, and sent one of their party to a neighbouring rock, in order to watch the progress of the enemy. From an elevated spot, the spy was soon discovered by the small flotilla, which instantly turned round. Suspecting that the inhabitants of Eigg had found some retreat in their isle, the Macleods again disembarked. The imprudent Macdonald, seeing them return, entered into the cavern; but unfortunately, the trace of his foot-steps, on a recent fall of snow, indicated to their enemies the fatal cavern; they approached towards it, and being unable to enter it by force, they conceived the horrible design of suffocating at once the whole of these unfortunate people. They kindled an enormous fire at the entrance of the

cavern, the smoke of which, driven by the wind, soon filled the interior, and destroyed all those who were within! This atrocious act is well calculated to afford an idea of the hatred which formerly existed between those island savages.

We could not at first perceive the entrance to the cavern, which was concealed by briars and thorns; it is so low, that we were obliged to crawl on our hands and knees, in order to penetrate into it; but after advancing a short distance, we found ourselves in a spacious cavern. Having lit a flambeau, we penetrated as far as we could into this long and narrow cavern. The sight of the walls, still blackened by the smoke, and, above all, the quantity of human bones and skulls scattered on the ground, were for us too striking proofs of the truth of that horrid catastrophe; and the effect produced on us by the unexpected discovery of these human skulls, and the horror which momentarily overcame us, can be easier imagined than described.

We employed the rest of the day in visiting the farm of Laig, occupied by one of Clanronald's farmers, named also Macdonald, to whom we had a strong recommendation, as being a representative of the ancient Highlanders, &c. preserving all their manners and customs to this day: we soon perceived this by the cordial reception which the good old man gave us. He detained us to dinner, but before the cloth was laid, he made us drink a full glass of whiskey to the health of each. The dinner was simple, but very good. From the time we left Ulva we had not tasted bread till now, having been accustomed to eat oatmeal cakes: thus nothing was wanting for our comfort. Our host related to us many interesting stories of Prince Charles, respecting whom he could not speak without visible emotion. He designated the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Breadalbane by the simple appellations of Breadalbane and Argyle. It was not, however, with him a mark of familiarity or of disdain; but he followed the ancient Scottish custom of designating nobles, proprietors, or farmers, by the names of their fiefs, their domains, or their farms, without adding that of their family or any other title. According to this custom, the boatmen of Mr. Macdonald, of Staffa, whether in speaking of, or addressing themselves to him, called him simply Staffa, as the most respectful title.

When the old man mentioned the Campbells, we discovered in his conversation some traces of that animosity which formerly existed between the two tribes. But to hear him, all the peers of the kingdom were nothing by the side of Clanronald, his chief, whose name was repeated every instant in his conversation. Upon the whole, nothing was more singular

than his whole deportment; it was the tone, the manners of an epoch which had long passed away, and of a generation almost extinct.

After dinner, according to custom, he gave several toasts; the first was to the King, the second, in a bumper, to Clanronald. He also diverted us greatly by singing some Gaelic songs; and as he was famed for knowing the airs of the bagpipe better than any professed piper, we begged him to give us some specimens. He then sang some pibrochs, with all their difficult passages, pleasingly imitating with his voice the sound of the bagpipe.

The greatest curiosity at this good man's house was a Gaelic manuscript, which, he told us, was written by his grandfather. It was the only manuscript of this kind which I had yet seen, and was written in peculiar characters, long since out of use. I could not ascertain the contents of this manuscript, but at least I was convinced that the Gaelic, whatever may be said of it, was formerly a language possessing very peculiar characters.

On our departure, the good old Laig accompanied us to the door of his house; there, filling a glass of whiskey, he first drank himself, and then pouring out a bumper to each in succession, we emptied it, at the same time testifying our gratitude for his hospitality. This little ceremony is a very ancient custom denominated *Door Drink* (*Deoch an Dorus*), and is similar to the parting cup amongst the natives of Switzerland. After taking leave of our excellent host, we returned to the pastor of the Isle of Eigg, who had kindly invited us to accept of his house during the time that we remained in the isle.

Sunday, September 13. We were conducted to an ancient ruined chapel, enclosing numerous tombs; these tombs are sculptured like those of Iona, and all bear the arms of the Macdonalds. I returned to the parsonage in order to prepare for our departure, and to pack up and label the specimens of minerals which I had collected; but, to my extreme regret, this circumstance gave great offence to the inmates of the house, it being Sunday. But the people were still more shocked when they learned that Mr. Campbell was gone out to collect some mineral substances, although to avoid all reproach he had not taken a hammer with him. Such is the strictness of custom in this part of Scotland, that every thing having the least appearance of labour is strictly proscribed on that day.

The Isle of Eigg is about five miles long, and three broad; its population is 400 souls. Mr. Macdonald, the proprietor of Eigg, possesses no house where he can reside. A steward manages his domain, and levies the annual contributions from the great farmers, or *tackemen*, who here, as in all parts of the

Highlands, hold leases, directly from the proprietor, of the portions of land which are cultivated by *cottagers*, to whom they under-let, together with a hut, and some acres of land for their own use. The parish in which Eigg is situated consists of the Isles of Muck and Canna, which renders the pastor's charge equally painful and dangerous. Nothing can be more satisfactory than the manner in which Mr. Maclean, as well as other ministers of isles, fulfil this difficult vocation. Although his residence is at the Isle of Eigg, he does not neglect his pastoral duties in the other isles belonging to his charge. He exposes himself to the dangers of storms and perilous seas, in order to visit his parishioners at Muck and Canna, whenever the winds permit him; and this respectable ecclesiastic even braves the most stormy seas, in an open boat, in order to administer the consolations of religion to those pious souls committed to his charge.

I learned with astonishment that nearly one half of the inhabitants of the Isle of Eigg profess the Catholic religion. They have a priest of their own persuasion, and a church which is consecrated to them. This priest is a Scotsman, who has been educated in France. Although the inhabitants of the two kinds of worship live on good terms with each other, I nevertheless heard in this small island several animated discussions on religious controversy. This is a subject of conversation which is treated with much warmth and spirit, but without bitterness or intolerance. We heard, with surprise, a repetition of arguments, and a kind of logic, which, in all the rest of Europe, have for many ages become obsolete.

September 14. Although the wind blew violently from the north-west, we set sail from the Isle of Eigg. The roaring of the winds, and the waves striking with fury the sides of our small vessel, and seeming at every moment ready to dash it in pieces, the noise of the pump, which was continually working, and the surges breaking over our heads, did not fail giving us some uneasiness, and, above all, when we heard the cries of the sailors, whom the tempest had prevented hearing each other. However, towards evening, as we approached the Isle of Rum, the wind abated a little, and the sea being lower, I went upon deck, and witnessed the North Sea, at the approach of winter, in all its severity.

We had near us, on the west, the high and wild mountains of the Isle of Rum; on the north, the fine mountains of the Isle of Sky, with their tops covered with snow. The sea rolled its high billows, and broke against the rocks; whilst innumerable flights of sea-gulls, penguins, and other birds inhabiting the icy seas, were swimming, plunging, and flying, forming groups similar to swarms of bees, in all directions where shoals of

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The Store of Ceylon from the South End

herrings, swimming at the surface of the waters, presented an abundant and easy prey. In the centre of these groups of noisy birds, we saw from time to time rising above the water, the enormous back of a whale, which was also in pursuit of herrings. Our vessel, which passed more than once through these groups of birds, never alarmed them; they flew in the midst of our rigging, uttering plaintive cries, without fear or suspicion, whilst one or two whales, infinitely larger than our vessel, rolled from one side to the other, raising their immense backs, of a brownish colour, and surmounted by a large mass of flesh, which serves them for fins. The Hebrideans do not engage in whale-fishing, it being too dangerous in such latitudes. Whale-fishing can only be practised in large seas, remote from land and isles. The *sun-fish* is sometimes pursued in the Hebrides; but not having seen this animal, I cannot say to what species it belongs.

At nine o'clock in the evening we entered the Bay of Kinloch (Isle of Rum). There we cast anchor, and landed at a small village, where we intended passing the night.

Colonel Maclean, of Coll, is sole proprietor of the Isle of Rum. The number of inhabitants is 443, all of whom are Protestants. It is said, that when the ancestor of Mr. Maclean took possession of the Isle of Rum, all the inhabitants were Catholics. The new proprietor, a zealous Protestant, seeing that the Catholic worship was established in one of his domains, entered the church one Sunday, during mass, and having driven out all the inhabitants who were assembled there, he shut the door, put the key into his pocket, and threatened with his golden-headed cane all those who dared to return to hear mass: from that moment all the inhabitants of Rum embraced the Protestant religion. The other Hebrideans, when alluding to this new mode of conversion, have continued ever since to call them the Protestants of the Golden-headed Cane*.

* It is curious to reflect what trifling circumstances have occasioned the change or preservation of the established religion in certain places of Europe. At the time the Reformation penetrated into Switzerland, the government of the principality of Neuchâtel, wishing to leave to the inhabitants an entire liberty of conscience, voted in each parish for and against the adoption of the new mode of worship. In all the parishes, except two, the majority of suffrages declared for the Protestant communion. The inhabitants of the small village of Creissier also assembled, and finding their votes equal, they were at a loss how to act. One of the inhabitants being found absent, viz. the shepherd who guarded the flocks on the mountains, they sent for him, in order to decide by his vote this important question; but he, being no friend to innovations, gave his voice in favour of the established religion, and thus this parish remains Catholic to the present day, in the midst of the Protestant cantons.

The islanders of Rum are reputed the happiest of the Hebrideans; both on account of the low rent which Mr. Maclean receives for his farms, and because the isle furnishes a great number of large and small cattle, which supply them all with meat. Their principal occupations are the care of cattle, fishing, and the gathering of sea-weed, which they burn for the purpose of extracting alkali.

After remaining all night in the village, the next morning we got into a fishing-boat, in order to pass over the narrow canal which separates Rum from the Isle of Canna. We landed near the house of Mr. Macneil, of Canna, who superintends the island for the proprietor, Mr. Macdonald, of Clanronald. Mr. Macneil received us with that cordial hospitality which is every where to be met with in the Hebrides, and we found in his house an excellent abode for the night.

What chiefly excited my curiosity in Canna was the *Compass Hill*, celebrated by all the seamen of the country for its action on the needle of the compass. We begged Mr. Macdonald to conduct us to it, and our sailors brought the compass from the vessel. After passing from terrace to terrace, and from rock to rock, as far as the top of Compass Hill, we tried our compass. In the first moment, and when we laid it on the ground, the needle turned towards the north; but on following along the ridge of the hill we reached a spot where the compass began to deviate, and the needle soon lost all magnetic power; we saw it sensitively point to the south, north, east, or west. Further, it indicated only the south-west; further still, the south; and at last we saw it again take its accustomed position towards the north. This phenomenon is owing to the quantity of magnetic iron which the basalt of this hill contains, in such a quantity, that a morsel detached from the basalt is at times sufficient to move the needle: it is also owing to a vein of magnetic iron in the interior of the rock. This phenomenon, besides, is far from being so remarkable as I was led to believe from the accounts of the country people, and those of ancient authors: it was also pretended that the effect of this hill was felt at a distance, and that mariners, navigating in the arm of the sea between Sky and Canna, saw the needle of their compass turning itself against the latter island.

I have nothing particular to say respecting the inhabitants of Canna, the number of whom amount to 300. They are all Catholics, with the exception of two or three families, among whom is that of Mr. Macneil, who profess the reformed religion.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM CANNA TO SKY.

Kilbride House.—Benbecula.—Reception of a Clanronald.—St. Kilda.—Isle of Sky.—Talisker House.—Cullen Mountains.—Departure from the Hebrides.—Isle of Eriskay; famous for being the Landing-place of Prince Charles Stuart.

September 17. Our sailors came at an early hour in the morning to inform us that the weather was fine, and the wind slight, but blowing towards Long Island. Curiosity to see this island, and the pleasure of traversing a country which no traveller had yet visited, made us forget the distance, the advanced state of the season, the uncertainty, and perhaps the danger of returning. We gave orders to get all ready, and immediately embarked. We coasted some time along the basaltic rocks of the south of Canna, then, after doubling that island, we steered towards the west, where we perceived the blue hills of South Uist, like a mist in the horizon. We were eleven hours at sea, and during this long but agreeable passage we saw nothing worthy of attention, with the exception of two or three vessels, in full sail, coming from Norway or the Baltic, and destined for the south. We arrived at sun-set on the banks of Long Island, which is an assemblage of different isles, Barra, Eriskay, South Uist, &c. all similar in appearance, and separated from each other by narrow arms of the sea. We now reached the small isle of Eriskay, a rock about a mile in diameter, on which are some houses and pasturage, where Mr. Macdonald, of Boisdale, proprietor of a part of South Uist, breeds some cattle.

We there met the proprietor himself, for whom his brother, Mr. Macdonald, of Staffa, had given me a letter: we met with the most friendly reception from him; he offered us places in his boat to repair with him to his abode at Kilbride-house, in the Isle of South Uist. He was at first, on seeing us at a distance, astonished at the appearance of strangers in this district; before even knowing who we were, his reception was at once polite and hospitable. He conducted us to the shore, where his boat was waiting to convey us across the dangerous strait of Eriskay; but the beauty of the weather, the serenity of the sky, and the perfect calmness of the sea, removed all idea of danger.

The Isle of Eriskay has acquired great celebrity among the VOYAGES and TRAVELS, No. XLIV. Vol. VIII. 1

classic sites in the history of Scotland. It was there that Prince Charles disembarked, in June, 1745, when he arrived from France, in a brig of eighteen guns, and repaired to the western coast of Scotland, followed only by seven intrepid companions, with some arms and a little money. Like a brave hero, this prince, with such slender means, began the expedition which at first was so brilliant, but ended in so disastrous a manner. After the battle of Culloden had ruined all his hopes, he was seen an exile and a fugitive wandering in the same isles where he had formerly presented himself as a warrior thirsting for glory and battle. The inhabitants of these isles, not less heroic for their noble and generous attachment to their unfortunate prince, than for the valour with which they had aided his triumph on the fields of Falkirk and Gládsmuir, braved the greatest danger in order to rescue their prince from the troops which pursued him from isle to isle, and from cottage to cottage.

We landed at Kilbride, a handsome country-seat, situate on the sea-coast, in the southern part of the Isle of Uist. Mr. Macdonald now introduced us to his family; no words can describe the pleasure a traveller feels when, in the midst of these retired and wild countries, he finds himself, as if by enchantment, transported into the most amiable and elegant society, where he might imagine himself at the extremity of the world, and far from every vestige of civilization. These are contrasts which particularly strike the stranger who travels through the Hebrides. For upwards of six weeks the inmates of Kilbride-House had received no intelligence from the rest of the world; thus we had many public events to relate, of which, but for our accidental arrival, they would for a time have remained in ignorance. The want of communication with the mother-country, is, perhaps, the greatest inconvenience experienced by the resident proprietors, and in no place is this inconvenience more felt than in this portion of Long Island, where, for want of regular packet-boats, a person may be several months in succession without the arrival either of letters or friends. As a proof how far the inhabitants of the Hebrides are in arrear for news, we could not find, during the whole of our journey, a newspaper of a later date than that which appeared in Edinburgh, on the evening of my departure from that city.

The country surrounding Kilbride-House is perhaps one of the most barren and uninteresting to be met with; there are no trees, and hardly any verdure; scarcely any thing is to be seen but rocks and sands; yet, notwithstanding, thanks to the sea, we there enjoyed an interesting prospect. At the west, we

saw the unbounded ocean, as no land rises between this island and the continent of America. At the south, the strait of Eriskay appears like a large river strewn with rocks and isles; beyond this rises the Isle of Barra, and several other small islands of sand, among which, that surmounted by the venerable ruins of the ancient Castle of Weavers, is particularly to be remarked. In fine, at a short distance from the house, we could see, at the east and at a distance, the Isle of Canna, and those of Rum and Sky, with their bold and picturesque mountains. Thus a residence in these wild places still presents to the lover of nature many sites capable of inspiring his rapture and admiration.

September 19th. We travelled through the Isle of Uist, in order to reach Benbecula, and during a route of nearly twenty-one miles, we scarcely saw more than three or four villages, or rather assemblages of poor huts, so thinly is this large island peopled. In fact, a surface of twenty-one miles in length, and nine in breadth, contains only 2500 inhabitants. Of all the Hebrideans, these islanders are the wildest, and civilization appears to have made but little progress among them. They only speak Gaelic, and do not understand a word of English. They still preserve all the customs, manners, and superstitions of the ancient Highlanders. The women wear the ancient costume, which I did not meet with elsewhere. It consists of a short petticoat of grey woollen, similar in shape to the Highland *kilt*, or to the short petticoat of the female peasants of Gougisberg, in Switzerland. Their feet and knees are naked, and the calves of their legs are covered with pieces of grey woollen stockings. The upper part of the body is clothed with a mantle or bodice, and above that they wear a small cloak of striped stuff of various colours. This dress is not altogether unbecoming, and would suit handsome women extremely well. The women of South-Uist have not however a single fine feature; their coarse faces appear discoloured by labour, whilst the greater part wear their flat and greasy hair hanging in long bunches over their foreheads and shoulders.*

* The lower class of Highlanders are generally ugly, the characteristic traits of their figure are projecting cheek-bones, and clearness of the eyes and hair; their physiognomy is in general fine and intelligent. With the exception of the inhabitants of certain vallies, famed for the beauty of their figure, the Highlanders are of small stature, but they are well proportioned, and their limbs are nervous and vigorous; those of the higher classes, particularly the females, in the beauty of their figure and complexion present a striking contrast to the ugliness of the peasants. One might believe that they were two distinct races. The very different kind of life of the two classes is perhaps the cause of this contrast in the figure.

With this extraordinary plainness, they have, notwithstanding, an expression of candour and goodness, which is principally shewn in the hospitable reception they give to strangers; the reception which our fellow-traveller Mr. MacDonald met with surprised us. The northern portion of South-Uist, as well as Benbecula, belong to Clanronald, and the inhabitants of these isles had never seen either the Laird or his brother. Their joy on seeing him cannot be described. As they knew he was in the midst of us, they threw themselves before him, kissed his hand, surrounded his horse, and those who were not tall enough to reach his hand, embraced his legs with emotion and respect. The arrival of a Clanronald was for these poor people an occasion for a national fête. The pride of our English fellow-travellers appeared to revolt at these demonstrations, which, according to them, seemed degrading to the dignity of man. For my part, I only considered them as a proof of an ardent and natural testimony of sincere attachment to a family, which from time immemorial protected, and were a blessing to the inhabitants of these districts; consequently, that respect and consideration which the Scottish nobles formerly enjoyed in the midst of their vassals, did not emanate from a servile and interested sentiment, but from that profound admiration for the chief of their clans, which the parents took care to inspire in the minds of their children from their earliest infancy.

We saw several of the inhabitants on the shore occupied in burning sea weeds, in order to extract alkali. For this purpose, they form in the ground, a square basin, the walls of which rise three feet above the soil, and in this basin the combustion takes place; when it is finished, they move the basin, and at the bottom is found a large cake of impure potash, mixed with ashes and earth. The sea weeds grow in such abundance on the shores of Long Island that, if we may credit the country-people, Clanronald derives £0,000l. sterling annually from his isles of South-Uist and Benbecula, by the sale of potash. A ton of impure potash sells at five pounds.

We crossed, in a fishing-boat, the strait which separates South-Uist from Benbecula, and repaired to the house of Clanronald, a fine modern building situate on the banks of the sea, and then inhabited by the steward. We could perceive from Clanronald's house, and about five miles to the westward of Benbecula, the small Isle of Inch-Na-Monich rising above the waters. From the top of the hills of Benbecula, the famous St. Kilda may be seen, on a clear day, but the sky being covered with thick fogs we made no attempt to discern it. St. Kilda, a small island, or rather a high and steep rock, lies sixty miles

to the west of Benbecula ; it is the westernmost of all the Hebridean isles, and is inhabited by a small colony of about 150 souls, who live there almost without any communication with the rest of the globe.

The perilous seas in these stormy latitudes, the innumerable difficulties which await vessels landing at the foot of those enormous rocks, prevent travellers visiting St. Kilda. I should have felt much pleasure in going there, but it would have been rashness to have undertaken in autumn a voyage, which is even formidable in the finest time of the year. In addition to this, we should have been several days at sea before we could have reached this island, and it would have been necessary to have waited several days more for favourable weather to embark ; we should then have been obliged to quit our vessel, for there is no port in the Isle of St. Kilda, and consequently we must have trusted ourselves to the waves in an open boat, at the risk of seeing the ship which brought us driven, by the south-west winds, from the island where we should have been detained.

All these circumstances prevented our visiting St. Kilda, which has till lately belonged to the chief of the tribe of Macleods, who levied there an annual rent, paid in oxen and sea birds' feathers, as well as in fish and small cattle ; for the simple inhabitants of that island were not aware of the use of money. One of these islanders some years ago embarked for the East Indies, where, by his labour and industry, he succeeded in acquiring a considerable fortune ; on his return to England, his first wish was to re-visit his wild native country, and to share the wealth he had acquired among his compatriots ; for this purpose he addressed himself to the Laird of Macleod, and obtained from him the rock which contained all the objects of his affection. This interesting individual, now proprietor of St. Kilda, justly commands respect and consideration throughout all this part of Scotland, by his virtues, and the benefits which he is continually bestowing on the companions of his infancy, now become his tenants.

We quitted the house of Clanronald, to return to Kilbride, by the same route which we had followed the evening before ; but how great was our astonishment, when, on arriving at the southern part of Benbecula, we no longer saw the strait which we had the preceding day crossed in a boat. The tide was down, and the isles of Uist and Benbecula, formerly separated by an arm of the sea, now formed one and the same island. This remarkable fact may give an idea of the force and height of the tides in these western regions. The same phenomenon took place to the north of Benbecula, and the strait which separates that island from North-Uist remains also dry during

low water. Thus, twice in twenty hours, South-Uist, Benbecula, and North-Uist are united, and form only one long island; and twice they are divided into three distinct islands.

September 23rd. Having passed two days very agreeably at Kilbride, we reluctantly quitted the amiable family from whom we had experienced such hospitable treatment. The weather was foggy, and a violent south-west wind blew in squalls: this wind was very favourable to our reaching the Isle of Sky, where we intended going in the course of the day. At noon we set sail, proceeding at the rate of nine miles an hour, and at half-past five we arrived at the foot of the enormous rocks which surround the bay called Loch Brakadale. This bay is distant sixty miles from the strait of Eriskay. It advances some distance into the Isle of Sky, in the direction S.S.W. and N.N.E.; and its breadth, at its entrance, is five miles. The isle to which we were going is classic ground; the name of each rock, mountain, and lake, being connected with some fact related in the traditions of which the poems of Ossian form a part. Whilst we were entangled in this bay, the wind blew with increased violence, and we were in danger of running against a small vessel which was steering the same course. The master of this vessel told us that he came from Balachroi, in the Isle of Mull, in search of Mr. Maclean and his family, who were at Talisker, and to bring them back to the Isle of Coll. We congratulated ourselves, on learning that we should still find Mr. Maclean at Talisker, and acquaint him with the amiable reception which we received in his house during his absence.

On our arrival at a lone house in Talisker, we sent our guide before us to solicit hospitality for strangers overtaken by the night, and wandering in an unknown country. We anticipated the reply: in fact, we were invited in the politest manner into a small neat parlour, where three aged persons, and a young man, were seated round a good fire. They hastened to offer us seats; they next brought in tea, wine, and liquors; and, in truth, supplied us with every thing necessary for our comfort. At supper, we had the pleasure of hearing some very interesting conversation; they gave us all the information requisite for our journey, entertained us with an account of the Isle of Sky, the antiquities and natural curiosities contained in this wild and poetic country, and the traditionary poems recited by the inhabitants; they likewise entertained us with some amusing anecdotes respecting Dr. Johnson, whom they very well recollected to have seen at the time of his Travels in the Hebrides. The anecdotes which we heard, fully justified the reputation for rusticity which that great lexicographer had acquired. Thus we separated for the night, without their

knowing who were the strangers whom they lodged under their roof, and without our having once thought of telling them. We found excellent beds, and after blessing our generous hosts, we retired to rest.

September 24th. At breakfast this morning, we hastened to repair our omission of the preceding evening, and to introduce ourselves to our hosts. The moment I said that I came from Switzerland, Mrs. Macleod (our hostess) testified the joy which she felt on seeing a native of that country. "For," said she to me, "I lived for a long time in Holland with my husband, who was colonel of a Scottish regiment in the service of that Republic; and I knew many officers of Swiss regiments, with whom those of our regiment were always so intimate, that they used to call each other *brother mountaineers*.*

September 26th. Mr. Macleod, of Talisker, being informed of our arrival in the Isle of Sky, sent horses and a guide to conduct us to his house, and after two hours route on wretched roads, we arrived at Talisker-House, where we were received, (thanks to Mr. Maclean, of Coll, and thanks, above all, to Scottish hospitality,) as ancient friends. This fine house, surrounded with trees, is situated at the bottom of a little valley, which opens on the south upon the sea; the environs are fertile, and well cultivated; a small rivulet, which takes its rise in the rocky and basaltic hills in the neighbourhood, runs, winding around the house, after forming a beautiful cascade, at the foot of which the road passes.

During dinner, the piper played, in the hall, on the bagpipes, the Pibrochs, or marches of the tribe of Macleods; and these romantic airs, for a long time resounded in the vaults of the castle of Talisker.

After taking leave of the amiable family of Talisker, and my fellow-travellers, I proceeded as far as the *Cullen mountains*, a name which is derived from the King Cuchullin, sung by Ossian, who reigned over the inhabitants of the Isle of Sky. I amused myself in the association of these sites with the ancient heroes who had once inhabited them, and of the bards who sung their exploits. I figured to myself, these inspired poets, walking through the obscure and deep vallies,

* I have here departed from the rule, which I laid down, never to introduce the public into the domestic concerns of those families who received me into their houses; but the pleasure which I feel in making my countrymen partake of the emotion which was excited in my breast by this amiable reception, given to a Swiss, will, I hope, serve as an apology; it was besides, an occasion for showing the true Scottish hospitality in all its perfection.

their imagination revelling amidst these imposing scenes, and thinking they saw in the mists and light clouds which fly around these high mountains, the departed spirits of their forefathers and heroes, still wandering near the places where they had long dwelt. It was an interesting task for me, to trace, in a country which presents such striking and sublime traits, the germs of poetry so strongly characteristic of its finest features.

I continued my route, reflecting with regret that I was the next day to quit the interesting ground of the Hebrides: those islands which had afforded me so many hours of real enjoyment, and where I had found in all subjects, and above all, in objects of natural history, food more than sufficient for my curiosity. I regretted the more leaving those honest islanders who had received me so well, all of whom obliged me according to their means, constantly anxious to anticipate my wishes, and who, by their hospitality, succeeded in smoothing all the difficulties incident to foreigners in such wild districts. I reflected with much satisfaction on what I had seen, and on what I had accomplished; I also felt, that had time and the season allowed me, I should have been able to have seen much more, and to have rendered these travels much more complete; I lamented having been detained by the wind eight days, in the Isle of Coll, and five in the Isle of Eigg, whilst I could not stop in the Isle of Sky, which presents so many interesting objects hitherto undescribed. But the fine season was over, the continual rains of autumn, and the tempests, would have rendered my return dangerous, if not impracticable. The family of Mr. Maclean, of Coll, acknowledged to me the prudence of my departure; and only those remained in the isle who intended to pass the winter.

Plunged in these reflections, I arrived, on a very dark night, at a lone house on the banks of the sea, which was called "Sconser Inn." Here I found a good fire, a neat chamber, an obliging host, and a good supper.

September 27. My host, being informed by my guide of my intention of returning to the mother country, prepared a small fishing-boat, provided with two boatmen. The weather being calm, we set sail, and coasted along the northern shores of the Isle of Sky. The sun was advancing towards the horizon, and with no small degree of sorrow, I saw the moment which was about to terminate my last navigation in the Atlantic Ocean. With painful emotion I bade a last adieu to the Hebrides, from which I was removing, probably, for ever; and, on quitting them, I implored heaven, with my most sincere prayers, for the happiness and prosperity of their worthy inhabitants.

CHAPTER VII.

The Author's Observations on the Manners and Customs of the Scottish Highlanders.

The isolated state in which the Highlanders of Scotland have lived until the middle of the last century,—the little connexion which they have kept up with the rest of Europe, and even with the other parts of Great Britain,—their position in the midst of mountains, and in islands separated from the rest of the world by stormy seas,—are all circumstances peculiar to this nation, which have prevented it following the various gradations of civilization through which every country in Europe has successively passed.—In a region almost unknown, or at least forgotten by the rest of the world;—in a country which had never been subjected to the conquests, nor convulsed by the revolutions which have at various times changed the face of other countries, we should not be surprised to find that the manners, the customs, their ancient language, should have been preserved almost without any alteration, and transmitted from generation to generation, for ages, until the present day.

The origin of the state of things in the Highlands at that epoch, when by the suppression of a general rebellion the English power was definitively established in this country, is lost in the womb of time. In comparing the most ancient writers on this people, with the state of civilization, manners, and customs of these Highlanders at the beginning of the eighteenth century, we are struck with the few changes which a lapse of many centuries has produced in their social economy. Whilst events, as general as they were striking, by their consequences, have divided the history of every country in Europe into three precise periods, known under the names of Ancient and Modern History, and that of the Middle Ages; the people who inhabit the northern extremity of Great Britain reckon no more than two distinct periods, viz. their Ancient History, the beginning of which is lost in antiquity, and terminates at the great revolution which that country experienced in 1745; and their Modern History, which is only begun, and which has, before the lapse even of a century, already presented the picture of changes, as astonishing as they are rapid, in the political and moral constitution of the country.

It may be supposed, however, that the introduction of Christianity in the sixth century of our era, and the Reformation adopted in the sixteenth century, must have been events of

sufficient importance to have considerably influenced the destiny and social state of these warlike people. We find, nevertheless, that the Reformation changed nothing in their civil and political organization, nor in the reciprocal relations of the chiefs and vassals. The domains belonging to the churches and convents experienced no more from that great revolution than a change of masters, without any thing new being introduced into their administration. From such an example, it is very probable, that the transition from Paganism, or the religion of the Druids, to Christianity, did not modify in a more marked manner the political state of the people; we are besides ignorant of what they were before receiving the light of the gospel, and consequently we cannot form an idea of the effect which the introduction of the Christian religion produced among them. The most ancient historical documents do not go farther back than that epoch; and the times which preceded it may be regarded as the heroic and fabulous ages of Caledonian history.

One single remarkable event appears distinctly in the obscurity of these remote ages; viz. the vigorous and successful resistance which these warlike and savage tribes opposed to the formidable armies of the Roman emperors. But Tacitus, who has transmitted to us the history of these wars, does not throw much light on the government, manners, and language of those hordes of barbarians, of whom he appears to have had but a very imperfect knowledge;—hordes, which always resisting every conquest and invasion until the year 1745, preserved their independence and national character. We cannot, in fact, consider as a conquest the kind of homage which the Hebrides for some time rendered to the crown of Norway, as the interior state of the country does not appear to have experienced any revolution on that occasion, and as the Norwegian viceroy was generally some powerful Hebridean chief. The Danes, during their frequent incursions into the Lowlands of Scotland, sometimes passed the limits of the district of mountains; but they did not establish themselves, nor were they able to penetrate into the centre of these regions, at that time almost inaccessible.

The uniform accordance between the earliest historians, until the middle of the last century, proves the unchanged manners and character of the Highlanders during a long succession of ages. Solinus and Isodorus, writers of the Lower Empire, represent the Scots as a warlike nation, frugal, inured to fatigue and privations, passionately fond of warlike games and the chase, and unceasingly taking up arms against their neighbours of the plain and the southern countries. Jean de Fordun, who

wrote in the fourteenth century, has, as we have already said, judiciously distinguished the two different races who inhabit the High and the Low Lands of Scotland, and he has characterized that of the Highlanders by striking traits, which are also to be found in the description given by Buchanan in the sixteenth century, and in that of Pennant and more recent authors. The greater part of these traits are evident to the traveller even at this day, notwithstanding the great changes which have taken place at the epoch of the last rebellion.

Wishing to give an idea of the social and political existence, and of the customs of this remarkable people, which until lately were but very imperfectly known, I have consulted Buchanan, Pennant, and an English Engineer, who in "Letters written from the North of Scotland towards the year 1730," has given the most circumstantial details on the manners of the Highlanders. To these historical documents I have joined all the information which I have collected on this subject, and my own observations on the mountains and islands, where the inhabitants still religiously preserve the habits of their forefathers. We shall, therefore, designate this people by the name of Gaël, by which they are styled in their own language: they were called by the Romans, *Caledonians*; by the historians of the middle ages, *Scots*; and by the English, *Highlanders*.

Much dispute has already arisen on the origin of this people, but the most ancient historians agree that the Highlands were first peopled by a colony from a foreign country. Still, on this important question, a variety of opinions have been raised, attacked and defended with so much the more ardour, on the one side and the other, as the subject was obscure, and as no certain document could guide the historian through the darkness which envelopes these ancient times. For want of monuments, annals, or medals, some have had recourse to traditions, others have employed their own imaginations, and have formed the most absurd hypotheses, of which the following may be considered a specimen. It is said, that a certain Dioclesian, King of Syria, had thirty-three daughters, and that these daughters having killed their husbands on the day of their nuptials, were put by their father into a boat, and driven by the winds as far as the coast of Great Britain, an island at that time deserted, or inhabited only by evil spirits. From the union of these women with the demons was born a race of giants, who also inhabited the whole island, until the time when a certain man named Brutus, a descendant of Æneas, arrived there. This Brutus had involuntarily killed his father with a spade, and being obliged to quit his native country, he

was, by the advice of the oracle of Diana, confided to the sea and the winds, in order to find a near country. Having arrived in Britain after a voyage of ten years, and followed by a host of companions, he drove away the giants, and portioned out the island among his three sons, giving to Albanactus, Scotland; to Cambrus, Wales; and to Locrinus the rest of the island, or England. It is impossible, on reading this tissue of absurdities, to conceive that an historian of good sense could seriously give to the world and defend such an opinion.

Some authors, abandoning the mythological and marvellous part, have lessened the absurdity of the tale. They have supposed that a colony of Egyptians, conducted by a chief named Gathel or Galyel, husband of Scota, daughter of the King of Egypt, after having embarked on the Mediterranean, visited the coast of Africa and the great islands of Italy; and having passed the straits of Gibraltar, were established in Portugal, at that time a desert, the name of which, according to them, signifies the Port of Galyel; that Iber Scota, son of Galyel and Scota, disdaining a state of idleness, obtained permission from his father to take with him part of the colony, and arrived in Ireland; and that, from thence, after a certain lapse of time, a part of the new inhabitants spread by the north of the island into the Hebrides and the western mountains of Scotland, which were not yet peopled, but were not long in being so, owing to new emigrations from the north of Ireland.

Buchanan, Camden, and in fine, Gibbon, have supposed that the Gaëls, as well as the other inhabitants of Great Britain, came originally from the Gauls; they are supported in this opinion by the connexion of manners and language which exists between the Gaëls and the ancient Gauls or Celtes. Allowing this idea to be probable, still in so difficult a matter we ought neither to be too hasty in forming an opinion, nor decide too peremptorily. The examination which we are about to make of the manners of the Gaëls will furnish us with some interesting peculiarities of their connexion with certain customs of the ancient people of the East; without pretending that such coincidences are sufficiently multiplied to authorize us to consider them as proofs, these resemblances are striking enough to deserve consideration by those who, from henceforth, undertake the laborious and difficult task of elucidating the origin of the Gaëls. Considering then the ancient tradition of the first inhabitants of this country having arrived from the East, and of the analogy of the Gaelic language to the Hebrew and other Eastern languages, the opinion of those who consider Scotland to have been originally peopled by colonies of Gauls, still merits notice, in estimating the history of the pretended

Gathel and Soota, as an allegory, destined to transmit by tradition the remembrance of the successive emigrations of the great nation of the Celtes, originally from the East, and to which the Gauls and the Gaëls equally belonged.

I shall not pretend to engage in this labyrinth of discussion, nor shall I endeavour to decide which of the populations of Scotland and Ireland owes its origin to the other, a question some time debated between the antiquaries of both countries, and to which a national selfishness has attached much exaggeration and importance.

Assimilated as they are by their geographical position, as well as by their manners and their language, the latter of which can scarcely be considered a different dialect from the other, these two nations were for some time considered as compatriots, and equally belonging to the race of the Gaëls: they are still distinguished in the Gaelic language as *Gaëls Albinich*, or Gaëls of Scotland, and *Gaëls Eirinich*, or Gaëls of Ireland. The name of Scotland was even in the middle ages given equally to the two countries; Ireland was called Great Scotland to distinguish it from Little Scotland, which still preserves its name.

This question appears to me so much the more idle, as in all times communications have existed between the north of Ireland and the west of Scotland, by that chain of islands so near each other which extend between the two countries; and as no monument nor any historical document can ever throw light on the successive emigrations which might have taken place from one coast to the other, we may interminably discuss this point of history. One of the principal characteristic traits which distinguishes the Gaëls from all the people of Europe, is the interior and political regime which reigned among them. They were divided into a certain number of clans or tribes, each of which had its chief, and which were considered as forming communities, and almost small independent states.

The name of *clan* in Gaelic signifies family or children. In short, all the members of the same clan bear the same name, and these names, ordinarily preceded by the word *Mac*, signifying son, seem to indicate still better that they all descended from one common stock: thus the Macdonalds were the sons of Donald; the Macgregors the sons of Gregor, &c. The chiefs of these tribes or families were considered as descending in a direct line from the common stock, and representing the elder branch; and the poorest, the lowest of the clan, boast of belonging to the chief by a degree of parentage more or less remote. This form of government, which may be called patriarchal, has given the people character, habits, and a manner of living altogether peculiar.

The relations which existed between the chiefs and the members of the same clan imposed upon them reciprocal duties and obligations. To honour and love their chief, as their common father, as the representative of the great family, as the most ancient and the greatest of the name, was the first precept given by the parents to their children. In exalting the chief they knew it was raising the lustre of the family; and as one of the greatest titles of glory for the poorer tribes was to be allied by blood to the powerful lord who marched at their head, they felt that the more they surrounded with honour and respect him who governed them by right of primogeniture, the more it would reflect éclat on the whole family, and on every individual composing it. The same sentiments induced them to show consideration and respect for the subaltern chiefs of the various branches which composed the clan.

Thus their attachment was cemented: each man was always ready to shed his blood, to give his life, for the sake of his chief, for the honour of his tribe, and for the defence of each of its members. The most perfect obedience and confidence in their lord, was regarded as one of the most sacred and one of the greatest duties. The chief consequently possessed an unlimited authority over his tribe; and if any one refused following him to battle, or to pay him the rent and taxes which he imposed at will in certain circumstances, that man dearly expiated his disobedience, being exposed to the severest treatment, and sometimes even scouted from the clan by common consent.

To swear by the chief of the clan was one of the most solemn oaths among the Gaëls, and the meanest individual of the tribe considered himself as personally insulted, if he heard any epithet in the least injurious to his chief: such an offence could only be effaced by blood. Similar provocations caused incessant quarrels among the neighbouring tribes. To demand of a Highlander the name of his chief, and thus to intimate to him that he had none, was the most pointed affront, and the anger caused by such an injury could only be atoned for by the life of the aggressor. On the other hand, the chief in some measure depended on the members of his clan for protection against every foreign aggression; an insult given to the meanest individual of the tribe was resented by the whole, as an outrage on the honour of the name and family: thus, the chief espoused all the quarrels of his subordinates, whatever was the justice of the cause. For the same reason, he would never suffer any foreign jurisdiction to pursue an individual of his clan. Powerful chiefs have often been known not only to refuse Scottish officers of justice permission to seize those of their comrades who had manifestly been guilty of some offence, but to make part and cause for them, and afford every

defence in their power, without considering the nature of the offence of which they were accused.

When one of his vassals was reduced to misery (which frequently took place in a country where the soil could not support one half of the inhabitants, who were likewise unaccustomed to labour) the chief was bound to provide for his subsistence; also, when expedient, he frequently remitted his poor farmers the rent of their farms, and their arrears.

Liberality and hospitality towards the members of his tribe were indispensable qualities to the chief of a clan. In his ancient castle he had always a spacious hall, where several times in the course of the year he assembled all the men capable of bearing arms, and invited them to a grand festival. On such an occasion, when seated at the head of a long table, covered with rich viands, and surrounded by his nearest relatives and inferior chiefs, he presided with becoming dignity at the banquet, at once patriarchal and military, where all the guests were armed and clad in the national costume, the colour of which being uniform among all those of the same name, indicated the tribe. Those of an inferior rank, who could find no place at the table of the chief, were equally well provided for at other tables; in fine, the poorest classes were admitted into the courts of the castle, and received a distribution of victuals. The whiskey flowed in great abundance, and the noisy sounds of the bagpipe re-echoed the warlike marches of the clan. The bards sung in extempore verses the exploits of their ancestors, the famed deeds of their tribe, and the praise of their lord and master. Such fêtes contributed not a little to strengthen the attachment between the chief and his vassals, and to maintain the ardour which was excited for the honour and glory of the clan.

With the view of inspiring still more consideration in their subordinates, and of maintaining their rank around the chiefs of other clans, as well as of exalting their pride, already flattered by the testimonies of respect and admiration which they received, these petty princes were fond of being surrounded by a certain kind of court or suite. Each of them had his staff or body guards, *Luichtach*, which he chose from among the most robust and the most devoted of his clan.

When he undertook an excursion to the mountains, or paid a visit to some chief of equal rank, he was followed by a cortège of officers, attached to his person, and charged with various duties; this suit was composed as follows:

- 1st. The *Henchman*, or Squire.
- 2d. The *Bard*, or Poet.

3d. The *Piper*, or Player on the Bagpipe.

4th. The *Bladier*, or Orator.

5th. The *Gilliemore*, who carried his Sword.

6th. The *Gillie-Casflue*, who bore the Chief on his shoulders when he had to ford the rivers.

7th. The *Gillie-Constraine*, who conducted his horse in dangerous roads.

8th. The *Gillie-Trushanarnish*, who carried the baggage.

9th. Lastly, the *Pipers-Gillie*, a boy who carried the bagpipe.

The *Henchman* was the confidential officer; he was ordinarily the foster-brother of the Chief, and filled this honourable place in consideration of the services of his mother, and on account of his education, which had been more carefully attended to, the foster-brother being generally educated with the young Laird. The *Henchman* was at the same time a kind of secretary, and superintended over the personal safety of his master, whom he never quitted during the repast, but was ready to risk his life, in case of attack or insult.

An English engineer, who first published these interesting details on the private life of the Highland Chiefs, relates the following trait, as an instance of the attachment of these Squires to their masters. An English officer dined one day with a Chief, and some other Highland gentlemen: after drinking freely of whiskey, the conversation grew warm; the young *Henchman*, who stood behind the chair of the Chief, not understanding English, and imagining that the officer insulted his master, seized his pistol, and presented it at the head of the stranger, who owed his life entirely to chance, the pistol having missed fire.

The *Bard*, or Poet, was generally charged with the instruction of the young Laird. He was also required to amuse the Chief while he was at table, by singing or reciting poems composed often *extempore* in honour of the Chief; he also repeated poems which were composed by his predecessors to celebrate the ancestors of his master, or preserve the recollection of memorable epochs in the history of his tribe. The poets also sang ancient verses to perpetuate the memory of the exploits of Fingal and his heroes.—Those fine poems collected by Macpherson have been justly admired throughout Europe; they were transmitted also from Bard to Bard, during a long succession of generations, and served to give, or maintain a taste for fine poetry, which harmonized with the features of this mountainous country, and to the lively spirit of this chivalrous race. The exploits of the ancient Caledonian heroes, commemorated in verses full of poetic fire, were associated with

the names of Fingal, Ossian, and Oscar, in the meanest cabins, and such recollections inspired the descendants of these formidable warriors with a love of glory, and language full of imagination and poetry; all which distinguished them from the rest of the vassals and peasantry throughout Europe.

The *Piper* was also one of the great officers of the Chief, and he paid no rent for his farm: this office was often hereditary in the same family. There were, in the Isle of Sky, two famous schools where the candidates for this place learned to play on the bagpipe.—One of the privileges attached to the office of Piper was to accompany the eldest son of the Laird in his travels. The Piper was required to know all appropriate airs; to play when the Chief was at table, and when he sailed in a boat on the sea, or on the lakes; he accompanied him also to battle, and his music was heard at the funerals; for the bagpipe, the national instrument among the Gaëls, was heard in all the principal scenes of life, whether in rousing the courage of the warriors, or enlivening the festivals, or lastly, in honouring the memory of the dead, and mingling its plaintive sounds in the funeral ceremonies with the mournful airs of the Coronach.

Besides this cortége of officers particularly attached to the person of the Chief, a numerous suite of gentlemen of his tribe, his nearest relations, as well as a host of persons of inferior rank, generally accompanied him in his travels. He was much pleased with this parade, which tended to raise his rank and importance in the eyes of his dependents.

Vanity was not however the only, nor even the principal motive which induced the Scottish Chiefs to place the greatest value in having so great a number of vassals; the frequent feuds among the neighbouring clans, the repeated rebellions against the sovereign authority of the kingdom, in which the greater part of the Chiefs were involved, an ancient passion for arms,—all obliged them constantly to be in warfare, and to be surrounded by a trained force. The value of a domain in the mountains was estimated less at that time, from the pecuniary revenue which could be derived from it, than from the number of men capable of bearing arms, whom the proprietor could maintain with their families.

Every thing was disposed and calculated in advance for a state of war. The Chiefs inhabited castles flanked with towers surmounted with battlements, and capable of resisting a long siege. They kept a guard there, and men were posted on the summit of the towers, to watch night and day, in case of an attack. They could thus in a few hours collect all the war-

riors of their clan, to oppose them to the enemy, or conduct them on an expedition.

When there was occasion for putting all the men under arms, the Chief caused the fire-cross, (*crois taradh*) to be displayed, an appropriate signal on such an occasion; it was a cross of wood, the extremities of which had been burnt, and afterwards extinguished in the blood of a goat sacrificed for the purpose. A faithful and diligent messenger was charged to carry this signal of alarm in all haste to the neighbouring hamlets; he remitted it to the most considerable person of the place, and also acquainted him with the place of rendezvous: the latter lost not an instant in transmitting, by another messenger, the cross and the watchword to a more distant hamlet; thus the notice of general danger was sent from village to village, and from cottage to cottage, and the command of the Chief circulated with incredible rapidity throughout his territory, and even among the neighbouring and allied clans, when the same dangers menaced them, or when the expedition was made in concert with them. This method, by its great promptitude, had the advantage of mystery, so necessary among a people where the great art of war consisted principally in surprises and sudden attacks. The moment the fire-cross appeared in a hamlet, the inhabitants ran to arms, and ranged themselves under the orders of their subaltern chiefs; they then repaired by the shortest road to *Carn-an-Mhuinn*, the general place of arms for all the warriors of the tribe.

Every man, from the age of sixteen to sixty years, was obliged to obey this summons; the signal which called them indicated the fate that awaited them in case of refusal. The designation of the "cross of shame" threatened them with being abandoned to infamy, and that of the cross of fire, with being exposed to see the enemy carry fire and sword into their country, if they preferred disgraceful inactivity to the honour of following their Chief and their clan to battle. But among a people of such warlike habits, such threats were unnecessary to excite their ardour and courage; since the invitation to arm and to march was always received by the brave Gaëls with transport.

The last time the fire-cross appeared on the mountains of Scotland was in 1745: in this manner the clans assembled which were to be conducted by Prince Charles Stuart to replace James III. on the throne of his ancestors. This signal in three hours passed through all the district of Breadalbane, the extent of which is thirty-three miles. The celebrated Sir Walter Scott assures us, that Mr. Stuart of Invernahyle, has been heard to say, that at the epoch of this rebellion he had

passed the fire-cross in the district of Appin, the coasts of which were at that time menaced by two English frigates, and that notwithstanding the absence of the flower of his clan, then in England with the army of Prince Charles Edward, the old men and children ran in such numbers, and were animated by such enthusiasm, that the English were obliged to renounce their project of disembarking.

I have already alluded to the picturesque effect produced by a Gaelic army, with its ancient costume, and the lively and brilliant colours which distinguish the clans. I ought now to give some details on the dress of the Gaëls, and their various arms. It appears that in the most ancient times the Highlanders had only for their whole clothing a large *plaid* or *breach-dan*, viz. a piece of woollen stuff, eight or nine ells long, which covered their whole body, descending down to the knees, and was tied round the waist by a leathern belt; this clothing, which they named *feile mhor*, resembled the Roman tunic, or the dress of certain oriental nations; they found it, however, more convenient to divide it into distinct pieces, and from thence is derived the actual costume of the Scottish Highlanders. It consists of a *kilt* or *feile bheag*, which comes from the waist to the top of the knee, a waistcoat and a jacket, all made of *tartan*, a light woollen stuff similar to the camlet. This stuff is of various colours, according to their tribes. The upper parts of the legs are naked; they wear half stockings of a red and white stripe, and *cuaran*, or *brogues*, coarsely made of cow leather, with the hair on the outside. At present they wear shoes. The *sporan* is a purse made of goat's, or sea-calf's skin, with the hair outside, and ornamented with tassels. This purse is worn before the kilt, and is tied by a leathern strap round the waist.

The *breach-dan*, or *plaid*, was preserved to use as a mantle; they wrapped themselves up in it to screen them from the cold, or rain, and during fine weather they threw it over the shoulder. The head was covered with a small bonnet of blue cloth, of a cylindrical form. The Chiefs were distinguished by a single feather from an eagle's wing, with which they adorned their bonnets. They have since substituted a black ostrich feather.

The arms of the Gaëls formed part of their costume, as they always wore them: these arms were offensive and defensive. To judge of them by the figures of warriors, sculptured on the tombs of Dalmally and Iona, the iron helmet was in use among these people, and Buchanan tells us, that they also wore cuirasses; but these means of defence were abandoned soon after the invention of fire arms, and they have only pre-

served the *targaid*, (*target*) a little round buckler, made of light wood covered with leather, and generally bordered with a band of brass or iron. They often placed a point in the centre of it, and the leather was covered with heads of gilt nails. The buckler was worn during the march, suspended behind the left shoulder, and during action it served to cover the front of the left arm. They made use of it in 1745. The Gaëls employed also, until the end of the seventeenth century, the bow and arrows with bearded points, (very dangerous arms, by the deep wounds which they made) as well as the formidable battle-axe, named *lochaber*.

The *claymore*, (*claidh-more*) a large two-handled sword, similar to that worn by the ancient Swiss, was particularly formidable in the hands of the robust and warlike Gaëls: it is often mentioned in their poetry, and in the description of their battles.

They attach to their waists a long poignard, or *dirk*, which they hold in one hand to parry the blows of their adversaries' swords, whilst with the other they attack with the *broad sword*. This sword, smaller than the claymore, was in use a considerable time; the Scottish regiments in the service of England are still armed with it at this day. A steel or brass guard, of beautiful workmanship, encircled the handles, and protected the hand from the blows of the enemy. The Highlanders wielded their arms with remarkable adroitness; and besides the dirk, a steel pistol was usually suspended from the waist.*

Every time I have seen a Highlander thus armed and clothed, I have been struck with the fine air, military gait, and picturesque appearance of such a costume; but a similar spectacle becomes every day more rare at present. The country people, who alone habitually wear this ancient dress, have rarely the costume complete; they are often seen clad with the tartan kilt, the colour of their clan, with a waistcoat and jacket of the same colour. They frequently exchange the bonnet for a hat, and, besides, carry no arms. The Scottish soldiers have also altered their original costume; they have changed the dress of their tribe for the English red uniform, and have covered their bonnets with a mass of black feathers, which resemble those of the grenadiers.

The Chiefs of the clans, now reduced to the rank of manor proprietors, have altogether thrown aside the Scottish costume: a few still wear it in the country, being more convenient for hunting. They formerly knew how to derive advantage from

* It is curious to remark, that the Albanians, the Egyptians, and other eastern nations, carry at this day the same arms.

this imposing costume, by displaying in their clothing both taste and richness, which made them advantageously distinguished. They ornamented their *sporans*, *dirks*, and pistols, with gold, silver, and precious stones, fastened their plaids with rich clasps, and used silk stuffs for their colours instead of woollen, worn by their inferiors. In this manner they appeared at the court of Holyrood, and even at St. James's, when their country was united to England. Sometimes in place of the *kilt* they wore large tartan trowsers, called *trows*.

When the clans were led on to battle, the bagpipes at their head animated the soldiers, by playing the ancient marches which had conducted their forefathers to victory;—the attack was then terrible. After a discharge of fire-arms, the Highlanders threw away their pistols; then unloosing their plaids, they attacked sword in hand, and rushed upon the enemy like a furious torrent. Each Chief had his watch-word, which was repeated by the whole clan, and mixed with inarticulate clamours. The watch-word of the Grants was *Craig-Alachie*, the name of a high mountain, which rose in the middle of their district; that of the Mackenzies, was *Tulachard*, the name also of an eminence in the county of Ross; and the watch-word of the Macdonalds was *Fraoch*, signifying a heath, and likewise rage and fury. The chiefs had also their particular banners, on which were represented the arms of the family.

The clans were almost always at war against each other: ancient feuds between the tribes, the rivalry of different chiefs, depredations committed by some clan on the territory of another, were motives for taking up arms; but a single combat did not terminate these quarrels, as the hatred was handed down from generation to generation, and the cause of the chiefs was warmly defended by their meanest vassals; from thence arose not only general wars among the clans, but quarrels not less bloody and sanguinary among individuals. Hereditary resentment became matured in the tribes; the Macdonalds were enemies of the Campbells; the Macintoshes of the Mackays, &c.; and the different parties which the chiefs of the various Scottish clans embraced in the long struggle of the Stuarts, if they were not the effect of previous animosities, served at least still to envenom the ancient animosity. The history of all these petty wars, of those victories so warmly claimed even at this day by the divers tribes, must be familiar to those who know the places and the Gaelic people; but this history would not attract general attention so much as it shows the spirit of the people and of those times.

The reader has been able to judge, by the traits which I have quoted in another part of this work, such as the mas-

more of the Scholars of Dumbarton by the Macgregors, and the horrible destruction which the Macleods committed on the unfortunate inhabitants of the Isle of Eigg, to what a point of ferocity and barbarity these savage people sometimes carried their hatred and vengeance. Among such excesses, I was astonished to meet with traits of generosity, disinterestedness, and grandeur of soul, which would do honour to the most civilized nations. There existed among the various clans a kind of national law, which, however imperfect, was not less an efficacious barrier to that devastation, which would have been committed by a mass of men who recognized no other right than that of the strongest, and no other law than their caprice and their passions. This common law, which was neither recorded, nor ratified by the parties interested, was however very scrupulously observed.

The Scottish chiefs, like the European princes, had no right to invade the territory of the neighbouring tribes, without preceding their hostilities by a declaration of war. They even, rather than disturb the harmony among the tribes, treated at first in an amicable manner; similar negotiations are still preserved, as well as treaties of peace made between the chiefs of the clans, which have altogether the form and the style of those of sovereign princes.

Whilst, by these contracts, the Gaëls showed the good sense, peace, and brotherhood, which reigned among them, they did not in return extend the benefits of similar institutions to their neighbours and countrymen, the Scots of the plain, or Lowlanders, whom they always considered as strangers, new comers, and consequently enemies of their country.

The latter, more industrious, and more civilized, presented to their cupidity irresistible attractions in the productions of their commerce, their labour, and their fertile soil. The name of *Sassenach*, or Saxons, by which in the Gaelic language the Highlanders style those of the Lowlands, recalled always to this warlike race, proud of their antiquity, the comparatively modern origin of their southern neighbours: which, joined to the difference of the language, was in the eyes of these semi-barbarian tribes a sufficient motive for indifference, and even disdain. The Lowlanders, among whom the cultivation of the arts of peace had taken the lead of the study of arms, appeared to them degenerate effeminate beings, and of a race very inferior to themselves.

The Gaëls, besides, had not forgotten that their ancestors once possessed a great part of those fertile plains from which they were then removed. These recollections were preserved

among them by an ancient tradition, and the names, derived from the Gaelic, which many rivers, hills, and even villages, in the Lowlands bore, were identifying proofs. In attacking the Scots of the plains, in devastating their crops, and seizing their cattle, they thought they were but using reprisals, and imagined they were only recovering the property which legitimately belonged to them. In this persuasion the *creach*, a name given by the Highlanders to expeditions, the object of which was the pillage of the property of the Lowlanders, appeared to them not only excusable, but was even regarded by them as an honourable exploit, and as a mode of displaying their bravery and military talents. The young chiefs frequently undertook a *creach*, at the head of their clans, in honour of their *belles*, and on their return laid at their feet the spoils of the unfortunate Lowland husbandmen. Such chivalrous motives did not always actuate the Highland chiefs; these enterprises were influenced more frequently by the love of plunder, which animated their savage dependants, destitute of all the comforts of life, and which the chief was obliged to satisfy in order to conciliate the good-will of his tribe. Necessity sometimes constrained the chief himself to have recourse to such means, as he was obliged to provide for the subsistence of his numerous vassals. By this obligatory hospitality towards his clan, he supplied the expences incurred by the suite which was necessary to the high rank which he occupied.

These neighbours were very formidable to the peaceable inhabitants of the plains, at the foot of the mountains. In the long nights of autumn, famished hordes would rush from the high hills into the flat country, carry away the cattle, harvest crops, money, and valuables; and as they were as superior in audacity and agility to their neighbours as the latter surpassed them in civilization, these Highlanders, loaded with their plunder, disappear before the break of day, and would reach their wild glens and inaccessible rocks before the Lowlanders even thought of pursuing them.

The great and rich proprietors were always obliged to have a troop of men armed, to defend their domains; but such was the boldness of the Highlanders, that they often amused themselves in attacking and pursuing these guards even to the walls of their castles. The farmers and small proprietors, who had not the means of guarding their lands, were continually exposed to these destructive incursions. They could not escape, except by consenting to pay an annual tribute to the chiefs of the neighbouring clans. This tribute was known by the name of *Black Mail*. The chiefs who received it en-

gaged to protect the property of the Lowlanders who paid it against all aggression, not only from their clans, but from all others. These engagements were always scrupulously adhered to: and the effects stolen were restored to the proprietors in some distant place, where they could be easily concealed. Those, who from pride, or any other motive, refused the tribute, were sure to have their domains invaded and pillaged by troops of savage Highlanders.

In modern times, when the daily increasing wealth of the Lowlands became an object of still greater inducement to the poor Highlanders, they formed themselves into bands of foragers, who, under the direction of a subaltern chief, adopted the form and discipline of clans, although composed of individuals belonging to different tribes. These *Catherans* or robbers, living only by pillage, were determined and daring men; they braved every peril, and were the terror of the peaceful proprietors of the Lowlands; inhabiting caverns and places, rendered nearly inaccessible by high mountains, steep rocks, and furious torrents, in a country where there were neither roads nor bridges, they thus bade defiance to the ineffectual revenge of the unfortunate Lowlanders, whom they had plundered. The great chiefs of the tribes, in the territory where they were established, might easily have put an end to them, but far from endeavouring to oppose the formation of bands of *Catherans*, they seemed rather to favour them, and there were few Chiefs who had not similar troops, to whom they assigned the deserted vallies and bye places in their vast domains for their abode. When they harboured any animosity against a clan or neighbouring chief, and when they wished neither to declare war nor openly to commence hostilities, they sent the *Catherans* to pillage their territory. They also made use of them to compel the Lowlanders to pay them the *Black Mail*; as on receiving this tribute, they engaged to prevent the *Catherans* from committing further depredations on lands which were under their protection.

One of the most famous chiefs of the *Catherans* mentioned in history, was Rob Roy Macgregor, who every year saved the Duke of Montrose the trouble of collecting the revenue of his domains. Notwithstanding the credit of that great nobleman, and although in consequence of the frequent rebellions of Rob Roy against the sovereign authority, the tribunals of the country outlawed him, and set a price on his head, he succeeded, owing to the protection of many powerful Highland chiefs, in escaping from every pursuit, and died in peace at a very advanced age.

Ludovick Cameron, grandson of the celebrated Sir Evan Cameron of Lochiel, did not lead his bands in person to plunder, but authorized them to pillage on his own account, and largely recompensed those whom he placed at the head of similar expeditions; he amassed great wealth, but the termination of the Rebellion in 1745 ruined him. Macdonald of Barrisdale, went still further in deriving advantage from the *Catherans*, of whom he maintained a troop. He levied the *black mail* on the proprietors, engaging to deliver them from the brigands, whom he himself paid. By means of these tributes, he enjoyed a revenue of £500 sterling: he always fulfilled his engagements with great exactness, and frequently restored flocks of cattle, which his men had carried away by mistake, to those proprietors who paid him the tribute.

The government could not, without pain, see the turbulent clans of the Highlands fall with impunity on the peaceable possessions of the fertile regions of the south, and of the east, continually fomenting new rebellions, and making their mountains perpetually resound with warfare and strife. Thus we find the kings and parliaments frequently issuing forth thundering decrees against these undisciplined and rebellious subjects. We find them also, but nearly always in vain, endeavouring to restore order among these savage tribes, who would recognise no masters, except their chiefs, and no laws, except their ancient customs. Protected by the nature of the country where they dwelt, by their habits of warfare, and their military manœuvres, the clans even braved with impunity the threats of the sovereigns of the United Kingdom of England and Scotland. To judge of the nature of the decrees issued from the throne, we must consult the *Writ of Fire and Sword* of King Charles II. against the tribe of the Macleans, (who had seized by main force upon some possessions belonging to the Campbells), a decree given at length in Pennant's Travels, Part II., Appendix, p. 443. We find there a direct injunction on the clans of Campbell, Macalister, Macdonald, and Macleod, to arm and march against the chief of the Macleans; the orders were to take him dead or alive, to pursue him to the utmost; for this purpose granting them every authority in their power—freeing them of all obligations from the existing laws which might enthrall them; in short, declaring them safe from all the consequences of violation of property, destruction of crops, houses, &c. committed during such expeditions. These violent measures intimidated, perhaps, for a time, the insurgent clans, but the effect was of short duration. We have seen that, the terrible proscription decreed by James VI. (James I. of England) against the tribe of the Magregors,

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did not prevent this clan from proving themselves stronger than ever in subsequent revolts. The numerous decrees of William and Mary to repress the incursions of the Highlanders into the Lowlands, produced no change in the situation of the unfortunate inhabitants in the vicinity of the mountains, but only served the more to prepare the minds of the Highlanders for the rebellion which burst forth in 1745.

The chiefs exercised the most absolute authority as to the administration of justice over all their clans; an ancient Scottish law had even recognised this great stretch of power, by rendering the chiefs personally responsible for depredations committed by their tribe, and by obliging them, in extraordinary cases, to give one of their sons or nearest relatives as an hostage.

When a Highlander was accused of a crime, he was conducted before his chief, who was assisted by a council, composed of the principal members of his tribe: he judged according to his conscience and the laws of equity, and it is asserted, that the sentences rendered by so arbitrary a tribunal were rarely unjust. Although for some time no written law had existed, there was, however, a penal code founded on custom, and recorded by tradition; it was committed to writing in the Isle of Sky about the middle of the seventeenth century, and every year it was read to the people assembled before the doors of the church. These laws were as severe and cruel as are those of the first legislators of all savage nations; but the necessity which obliged the chief to render himself popular among his tribe, the influence of that relationship, and innumerable ties which existed among every individual of the same clan, greatly soothed the rigour of the laws.

The patriarchal regime, established from the most ancient periods in the mountains and isles of Scotland, has been, it appears to me, too often confounded with the feudal system, which existed in the Lowlands, in England, and in the greater part of the countries of Europe. Although these two modes of government possessed some similar forms, nevertheless the essentially different nature of their origin rendered the connexion between the governors and the governed altogether dissimilar, and the condition of those under the jurisdiction of the chief of a clan was certainly much less oppressive than that of the vassals of a feudal lord. Whilst the latter derived his power from the right of conquest, and regarded his vassals as his property—as slaves which belonged to him by the laws of war, the Scottish chief knew that he was indebted for all the advantages he enjoyed to the ancient right of primogeniture; that the members of his clan were also those of his family, and that they were

not slaves, because they had never been conquered. No distinction existed among the nobles, the commoners, and peasants of the Gaëls. All the members of the same clan, regarding themselves as descendants from one common stock, thought themselves on a par with their chief, and consequently expected to be treated in an appropriate manner: they recognised no other distinction than the greater or less proximity of their degree of parentage to their common ancestor. There was, in short, this difference between the feudal system and the regime of the clans; that whilst a noble was obliged to render homage to his sovereign, and to receive from him the investment of his fiefs, the laird enjoyed his power by personal title derived from natural right, without any superior being able to deprive him of it, and without being subject to any kind of contribution whatever.

We find, it is true, at more recent periods, the chiefs of clans demanding feudal charters of the crown, in order to increase their power; but so little could they be constrained, that many lairds refused with disdain to accept such titles, saying, that they never wished to hold their right by a miserable sheep's skin, for thus they called the parchments delivered by the king. In addition to this, families to whom the king had granted certain domains, to the prejudice of the chiefs of clans who possessed them, were for many ages unable to make good these titles, and probably they never would have participated in the enjoyment of their property, if the ancient lords of these lands had not been dispossessed of them in consequence of a rebellion.

Those individuals are much deceived who, in assimilating the government of clans to the feudal system, attribute to the former the inconveniences and abuses of the latter. Not only was it the strict duty of the laird, as chief of the great family, to treat with kindness and esteem those whom birthright had placed under his command, but he had a particular interest in making himself popular. As the right which placed him at the head of his clan was, to a certain extent, founded upon the good opinion of his subordinates, it was necessary, in order to maintain the distinction, that he should at once support the dignity and character of a paternal guardian, by scrupulously promoting the common interests of those over whom he claimed so distinguished a pre-eminence. Thus he sought by every possible means to conciliate their good-will; he assisted the poor, and treated all with unbounded hospitality. So far from repulsing them by *hauteur* or reserve, he assumed affability and habitual familiarity with all the members of his tribe. He never met one of them without taking him

by the hand, and without interesting himself in all his concerns, being always anxious of concealing the master, under the exterior deportment of the friend and relation. Notwithstanding the changes which have taken place, this interesting custom is observed to this day in many parts of the Highlands and in the Hebrides. I have seen great and rich proprietors amicably touching the hands of the poorest of their peasants every time they met them; and it is thus, indeed, they still preserve in substance that influence and superiority which the law at present refuses them.

It cannot then be said that the Gaëls were unhappy; for the deep regret testified by them on the dissolution of the clans, after the rebellion of 1745, proves that this regime was neither so oppressive nor insupportable as some modern authors represent.

Each family possessing a farm, which had been transmitted by inheritance from father to son, enjoyed the property; a kind of heritage which is possessed by few English peasants, and which forms one of the greatest emblems of prosperity, and even of morality, among the inhabitants of Switzerland. The rents which the Gaelic farmers paid to their chief were but trifling, and if they ever became reduced by misfortune so as not to be able to meet their obligations, he generally cancelled their debts. An active and military life, divided between the precarious toils of sea-fishing and the perils of war, gave great animation to their existence; and the repose which succeeded these days of toil was not troubled with the painful reflection of any further care. Although little accustomed to labour and to the sedentary occupations of an industrious people, the Gaëls were not a prey to *ennui*, which, among other nations, proceeds from idleness, and gives rise to so many disorders. Constantly interested for the honour and safety of the tribe, they felt animated with that public spirit and ardent patriotism which elevates the soul into its highest sphere. Passing from a calm to a tempest, and from a profound repose to the tumult of a battle, they united all the mildness of family ties, with the interesting habits of maritime life—which latter can scarcely be thrown off when once adopted.

There is, however, a great error in supposing these people enslaved and brutalised by obedience to an absolute power, and assimilating that state to a nation groaning under feudal despotism. If education had not developed the strength of the mental faculties; if industry and commerce had not yet enlivened those uncultivated valleys; and if the people had not strove for those luxuries of life, which ultimately become real wants among nations more advanced in civilization; if, in

short, they had only miserable habitations, poor clothing, and mean and insufficient food, still, every feature which could excite their vivid imagination was strikingly exhibited among them, while those comforts which partake more of the nature of luxuries seemed to be of secondary consideration. They listened with transport to the recital of the exploits of their ancestors, and were passionately fond of poetry and music. The heroic songs of their bards, from time to time repeated in their wretched cottages, always transported their souls and inflamed their enthusiasm. Proud of their ancient origin, and of their military exploits, they boasted their descent from those Caledonian heroes who had vanquished the conquerors of the world, and they delighted in recalling such glorious recollections. An ardent love of military glory, their attachment to their clan, and a lively sentiment of honour, all tended to keep up a moral dignity among them; a species of national pride, which raises them in their own estimation, and induces them to regard with disdain the more polished nations of Europe.

If this spirit was manifested among men of inferior rank, the character of the chiefs, who received homage from so many devoted subjects, may be easily conceived, and thus a Scottish pride, which has become proverbial, may be reasonably accounted for. One of these petty Highland princes, said one day, that if he had his choice, between the domains of the Duke of Newcastle, which produced £30,000 sterling a year, and his wild possessions, which were not worth £500, he would not hesitate to take the latter, provided that he at all times preserved the suite or little court, which is one of the appendages of a chief or great Highland proprietor.

I shall give a few more instances, to shew to what extent the Gaelic chiefs preserved the prerogatives of their rank.

The first Marquis of Huntley, chief of the clan of Gordon, on being presented at the court of James VI., King of Scotland, did not bend the knee before his sovereign; when he was demanded the reason of this neglect of the customary form, he replied, he had no intention of shewing a want of respect for the king, but he desired to be excused, as he came from a country where every one bent before himself.—The King of Great Britain having offered the title of nobility to the chief of the Grants, the latter refused it by saying, "*And wha would be the Laird of Grant?*" In general, many Scottish chiefs would have thought it derogatory to accept a foreign dignity; and even at this day, many Hebrideans have been displeased with one of the most powerful chiefs of the isles, for having accepted an Irish peerage.

Among the good qualities which eminently distinguished the Gaelic people, one of the first, and that at the present day, is hospitality. This virtue was so generally diffused in the Highlands, that every where the doors of the houses were left open, at all hours, as a general invitation to strangers*.

They never demanded the name of him who claimed their hospitality, without having previously offered him refreshment. Without this precaution, the stranger would always have found some reason for refusing assistance in a country where revenge among the clans is so frequent, and carried to such atrocious excesses. So long as a stranger remained in the house they protected and defended him from all assault, as if he had been a member of their family. Bravery, love of glory, attachment to their Chiefs, the strictest fidelity in fulfilling their engagements and protecting those who confided in them, were qualities peculiar to all the Gaëls. I shall quote some further instances which will serve to exhibit the characteristics of this people.

Under the reign of James V. the clan Chattan was in a state of revolt, and the Earl of Moray, at the head of his vassals, having beaten the insurgents, made 200 prisoners, whom he condemned to death in order to intimidate the rebels. As they were conducting them to the scaffold, the Earl offered them pardon, on condition that they should discover the place where their Chief was concealed; but these brave men unanimously replied, that even were they acquainted with it, no torture could force them to betray the confidence reposed in them.

Towards the beginning of the last century, the county of

* Hospitality was one of the first virtues of the Hebrews, as it is still of the Arabs, and of some eastern nations. It has been said, but erroneously, that hospitality is the virtue of all savages; how many colonies have been found, in newly discovered islands in the South Seas, who are cruel, distrustful, and inhospitable; whilst among certain nations who have attained a high degree of civilization, this quality has constantly remained an honour. The characters of nations differ in this respect as in many others, without it being possible to assign a plausible reason for such differences. Those who seek to depreciate this interesting and benevolent disposition, repeat with exultation, that in isolated and savage places, hospitality turns more to the profit of him who exercises, than of those who are the objects of it, since it gives him an opportunity of diverting himself from the *ennui* which he must feel, and of satisfying his curiosity in the society of strangers. If this assertion were true—if hospitality were only a calculation of egotism, the Scots would not be seen sacrificing their comfort, their repose, and even their fortunes, to fulfil that which they regard as a duty—the reception of strangers. There is in this respect, such a sentiment of duty, that the Highlander receives even his enemy, when the latter claims his succour, and is obliged to entertain him and his suite during the whole time of his residence.

Inverness was infested with a band of *Catherans*, or robbers, commanded by one John Gunn, who levied contributions in every quarter, and came under the walls of the city, to bid defiance to an English garrison which defended the castle. An officer who went to Inverness, bearing the pay of the troop, and escorted by a feeble detachment, was obliged to pass the night at an inn, thirty miles from the city. In the evening he saw a man of a good figure enter, wearing the Scottish costume, and as there was only one room in the inn, the Englishman invited the stranger to partake of his supper, which the latter reluctantly accepted. The officer judging by his conversation that the stranger was perfectly acquainted with the defiles and bye-paths throughout the country, begged him to accompany him the next morning, made him acquainted with the purport of his journey, and his fears of falling, together with the depôt which was confided to him, into the hands of the celebrated John Gunn. The Highlander, after a little hesitation, promised to be his guide; they, in fact, departed on the following day, and in crossing a solitary and barren glen, the conversation again turned on the robberies of John Gunn. "Would you like to see him?" said the guide, and immediately gave a whistle, which was re-echoed by the rocks; in a few moments the officer and his detachment were surrounded by a body of Highlanders, armed from head to foot, and sufficiently numerous to render every effort of resistance fruitless. "Stranger," said the guide, "I am that same John Gunn whom you are afraid of, and not without reason, for I came yesterday evening into your inn to discover the route you meant to take, in order to carry away your military chest; but I am incapable of betraying the confidence which you have put in me, and having now proved to you, that you are in my power, I shall send you on your way without loss or damage." After giving him the necessary directions for the journey, John Gunn disappeared with his troop as suddenly as they had arrived.

Prince Charles Edward, when pursued in the mountains of Scotland, found among all the inhabitants, even from those who had not joined his party, an asylum, assistance, and the most inviolable secrecy; and that frequently among men, who were poor and accustomed to pillage, even at a time when the enormous sum of £30,000 sterling was promised by the English government, to whoever should deliver up the young Prince, dead or alive. Among the innumerable and admirable traits of devotion which distinguished that memorable epoch, the following fact is worthy of notice. A youth named Roderick Mackenzie, concealed in the mountains after the defeat of

Culloden, was discovered by the soldiers sent in pursuit of the Prince. His age, his shape, even his figure, deceived the soldiers, who believed they had found Charles Edward; they were about to seize him, when Mackenzie, who perceived their mistake, resolved to render himself useful to his Prince. He drew his sword, and the courage with which he defended himself, convinced the English that he must be the Pretender. One of them fired; the young man fell, and while expiring, cried out "You have killed your Prince!" This generous sacrifice, in suspending for a moment all pursuit, gave time to Charles Edward to escape from his pursuers.

The life pursued by the Highlanders rendered abstemiousness and frugality necessary. They set out for a long journey, across high mountains and uncultivated vallies, with no other provisions than a small bag of oatmeal, which, mixed with the water of the brooks, formed their only nourishment; in this manner the Arabs and the Moors of the desert take with them some handfuls of their *couscous*, when they prepare for a journey of several days across their immense plains of sand.

Thus, few people have carried their detestation of effeminacy and luxurious living to a greater point. Cameron, of Lochiel, surprised by the darkness of the night, on the return of an expedition, was, together with the men of his suite, enveloped in their cloaks, and extended on the snow, at that time on the ground. He soon perceived that one of his grandsons had made a ball of snow, to support his head during sleep: the old chieftain, irritated by what he considered an indulgence, rose up, and with his foot driving away the ball, "For shame," said he to the youth, "are you so effeminate as to have occasion for such a pillow?"

If the active and military life of the Gaëls developed that energetic character which distinguishes a warlike people—intellectual improvement, industry, and respect for property, qualities so essential in a period of more advanced civilization were but as then in embryo. It would be, however, unjust to judge them with too much severity on this head; we ought to take into consideration their particular position relative to the existing mode of government, the nature of the soil, and the geographical situation of the country.

If, in fact, they hesitated in applying themselves to manual labour, and if they only cultivated such a portion of land as would serve to support their families, it was owing to the habits which the Chiefs had acquired of assisting the indigent of their tribe, and of liberating them from the payment of their rents; assuring them, that they should never entirely want the means of subsistence. They consequently found

more satisfaction in following their Chiefs to battle, than labouring in cultivating a barren and unproductive soil. In addition to this, it was not reasonable that they should employ the whole of their time in cultivating the soil, when the probable attack of an enemy's clan might carry away the fruits of many years labour. In short, the Highlanders had no market in the mountains, where the labourers and agriculturists could dispose of their commodities; they had neither high roads nor bridges to communicate with the Lowland towns, from which they were separated by high mountains and deep rivers.

If we may judge of the character of the Gaëls from their continual depredations among the Lowlanders and the tribes of their enemies, we shall be apt to consider them as lawless bands, regardless of all respect for the right of property. This was not, however, the case: a theft committed by an individual of the same clan, or of an ally, was punished with the greatest severity. But it must not be forgotten, that each tribe constituted a distinct and independent state; and in time of war a Highlander made no more scruple in carrying off the cattle of an enemy's tribe, or those of a cultivator of the Lowlands, (who was always regarded as an inferior), than a general commanding an army would in levying contributions in an enemy's country, or a captain of an English vessel seizing a Spanish galleon in time of war. When Prince Charles was pursued in the mountains, a man named Mac Ian, or Kennedy, who had several times exposed his life for his prince, and who, notwithstanding the greatest misery, and the reward of £80,000 sterling, had not been induced to betray him, was executed at Inverness for stealing a cow! A little before the execution he took off his bonnet, and returned thanks to God, that he had never failed in his engagements, nor done any injury to the poor, nor had ever refused to share all that he had with the indigent and the stranger.

The ignorance of this people was not the result of idleness and inactivity; they displayed great avidity to learn and to enlarge their ideas, which induced them to question with inquisitiveness every stranger whom they met: they, however, wanted instruction, as at that time the institution of parochial schools was but just commenced in the Highlands.

It was found very difficult to reconcile the military manners of the Highlanders with the patience and tranquillity necessary for study. Besides, at that time, the Gaelic language was merely in manuscript, the Bible having only been circulated in that tongue within the last fifty years. The singular orthography used in this language renders the reading it very difficult; and I have known many Scotsmen who spoke and understood

it, but could never learn to read it. Since the change which have taken place in the administration of the Highlands, the zeal of the Highland Society, and, above all, the one which has for its object the diffusion of Christianity, as well as the care of an enlightened clergy, have succeeded in vanquishing those obstacles, which could not previously be surmounted, owing to the political and inland state of the country. At this time there is scarcely a village in the Highlands where the children do not learn to read and write in Gaelic, and the Holy Scriptures are in the hands of every Highlander.

Ignorance, which is the parent of credulity, and a vivacity of imagination, unceasingly kept up by the imposing phenomena presented by nature in a mountainous country, and on the banks of a dangerous sea, have produced among the Gaelic people a multitude of superstitions, each of which is considered very singular. Among the number of superstitious practices of this people, some appear to be the remains of the Catholic faith, and many are evidently derived from paganism and the religion of the Druids, which prevailed in Scotland before the introduction of Christianity; there are some, in short, which are analogous to certain religious customs of the Jews. In addition to the superstitions spread among the lower classes of every nation in Europe, the Scottish Highlanders have also many which are peculiar to their own country.

They have inherited from the Catholic religion a sort of veneration for places formerly consecrated to that worship, and they go in pilgrimage to certain springs and caverns, which still bear the names of saints, in order to be cured of their diseases. Thus there is at Strath Fillan a well called St. Fillan, which, it is said, possesses the virtue of curing several maladies in those who plunge into it: there they conduct lunatics; the latter deposit their clothes on a heap of stones, round which they make a procession in the direction of the sun's course, after which the invalid is plunged three times in the well; he is afterwards bound in a chapel, where he is left all night. If they find the next morning that he is loosened from his bonds, the saint is said to be propitious to him, if not, his cure remains doubtful; but it more frequently happens that death terminates his sufferings, in consequence of so dangerous a treatment.

Among the Gaëls, as among the Hebrews, a woman, after being delivered of a child, was considered as impure until she had made the tour of the church three times in ceremony. The Highlanders also caused the new-born child to pass three times through the fire in the chimney, after the manner of the Israelites, who, in order to purify their children, made them

pass through the fire on the altar of Moloch. They believed in evil spirits, and to deliver themselves from their power, they employed all kinds of charms and talismans. One of the most efficacious, according to them, was a circle formed by a switch of oak, with which they girt their bodies. It was evidently, as Pennant observes, a remnant of the religion of the Druids, and of the veneration which these priests had for the oak, which they regarded as a sacred tree. They also used a circle of mistletoe to preserve them from accidents and disorders. Analogous practices still exist in Lower Brittany, and some other provinces of France, which were formerly inhabited by the Druids.

The Gaëls believed also in ghosts and apparitions, imagining likewise that they saw and conversed with them; indeed, the mists and clouds, which in these mountainous regions take a thousand fantastic forms, might often appear like shadows and human figures in the eyes of heated imaginations. The imposing spectacle of nature, in her rudest forms of high deserted mountains, furious torrents, howling winds, and vast solitudes, must have inspired a sentiment of fear and respect in the weak minds which daily contemplated them. They attributed to supernatural causes a variety of phenomena which astonish, and often alarm, the inhabitants of mountainous countries. Thus they imagined their deserts were inhabited by a host of malignant spirits, and divinities of an inferior order. Each solitary and dreary valley, every high and lofty mountain, and every remarkable spot, had its evil genius, the figure of which was represented as ludicrous and frightful in the extreme—the character wicked and cruel. The lakes and torrents were inhabited by the demons of the river, similar to the kelpy of the Lowlanders.

Among those fantastic beings who act so great a part in the imagination of the Highlanders, we must not omit the *Daoine shi*, or Men of Peace. They are regarded as small ghosts, living under ground, and under small mountains covered with verdure. During the night, and by the light of the moon, they imagined they saw them dancing and celebrating their orgies on the horizon of the hills; and without being wicked, they were jealous and envious of the happiness of mortals.

Some vestiges of the religion of the Druids, or Paganism, are still recognized in the ceremony annually celebrated by the Highland shepherds on the first of May. This sacrifice *champêtre* is known under the name of *Bealtuinn*. The shepherds assemble, kindle a large fire, and after dancing round it, they cook a mixture of eggs, butter, milk, and oatmeal; before tasting of this dish they pour out libations on the ground, they

then take oatmeal cakes, break them, and turning their faces towards the fire, they throw morsels behind them over their shoulders, saying, "This is for thee, preserve my horses; and this for thee, preserve my sheep," addressing themselves to the spirits who watch over their flocks. They, in like manner, invoke noxious animals: "This is for thee, O Renard! deign to spare my lambs; and for thee, O Hawk! and for thee, O Eagle!" The divinity *Bel*, whom they originally worshipped, was the spirit of the sun; perhaps the god Baal of the Israelites. *Gruagach*, or the young man with fair hair, was also, among the Gaëls, one of the names of the gods of the sun, the Apollo Chrysocomes of the Greeks. On those huge blocks, called *Gruagach Stones*, which the Druids raised on places where they celebrated their religion, tradition informs us that they poured forth libations of milk.

Every great family in the Highlands had its tutelary genius, who watched over the destiny of each of its members. When one was at the point of death, the genius appeared, or uttered his mournful lamentations. The familiar spirit of the chief of the Grants was a fairy named *May Moulach*, "the Daughter with hairy arms;" she always announced by her presence or her cries the death of the laird of Grant, or some great disaster which menaced his family. It was the same with *Bodach an dun*, "the Spirit of the Mountain," for the Grants of Rothiemurchus. Other families had *Benshie*, old fairies with floating hair, and covered with blue mantles; they predicted by their tears, sighs, and groans, the approaching death of some one of the members of these families. Besides, a train of light, variously coloured, when seen at night, was the sign of a similar event, and its direction indicated the place of the funeral. The death of a Maclean, of Loch Buy, was announced to his parents by an apparition of the spectre of one of his ancestors killed in battle.

When they set out on a journey, they were very attentive to the presages, which they formed from the first objects they met with. If these augured unfavourable, they returned home, and postponed their journey till another day. They had many modes of consulting their destiny. The most remarkable method was the *Taeghairm*. They enveloped a man in the skin of a bull, fresh killed, and placed him near a cataract, at the bottom of a precipice or wild place; having left him there all night, the next day they went to interrogate him, and his answers were received as inspired by the spirit of the place.

The most known and the most general superstition of the Gaëls is that which they call *Taishitaraugh*, and the English, *Second Sight*. It is the faculty of discerning objects invisible

to other persons. Those who were gifted with it were called *Seers*, and in Gaelic *Taishatrim*. On this subject Martin, who travelled through the Hebrides in the beginning of the last century, at the time when the belief in *second sight* was much more general than at present, gives us the following information:—

The vision made such an impression on the *Seer*, that he was at the instant entirely absorbed by it. He stood with his eyes fixed on the shadow, which he pursued, and could not turn his attention from it. Every one is not endowed with the power of contemplating these supernatural apparitions, and those who possess it cannot transmit it to others; nor can it descend from a father to his children.

These apparitions, or visions, are of various natures; they have always some signification relative to him who sees them, or to those who accompany him. The *Seer*, after the nature of his vision, predicts events fatal or encouraging, and the hour, more or less advanced of the day in which the apparition presents itself, serves him to fix the epoch when his prediction will be accomplished. If he sees a sheet round the body of a living man, he announces his approaching death, and this prediction, the believers say, never fails of being accomplished. If a chair which is occupied, appears to him empty, it indicates the death of him who is seated in it. He can see absent friends appear, and also those who have just died in a distant country. He foretells the persons who are to arrive in the village, or enter the house where he is; and although they are entire strangers to him, he describes their figure, shape, form, and the colour of their clothes. It has been said also, that *Seers* have seen in caverns and deserted places, houses covered with tiles; also, villages, and verdant meadows, and have foretold several years, that these places would be peopled and cultivated.

Martin (who places implicit faith in these superstitions), pretends having seen the prophecies of the *Seers* accomplished several times. Dr. Johnson, who has shown so much scepticism relative to the authenticity of Ossian, was not averse to believing in *second sight*. Boswell, his biographer, says, that he sought palpable proofs of the existence of spirits, in order to combat the progress of the doctrine of materialism with more effect.

I have several times heard very respectable men in the Highlands of Scotland, mention examples of *second sight*, of which they asserted themselves to have been witnesses; and they gave these narratives with the utmost assurance and the best faith. Among an infinite number of fantastical pictures which

were presented to an inflamed imagination, it was sufficient if one had some relation with a real event, with men fond of the marvellous, who forgot the quantity of dreams which had no relation nor connexion with the future. They placed reliance on a single trait which appeared to be realized, and the person whose predictions were verified, was proclaimed a prophet.

History has recorded two remarkable instances of *second sight*, the most ancient of which is mentioned in the history of St. Columban. It is affirmed, that this abbot announced to his monks of I-Colm-Kill, a victory of the Pictish king on the very day the battle took place, although the field of battle was in the south of Scotland, upwards of 180 miles from the convent of Iona, where St. Columban then resided.

The second is of a much more recent date, and, according to Pennant, excited a great interest in Scotland at the time. Shortly after the battle of Prestonpans, in 1745, the Lord President Forbes being at his residence in Culloden, with a Scottish nobleman, the conversation turned on that battle, and its probable consequences; after having a long time discoursed on the subject, and exhausted every conjecture, the President, turning himself towards a window, cried out, "All that may happen, but rest assured, these troubles will be terminated on the very spot where we now are." This prediction of the battle of Culloden, several months before it took place, and when the victorious army of the Pretender was marching into England, produced a prodigious effect, and confirmed many Scots in their superstitious belief.

Before terminating this exposition of the ancient state of the Gaels, it only remains for me to speak of their funeral ceremonies; and in these we again find some additional resemblances to those of the ancient Oriental nations.

On the evening after the death of a Highlander, the parents, relations, and friends of the deceased, come into his house, followed by a bagpipe or violin; then the nearest relative of the deceased opens a funeral ball, known by the name of *late-wake*. Nothing is more singular than this mixture of dancing and weeping, music and doleful cries, which continues till break of day, and is renewed every night while the body remains uninterred. When the coffin is carried to the earth, it is followed by a numerous group of relatives and friends of both sexes. The women pour forth the most frightful cries, tear their hair, and sitting round the tomb, sing with loud voice the mournful *Coronach*.

This funeral lamentation, which is the same as the *Hullulu* of the Irish, consists only in cries and inarticulate groans, but

generally it is a mournful and wild air, to which the bards have composed poems in honour of the deceased. His virtues, exploits, hospitality, and noble origin, are recalled; and the grief of his family and his clan are expressed in a touching and poetical manner. After the ceremony is finished, the relations invite all the persons who have assisted in it to an abundant repast. Whiskey flows in great abundance, and the days consecrated to mourning generally terminate as a festival, by revelry and intoxication.

CHAPTER VIII.

Remarkable Changes operated in the Manners and Customs of the Highlanders.

It appeared to me almost incredible, that such a state of things as I have described in the preceding chapter; that manners so different from our own should have existed little more than half a century ago, at a distance of 450 miles from London—the capital of one of the most civilized and enlightened nations of Europe:—had it not been attested by accredited historians, and had I not recognized in the manners, customs, and mode of life, of the inhabitants of the Hebrides and western coasts of Scotland, numerous and unequivocal traces of the same constitution. Such a state was so incompatible with the progress of learning, mode of government, and manners of the British nation, that we cannot believe it could still be preserved for a long time, when even such great events had not hastened its close.

These tribes resembled so many small independent states, in a single monarchy, and would not submit to laws emanating from the government; thus, the interminable wars among the clans, and the audacious depredations among the peaceful and industrious inhabitants of the plains, were sure, sooner or later, to awaken the attention of the legislative power.

But the still more alarming rebellions which were manifested in the mountains, made the government feel the urgent necessity of extinguishing that focus of discord and civil war, which the enemies of England and the partisans of the Stuarts, ceased not to foment.

Already since the rebellion of 1745, many powerful chiefs had paid, even with their property and their lives, their chivalrous devotion to their ancient and unfortunate sovereigns. Those confiscations and executions for a moment, restrained and in-

timidated a turbulent population ; but as nothing was changed in the system of the clans, the chiefs still preserved all their power. Defended by the inaccessible barriers of their mountains and torrents, they were still able, when the time arrived, to prepare for new incursions at the head of their formidable bands, which had been vanquished, but not entirely subdued. This happened effectually, in the famous expedition of Prince Charles Edward. In the twinkling of an eye, the whole population of the mountains were under arms ; they inundated the southern part of Scotland like a torrent, destroyed the troops of the line which were opposed to them, and penetrated into the heart of England. The capital was in consternation, and expecting at every instant to see a formidable and savage army enter within its walls.

The imminent danger in which the government found itself at this period, proved the necessity of adopting prompt and vigorous measures to prevent the repetition of similar events, and radically to destroy even the cause of those frequent insurrections ; viz. the patriarchal and military government of the clans.

For this purpose, new executions and confiscations took place in greater number than ever ; and a general disarming of all the Highlanders was proclaimed and executed by force.

Military roads were opened from all parts across the defiles and (at that time) inaccessible vallies, to enable the troops and artillery to penetrate easily into the very heart of the deserts. Ancient forts were repaired, and new fortresses were constructed, and guarded by strong garrisons, to restrain the still formidable, although disarmed, population. In short, the power of the chiefs was abolished ; the chain of clans was broken, and all jurisdiction was taken away from the chiefs. Justices of the peace, sheriffs, and other judicial officers, similar to those which were for a long time established in the Lowlands, were charged with maintaining order and executing justice in the Highlands after the laws of the kingdom. The chiefs were no longer considered otherwise than proprietors of land, and the vassals as their farmers. It required much firmness and vigilance to introduce among the Gaels a system so different from that to which they had been habituated from time immemorial ; but the conquerors overstrained the means for attaining that object. The soldiers committed great excesses, and displayed a rigour which often bordered on cruelty ; and many unwarrantable abuses were committed on the conquered, now a prey to hatred and revenge.

The government were likewise guilty of a gross fault :—too much influenced by the recent alarm which they had experienced,

they made laws in order to *destroy the natural character* of this people, and not content with having deprived them of their arms, they prohibited their particular costume. They even forbade the use of their vernacular tongue, and absolutely wished to create momentarily an English colony, as if it were possible to deprive high-minded and brave people of their whole inheritance of glorious recollections. Every method, in short, was employed in the Highlands, which the most absolute despotism could suggest, that the power of the chiefs of the clans might be superseded by the power of the law. The latter, without means of defence, and opposed by immense forces, were not in a state to resist, but their pride disdained a yoke which they were unable to shake off. They sought every means of eluding the laws which appeared to them humiliating, and in defiance of their oppressors, they preserved their ancient customs as much as they were able; these were become much dearer, from the endeavours which had been made to efface the memory of them.

Removed from public employment and military command, and treated as rebels, the Highlanders were, for a long time, neglected in their dreary mountains, by the British court and parliament. The celebrated Lord Chatham having succeeded to the ministry, quickly felt that such oppression was very unfit to reconcile them with the new order of things, and attach them to one common country; and he foresaw all the advantages which the English government might derive from that race of heroes, as he styled them, if once he could gain their affections. For this purpose he employed mild and conciliatory measures as being the most probable means of restoring tranquillity. All the rigorous laws were revoked, the Highlanders were allowed the free use of their national dress, and the minister restored them their arms to use in the service of England. Thus, this great Statesman knew how to profit by these warlike people, to serve the cause of his country; and by degrees, succeeded in attaching them to the House of Brunswick, by the bonds of gratitude and affection. Restored also to their customs, and to their national manners, and at the same time, to peace and repose, deprived of the means of plundering their neighbours, and of fighting among themselves, the Highlanders displayed a new character, still more interesting, than that which had distinguished them in their ancient state. They preserved the virtues of a savage people, and threw aside the vices and ignorance by which they are generally accompanied.

Patriotism, loyalty, hospitality, and religion, continued to flourish amongst them; respect for property was no longer, as

formerly, confined to the possessions of the same clan ; they accustomed themselves to respect all Scotsmen, to whatever tribe or district they might belong, as countrymen and brothers. Thus the same men, who sixty years ago lived almost entirely on pillage, are now proverbial for their morality ; and of all the inhabitants of Great Britain, they give the least occupation to the courts of assize. Faithful to their sovereign, they know also how to display in regular armies that attachment and heroic courage which animated them in their petty intestine wars. Rigorous observers of their religious duties, they afford this day an example to all Christians of that active piety which induces them, in order to assist in divine service, to brave the tempestuous climate, and undertake long journeys in a country beset with rocks, across dangerous precipices and boisterous seas. The ministers second their zeal by astonishing efforts and the warmest attachment ; for they are to be seen braving the fury of the ocean in small boats to carry the consolation of religion into the most distant parts of their parishes.

The number of parishes too limited in proportion to their extent, is the cause why the pastors, notwithstanding their zeal, cannot discharge all the functions required by their ministry. In order to remedy this inconvenience, members of the church have been delegated under the title of missionaries, to aid the pastors in preaching the gospel. They go at certain periods to celebrate divine service in the vallies, and the most remote districts ; but the salaries of these respectable ministers are far from being proportioned to their utility and devotion.

Not only has the succour of religion been augmented, but a Society for the propagation of Christianity has founded establishments for the education of children. Every village in the mountains and isles, however small, possesses at present a school where reading and writing are taught, in Gaelic and English. Thus that ignorance into which a military life had for a long period plunged this people, is dying away, and with it those superstitious practices and creeds which have long been prevalent in the mountainous districts of Scotland.

Notwithstanding the Chiefs have lost much of their power by the abolition of the patriarchal regime, they have, however, in general preserved a great influence over their farmers, who were formerly their vassals ; this influence is due to the property of extensive domains. They let the farms at low prices to those whom they protect ; and as they can withdraw these benefits at pleasure, their farmers are thus entirely dependent on them. Although the law deprived the Chiefs of that hereditary jurisdiction which they formerly exercised, yet, as the

offices of "Justice of the Peace" are always confided to great proprietors, and as the distance of the mountains and isles from the centre of government renders arbitrary measures more easily carried into execution, than in England and the south of Scotland, the lairds thus preserve a much more extensive power over their tenantry than that of other proprietors in Great Britain. When the laird makes use of his prerogative only for the good of his subordinates; when he applies himself, like his ancestors, to conciliate their respect by offers of services and kindness; when, in short, he endeavours to keep up among them that spirit of clanship, or family love, so powerful in former times, he again finds among the farmers the same attachment—the same devotion which they formerly entertained for their chiefs. But, in this respect, all the Highland proprietors have not followed the same course, and hence have resulted very different effects in the prosperity and happiness of those Highlanders who are not proprietors. This is what I shall endeavour to describe; for in this particular are included the most striking results which the transition from a military regime to a commercial system has occasioned.

It should be recollected, that before the abolition of the regime of clans, the interest of the landed proprietor was to concentrate in his domain the greatest possible number of men capable of bearing arms; hence it followed, that the population was no longer identified with the produce of the soil, and that the land was divided into a very considerable number of small farms, on each of which a whole family resided. In general, the proprietor reserved for himself a part of his domain, where he placed the men of his suite, his servants, and all those who were more particularly attached to his person. Some vassals paid no rent for their farms, others paid their leases partly in money, and partly in personal or particular services to the profit of the proprietor. The portions of his domain which the chief did not use himself were let to a few of the principal members of his tribe, his nearest relations, designated under the name of *tacksmen*; the latter divided the lands again among the small tenants, and the *cotters*, or labouring people. The farms which these last occupied were not considerable: they paid no rent in money, but they worked for the *tacksmen*, and were their servants.

When the chiefs were deprived of their authority over their tribes, and being no longer petty independent princes, so great an armed population was become useless to them, and no longer procured them, as formerly, that consideration and power which were the objects of their ambition; they, therefore, felt the necessity of maintaining their rank and credit by

different means, and those which were most obvious were the employment of their lands in augmenting their fortunes. It was necessary for this purpose to increase the revenue, and to make the soil yield a greater pecuniary profit. The system of administration of domains pursued until then in the Highlands was the least likely of all to procure these advantages. The rent of the farms had been invariably held extremely low, and the entire produce of the soil was consumed in supporting that population which was of so little service to agriculture. There remained no surplus for disposal in a market; consequently there were no markets, and the farmers exported no kind of provisions from their domains which could be sold. The proprietors, therefore, having no longer any thing in view but their pecuniary interests, must consequently have felt the necessity of augmenting the extent of their farms, by the diminution of their number. By that, the same labour, which formerly employed a multitude of hands, was now easily executed by a single farmer; the space of ground which at that time maintained all these small farmers being now cultivated by one individual, there remained for him a certain surplus which he could realise by carrying it to market.

Those who had until then held small farms were dispossessed in great numbers, in proportion as the proprietors, always more anxious for large revenues, were convinced that to convert their mountains and valleys into pasture for sheep, was much more profitable than the cultivation of land. Farmers from the south of Scotland, and from England, whose chief occupation was the propagation of sheep; having discovered that the mountains of Scotland supplied pasturage of as good a quality as those of the *Cheviot Hills* and of England, and that they could farm them out at a higher price, made the Highland proprietors better offers than they had received from their ancient vassals, and consequently they obtained the preference. The great farmers of the mountains, or *tacksmen*, witnessed the enormous profits which these new comers made at the fairs of the south, by the exportation of their sheep reared in the Highlands, which were more considerable, as they had neither the expense of labour nor of implements that the agriculturist had, and a single shepherd was sufficient to guard the largest flocks in the most extensive district.

This success awakened the attention of the large farmers, and they likewise resolved to undertake the breeding of sheep; they dispossessed their small tenants and their *Cotters*, and by the profits which they made, were able to pay the proprietors a higher rent for their farms, which they could thus preserve. The system of sheep pasturage became more established every

year; the competition which was established between the English farmers or Lowlanders, and the *tacksmen* of the Highlands, prodigiously augmented the revenue of land in the latter country. The proprietors attained the object they had in view: they enriched themselves by the progressive and rapid increase of their rents, and many of them quitted their mountains and their now deserted vallies, to expend their newly acquired fortunes in Edinburgh, and in London; seeking to gratify their vanity by a display of luxury, as they formerly did, by exhibiting the savage pomp of a numerous suite of devoted vassals.

What then became of the tenantry and labourers, who by these measures were deprived of farms, which a long hereditary possession had accustomed them to consider as their property? Filled with despair, and burning with resentment against their chiefs, who ought to have protected them, and whom they accused of ingratitude; being unable to remain in a country, where, in order to procure the necessaries of life it was indispensable to possess a small portion of land; and destitute of all resources, they were finally obliged to quit those vallies and mountains which their forefathers had inhabited, and which recalled to their minds so many interesting and glorious associations. Those of the tenantry who possessed cattle and agricultural implements hastened to sell them, and with their produce they paid their passage from England to America, where they emigrated in vast numbers with their families. The working people, who had no other resource than their own labour, flocked to the manufacturing cities of the Lowlands, with the firm determination of labouring incessantly in the factories, in order to obtain funds adequate to the cost of their voyage to America; and the moment this was done, they eagerly set off to join their countrymen in a foreign land.

In addition to the number who had already been turned out of their farms, was the emigration of those who felt that a similar fate awaited them; depending no longer on the attachment of their ancient chiefs, and subjected, while the latter were amusing themselves in great cities, to all the vexations and severity of overseers, who were frequently strangers, sent to manage the estates during the absence of the proprietors, they preferred throwing up their farms, before the leases were expired, and profited by the first favourable opportunity to undertake the voyage.

Thus, a great emigration took place, by which the English government saw thousands of faithful subjects removing into

foreign countries—honest and brave men, who were formerly considered a nursery of intrepid soldiers.

A general cry of disapprobation was raised in Scotland against those proprietors who, deaf to the voice of nature and of pity, and looking only to their personal interests, sacrificed to their cupidity a host of men who had exposed their lives for them, and whose fathers had more than once generously devoted themselves to their ancestors. "What are become," said these unfortunate people in their distress, without asylum and without protectors—"what are become of the family ties, which our chief formerly delighted to preserve among us, when he had occasion for our arms? Are we no longer his tribe? Are we no longer the children of one common father—now that we claim his protection?" Happily for the tranquillity of the kingdom, these melancholy scenes were by no means general in the Highlands; for if the fermentation which followed, and which on some occasions manifested itself otherwise than by complaints—if this discontent had burst forth in all the districts at the same time, the public safety would have been grievously compromised. But more fortunate for humanity, there were found many proprietors, who preferred the happiness of diffusing benefits around them, to the allurements of gain; and instead of augmenting their revenues, sought to ameliorate the condition of their subordinates. There were also some who were far from desiring to disinherit their ancient vassals, yet, nevertheless, could not resist the temptation of the high prices offered them for their farms; these last, therefore, endeavoured, without making corresponding sacrifices, to retain them in their service.

Efforts were now making throughout Scotland to procure resources for those who had been sent away by their hard-hearted proprietors; but these efforts were not sufficiently followed up; they were rarely complete, and often the plans adopted in order to procure them the means of subsistence entirely failed. Thus, when war presented no obstacles, emigration continued, and went on increasing from year to year. These symptoms of depopulation at length began to spread alarm among those who felt interested in the mountains of Scotland.

Many authors have written on this subject. A respectable association, The Highland Society, took these circumstances into their serious consideration, and were actively occupied in seeking resources, even in the Highlands, in order to retain those who were disposed to emigrate.

They, in consequence, claimed the interference of the legis-

lature, to oppose the emigration; and what is most remarkable, the proprietors who were the cause of the evils, and who alone could provide an efficacious remedy, were those who most anxiously demanded authority from government to restrain the emigrants from embarking. They were doubtless persuaded, that such an emigration was injurious to the country, and perhaps also, they were conscious, that to them would reasonably be imputed the expatriation of so many brave men. But what could the legislature do? They could not compel the proprietors to dispose of their domains against their own will, nor could they infringe on the right of every inhabitant of a free country, to transport himself to the place which appeared to him the most suitable for the developement of his industry. They tried, therefore, by persuasion, to retain those who wished to emigrate, by offering them lucrative resources in their own country, and it was in a great measure for this purpose, that the Caledonian canal was undertaken, and which, in fact, has employed a great number of workmen. The parliament also ordered the opening of new roads; but these labours, although considerable, were not sufficient for the great number of men who were out of employment; besides, there were many, who feeling that these resources were only temporary, and excited by examples, as well as by the hope of making their fortunes, and by the attraction of possessing lands of their own, persisted in emigrating to America.

Thus emigration continued, and at the termination of every war, numerous groups of men, women, and children, embarked for the new world. Those who have witnessed the departure of these unfortunate people, have painted in lively colours the distressing scenes which were unceasingly renewed when so many poor Highlanders bade an eternal adieu to the huts and vallies of their native country.

Among the numerous works which have been written on the emigration of the Highlanders, the most remarkable is that of Lord Selkirk, who, in truth, is the only author who has approved of the expulsion of small farmers, and who has considered emigration as favourable to the developement of industry in Great Britain. He has treated this subject entirely as a question of political economy, and enforced his arguments with great acumen. This work, it appears to me, was so much the more dangerous, as its tendency was to abandon all attempts to ameliorate the situation of the unhappy Highlanders, as being unprofitable and even injurious; thus encouraging the proprietors to study their own self-interest, in driving from their homes an intelligent people, who were warmly attached to their duties, to their laws, and to their sovereign,—for the pur-

pose of supplying their places by flocks of sheep! I trust I shall be excused endeavouring to oppose some reflections to the arguments by which Lord Selkirk has justified such conduct, and explained his opinions.

Are we only, I ask, in the first place, to consider this important subject, as the noble author has done, with respect to the pecuniary interests of the proprietors, and of those of the industrious and commercial interests of the nation? Is there not also a much greater question, and one of much higher importance? Ought we not first of all to ascertain whether a man has a right, in defiance of the laws of religion, the rules of morality, and the dictates of his own conscience, to sacrifice to personal advantages the happiness, and even the existence of a number of human beings, who have a just claim on him for protection, and who are entirely under his dependence? Thus, if the real cause of emigration be found in the means employed by proprietors to increase their revenues; and if these means are manifestly contrary to morality, whatever may be their good effects in political economy—whatever brilliant results they may offer in perspective—all the particular and general benefits which might have been derived from it, ought not to have been sought after, as they were evidently founded on an unjust principle.—Lord Selkirk does not appear to have felt this, when he so strongly advocated the utility and the advantages of emigration.

By stripping this subject of the moral question, which indeed is inseparable from it, and by reducing it to a simple calculation of interest, he has collected a number of arguments sufficiently specious, in order to support his conclusion; viz. that, to encourage the system adopted by the proprietors, the emigration which is the consequence of it, is necessary for the public prosperity. But if he has contrived to dazzle the imagination for a time, he has not succeeded in convincing public opinion, nor in persuading those who still consider him as their guide.

It happens here, as on all occasions when systems of political economy are found in contradiction with the laws of ethics, that many persons who are incapable of refuting the arguments employed to support them, reject them from the sole motive that they are repugnant to their own intimate opinions.

Such are the dispositions which Lord Selkirk and other economists tax with prejudice, and which they endeavour to destroy among those whom they address, by always showing them, that the improvement of their fortunes, from whence public wealth is derived, ought to be the sole object of their efforts, as individuals and members of the body politic; every

other consideration being yielded to that point. Those who have till now refused to embrace this system, are only, in their eyes, as superficial observers, who do not consider that these partial evils ought to have the public good as a final consequence.

But, has not the simple and conclusive reasoning which, unknown to them, influences those ignorant and prejudiced pretenders, much more force than that which they are inclined to oppose to them? "You prove to us admirably well," they may say, "what would be the surest and most expeditious means of enriching ourselves, and, on this point, we agree with you: however, in order to attain this object, we must be guilty of injustice, for we regard as such the abandonment of men who have a claim on our protection, and consequently this act is repugnant to our conscience." But the laws of morality, even when they are not dictated by religion, are, from the avowal of every philosopher, founded on the immutable basis of reason. Here is on one side political economy, such as it is considered to be in the present day, which says to us: Follow only your pecuniary interest, it will conduct you to your greatest happiness, to that of your country. However, the voice of morality cries out: Do not unto others that which you would not wish should be done unto you. Do not extinguish in your heart that sentiment of commiseration for your fellow creatures in distress, which is the principal of every social virtue.

From these two modes of reasoning which, on the same subject, lead to results so diametrically opposite, one of them must evidently be false; which then are we to choose? We should not hesitate, as we know from the earliest experience, from the testimony of all philosophers, and, in short, from the light of revelation, that morality is intimately connected with human nature, and forms part of its very essence. We are not so certain with respect to any system of political economy. In this uncertainty we adopt then the conclusions of morality. How much more reason have we on our side than you, who tell us, in the name of political economy, that we ought not to stop at a transient and partial evil, in order to attain a general and permanent blessing,* when we oppose to this specious and dangerous doctrine so just and true a precept of morality: *Never do an evil that good may result from it!* What a state then would society be in, if an evident injustice were permitted with the mere uncertainty of obtaining some advantage?

With what irresistible force may we apply the answer of a

* See Lord Selkirk on Emigration, pp. 133 and 134.

Highland chief, when he was advised to send away his ancient vassals in order to replace them with flocks of sheep—"Their forefathers," said he, "have, at the price of their blood and their lives, conquered and defended the domain which I possess, and I think their children have a natural right to participate in the produce of it."

I have hitherto expressly treated this important question under a dogmatical form, and I have appealed to the laws of morality, which, by common consent, are also those of reason. The partisans who calculate only their own interest, and apply it to all the circumstances of life, repel every argument;—they pretend to regard those with pity, as being weak and infatuated, who throw obstacles in the way of their vast projects for the perfection of the social fabric. But, what would they have said, had I addressed myself to those who yet feel a lively emotion at the recital of the sufferings of their fellow-creatures; had I presented to them these men, whom the economists consider as so many abstract quantities, and of whom they would dispose as the calculator does his figures, but whom I would have shown to have been animated by all the affections and recollections, and a prey to all the impressions of happiness or misery which the Creator has imparted to the human species; had I, in short, opposed to the specious arguments of these bold theorists, the simple and affecting picture presented by a multitude of fathers, aged men, and children, driven by hundreds from their native soil, in order to satisfy the rapacious cupidity and vanity of a single man; who would dare to set his heart against the sympathy which such a spectacle would have excited in a generous breast? These unfortunate beings, driven from their country, without assistance, abandoned by the man whom they had cherished as a father, and on whom they founded all their hopes, and confided themselves to the first adventurer they met with, crowded promiscuously into vessels too small for the number of passengers, and without adequate means of subsistence during the voyage, arrive at last in the new world,—they touch the soil of that promised land; but here again other misfortunes await them. Strangers, destitute of every thing, in an unknown country, the greater part of an age at which it is difficult to serve an apprenticeship to a new kind of occupation, and in which strength is wanting for the laborious exertions which await them,—in this state are exposed to the mercy of rapacious speculators. Lost, in short, in those immense forests, where they must seek their own subsistence, the isolated state in which they find themselves, the depth of those impenetrable woods, and the frightful aspect of the deserts,

seize them with horror; despair takes possession of their souls, and it is only with difficulty that, without a guide, without any direction, they perhaps ultimately succeed in cultivating a piece of ground sufficient for the maintenance of their families. Next their affections are turned towards that country which has abandoned them, but which they still love: they wish to perpetuate, even in a new hemisphere, the remembrance of the places where they have passed their childhood; they designate their little fields, and their cottages formed with branches of trees, by the names of those farms which their ancestors possessed, and which they quitted with so much regret; and the foreigner, wandering in the vast deserts of America, hears at times the echoes of the banks of the Sussequehana and Ontario re-echoing those plaintive airs which formerly resounded in the mountains of Scotland.

But, it will be said, can this emigration be prevented? The legislature cannot oppose it; and must the proprietors abandon their interests altogether, and consent to charge themselves, as formerly, with the burden of a population unused to labour, and disproportioned to the extent of the soil? Is there not then, I would ask, in my turn—is there no intermediate method for a chief between the preservation of his small farmers, and their general expulsion? Lord Selkirk does not seem to believe in the possibility of a medium conduct, as such always opposes the system of sheep pasturage (which, according to him, must one day extend throughout the Highlands), to the maintenance of small farmers and ancient rents, without appearing to discover any other practicable means. He would have reason indeed, if all the resources of the Highlands had been exhausted, and if it were proved that they could not be rendered more productive. But this is not the case: if the population is too large for the actual state of agriculture, it is because the lands capable of cultivation are very far from being all cleared, and because they do not produce all that judicious management might obtain from them; because the sea, that immense reservoir of subsistence, is altogether neglected; whilst it is acknowledged, that the fishery of the Hebrides, on the coasts and in the gulphs of the western isles of Scotland, would alone suffice, were it encouraged, not only to maintain all the actual population of Scotland, but even to enrich it. Thus, it is futile to talk of Scotland being over-peopled, in relation to its produce; it is more likely, that political economists do not know how to draw from it what is necessary in order to support the population.

There are many abuses in agriculture still to be remedied, and these abuses, extending nearly throughout Scotland, pre-

vent the full appreciation of all that its soil is capable of producing. A great extent of arable land is still uncultivated ; and, in addition to this, the system of sheep farms has succeeded in laying waste many lands which the persevering industry of certain small farmers had fertilized ; because, at the price now offered for pasturage, the proprietor has no interest in cultivating his land.

If then, as Lord Selkirk announces, this system shall end in covering all the mountainous districts in this great extent of country with sheep, we shall soon see not a single field cultivated ; the lands even, which at present maintain a multitude of families, will have then returned to their original state. Nevertheless, there are many valleys capable of cultivation. As a proof of this, we may quote the instance of an intelligent farmer near Inverness having transformed, as if by magic, a barren track into a delightful garden.

The system of sheep pasturage, so far from leading to the perfection of agriculture and the amelioration of the soil, has a contrary effect. This branch of revenue, however productive it may appear at the present day, is, notwithstanding, very precarious, since the high price now offered for pasturage proceeds from the great consumption of salt meat which takes place among the number of troops in the army and navy at present in the pay of England, and above all, from the necessity of supplying the British colonies of the two hemispheres with this kind of provision. A considerable reduction in the English forces, and the emancipation of some of her colonies, will not fail, in the course of a short time, to diminish the value of sheep pasturage : what then will become of the Scottish proprietor with his uncultivated lands ? He will be obliged to employ farmers from another country, who would not fail to exact onerous conditions, as no other inducement but that of gain will tempt them to establish themselves in a country, the soil of which is unproductive, and the climate severe. How much, then, will the proprietors regret having expelled the natural inhabitants of these mountains, whom some concession would have retained in the country which was the object of all their affections ! Accustomed to the severity of their native climate, and inured to fatigue and privations, they would not have required conditions near so rigorous as the farmers of the south of Scotland or England, and would have, at less expence, fertilized land of an equal extent.

Lord Selkirk, it is true, reproaches the Highlanders with the want of that activity and energy necessary for agricultural labour, and with having still harboured that disposition for idleness and indolence which prevailed among them when they were

entirely under the dependence of their chiefs. He reproaches the proprietors also, who have endeavoured to retain their ancient farmers by granting them lands to cultivate, with having by an unfair mode of concession injured themselves in the success of their enterprise. Thus, says he, the leases granted were too short; the farmer not being protected, and receiving no pecuniary assistance, can only profitably cultivate a very small extent of ground, and the prospect of profit presented to him is not then sufficiently encouraging to determine him to invest his small capital in this manner.

These observations, in fact, prove, that the proprietor who wishes to retain his ancient vassals on his domain, by employing them in clearing the land, must for a time submit to some pecuniary sacrifices; but these prove comparatively trifling with the possibility of rendering agriculture a resource for the inhabitants of the mountains. Moreover, experience has shown, that every time the lairds wished, in reality, to offer their farmers advantageous terms, or to put them in a state, either by advances or by granting them extraordinary privileges, in order to provide for the expence of the first establishment, the Highlanders have displayed an activity and disposition for labour of which they could hardly have been thought capable, and the success of similar enterprises has surpassed all expectation. It would be easy to mention many other examples; but I shall content myself with one, which will best prove what a Highland proprietor can do for the good of his country when he does not merely look to his immediate interest.

The Marquis of Stafford acquired, by his marriage with the Countess of Sutherland, the estate of Sutherland, situate at the northern extremity of Scotland. No district at that time appeared less fit for cultivation, either from the nature of the soil, which was covered with rocks, and presented only barren and uncultivated mountains, or from the wild and uncivilized character of its inhabitants, or, lastly, from the severity and variableness of the climate. However, there was a track of land capable of being cultivated in this district; but the indolent Highlanders had scarcely cleared any portion of it, in order to reap the precarious crops of rye and potatoes.

The ancient tenures were just abolished, and the proprietors already began to dispossess their vassals, in order to establish sheep pasturage on their farms. The Marquis of Stafford, unwilling that the ancient tenants of the house of Sutherland should suffer by the change of circumstances which time had brought about, allotted only for the sheep the mountains decidedly sterile, and endeavoured to draw all the population

into the valleys, and to the sea coast, in order to employ them in cultivating the soil and carrying on the fishery.

To attain this object, he allowed each family a cottage, and a piece of ground sufficient to keep a cow. Each man received also three Scottish acres to cultivate, and a proportionate extent for pasturage in the mountains. From that time a spirit of industry was excited among them to an astonishing degree: their thatched huts were changed into buildings of dry, stone, and the latter were afterwards replaced by well constructed houses, which the master no longer inhabited, as he formerly did, promiscuously with his cows and horses. It was the same with the fishery as with agriculture: Lord Selkirk rather appears to have sought to depreciate this branch of industry, and to have concluded from the failure of some experiments, that the fishery on the coasts and in the isles would never be a sufficient resource to maintain the Highlanders, when they were dispossessed of their farms. The errors with which Lord Selkirk reproaches the Society for the Encouragement of the Fisheries, and the proprietors who have tried some establishments for sea fishery, prove nothing against the final success of a similar enterprise, when the fishermen know how to avoid the errors which he points out with so much justice. It cannot, however, be denied, that the fishery in the Hebrides, and in the western bays of Scotland, is capable of considerable augmentation. All travellers agree on this point: the inhabitants of the coasts unanimously bear witness to the incredible multitudes of fish which inhabit these seas, and if palpable proofs were necessary, the extraordinary low value of fish in the Hebrides (although that is the principal support of the whole population) would prove the truth of this assertion; whilst the innumerable swarms of sea birds, on all sides in these seas, indicate immense shoals of herrings. In truth, it is well known that formerly the Dutch frequented the Hebrides, and regarded the fishery as the great source of their wealth; they then bought the fish from the Hebrideans in such quantities as to load whole fleets. This traffic formed a grand resource for these poor islanders, but we are ignorant of the cause of parliament prohibiting so advantageous a traffic. From that time, and until the late war, the Dutch, alone, possessed the advantage of fishing in the Hebrides, the Orkneys, and the Shetland Isles.

These considerations, which were of such a nature as seriously to awaken attention, and that above all at a moment when the Highlanders were emigrating in thousands for want of employment and the means of subsistence, engaged many individuals, devoted to the welfare of their country, to form

themselves into a society, for the purpose of giving activity to the fisheries by every possible means; with this view Knox undertook his journey to the Hebrides and western coast of Scotland. He went to survey the fittest places for the establishment of fishing villages, and on his report, the society, with the aid of liberal funds which they had raised in Scotland and England, built several villages along the coasts and in the Isle of Mull. Every man received a dwelling, and implements necessary for fishing. Unfortunately, a circumstance prevented this undertaking having the desired success. Instead of merely allowing the settlers the requisites for fishing, the society thought fit to add to each dwelling a portion of land for cultivation; they were then ignorant of what Lord Selkirk has very ably proved, that agriculture and the fishery are incompatible, as the season which requires agricultural labour is that in which the fisherman ought to be at sea. It is to be regretted that this overstrained precaution should have frustrated the success of a plan which otherwise was calculated to produce the most beneficial results. The establishment of a village of fishermen would naturally have created a new kind of employment; we should have seen them spontaneously building workshops for the construction of boats, manufactories for nets, ropes, and sails, without considering many other less important branches of commerce which must necessarily be favourable to the happiness of a certain number of men, all occupied with the same pursuit.

The cultivator of the soil would have found, in such a village, a sure market for his provisions; in short, these establishments must, according to all probability, have given these districts a new impulse and aspect. Those proprietors who have succeeded in entirely separating the fishery from agriculture, have had their labours crowned with more complete success, as the ardent and enterprising spirit of the Highlanders entirely agrees with the dangerous trade of sea fishing.

The Marquis of Stafford, whom I have already quoted, in 1814, erected a house on his estate of Sutherland, on the sea coast, for the curing of fish; he also built sloops, which he granted to some of his ancient dispossessed vassals. Although totally inexperienced in the fishery, these Highlanders found, at the end of the first six weeks, that each man had already acquired a profit of twenty-seven pounds sterling. Such unexpected success awakened the attention of all the Highlanders of that part of the country, and in the following year, 1815, the number of sloops employed in the fishery already amounted to fifty. Upwards of four thousand barrels of herrings were dispatched, and vessels were loaded for Riga,

and the other ports of the Baltic, and even for the West Indies. Thus, it appears, that in these latitudes the sea presents a rich source of profit to such as are desirous of availing themselves of it.

The principal obstacles to the success of these establishments are the prohibitory laws, and the enormous duties on salt, an article of the first necessity in curing fish. It is to be hoped the legislature will not delay repealing these severe restrictions, and that the English government will at last feel the necessity of extensively encouraging the fishery of the Hebrides. It is really astonishing to see the English neglecting the benefits which nature has put into their own hands, whilst they unceasingly encourage the distant colony of Newfoundland, which has often cost the state much more than it produces.

It was now thought that the manufactures might offer resources to the Highlanders dispossessed of their farms, and be the means of detaining them in the country; but the sedentary and mechanical labour which this occupation requires was not in unison with the spirit and character of this people, and the situation of a workman in a manufactory is regarded with a certain degree of contempt by the Highlanders. Hence it follows, that all the endeavours to establish cotton manufactories in the Highlands have failed; and it is only when under the most pressing necessity, that the Highlanders have engaged as workmen in the manufacturing towns of the South of Scotland. Although there is no doubt that manufactures might be the great means of employing and supporting a part of the redundant population of the Highlands; yet it appears, that nothing would so much prove the want of policy on the part of the proprietors, or the government, so much as their encouragement; and that it would be equally unwise to endeavour to extinguish the feeling which, in this respect, prevails among the Highlanders.

But if the establishment of large manufactories in the mountains does not appear desirable, there are certain works of less extent, and certain occupations which do not require the assembling of so great a body of men, and which occupations may even be combined with agriculture. The encouragement of such pursuits would be attended with the greatest advantage, and might, in being joined to the resources which have already been indicated, enable the proprietors of the Highlands to retain among them their ancient vassals. Thus the Laird of Grant, by granting very advantageous conditions to many of his vassals, has seen rise up a brewery, a multitude of small shops, manufactories of woollen stuffs, linens, and stockings; bleach-works for wool, as well as workshops for tailors, shoemakers, carpenters, and masons, who all labour for the nume-

rous agricultural population occupying the neighbouring valleys. It is evident, from what I have just said, that the Highlands might furnish means of subsistence to all their inhabitants, and that, by means different from those which supported them when the *régime* of the clans was in full vigour.

But in order to attain this happy result, it is necessary that every proprietor should consent to suffer some temporary sacrifices.

First, a pecuniary sacrifice, by renouncing a portion of the profit which he had derived from sheep farms, and even in making advances for the first expences of the establishment.

Secondly, to give up all inclinations which prompted him to abandon his wild and solitary residence to spend his fortune at Edinburgh or in London. The presence of the Laird on his estates appears to be a *sine quâ non* condition of the success of all attempts at amelioration; first, by his residing in the Highlands, he is enabled to save a certain portion of his revenue, which he might apply to improve the situation of his farmers; afterwards, because of the personal influence which he exercises over those who surround him, he may overcome their repugnance, and other difficulties which generally present themselves in the accomplishment of similar projects.

Without going so far as to pretend, like Lord Selkirk, that a Highlander, once dispossessed of the farm of his ancestors, would still prefer embarking for America to establishing himself on another portion of the domains of his Chief, it must be agreed that there exists, in fact, among the Highlanders, a strong repugnance to changing the place of their abode; but this repugnance is not insurmountable, and must yield to the prospect of an advantageous establishment. Thus we see the domains abandoned by the proprietor to the management of a cruel and avaricious superintendent, who is unceasingly occupied in oppressing the farmers in order to provide for the expences of the luxury and ostentation of his master; in similar domains we see tenants prefer expatriating themselves to the endurance of such exactions, and murmur loudly against a Chief from whom they ought to have experienced quite another kind of treatment.

But we must be very ignorant of the character of the Highlanders, to believe that they would be insensible to the benevolence of their Chiefs, and that they would not feel that those who make real sacrifices in their favour have a right to require, on their part, all the services in their power. But if, notwithstanding the advantages which would be offered to them by their Laird, in order to retain them in his lands, he would still find some men who would regret the ancient state of things, or

who, allured by the ambition of becoming proprietors in their turn, and seduced by the promises of America, would persist in emigrating: in this case, the Chief would no longer be reprehensible for the conduct of those restless and unreasonable men in abandoning their country.

Still attached to his system, that emigration is a beneficial measure, Lord Selkirk, after having invited the proprietors to consult their personal and pecuniary interest, addresses himself to the government, to prove that emigration is not only an admirable measure for the country in general, as it has always been asserted, but that it is decidedly advantageous, and even necessary. I shall not enter into a detail of the arguments which he alleges in support of his opinions; it is sufficient to observe, that in admitting only two possible cases, that of the proprietors persisting in the ancient mode of tenement, and that of the general introduction of the system of sheep farms, Lord Selkirk does not consider the question in all its views, since he does not discuss a third case; viz. that where the proprietor, by making the requisite sacrifices, would seek to retain his ancient vassals by agriculture or fishery; this possibility has never entered into his calculations, and yet, had it been taken into consideration, it would naturally have led him to very different conclusions. In no case would the legislature have been able to compel those to live in Scotland who were determined to emigrate; but it appears to me they ought seriously to have united their efforts with those of the proprietors, in order to retain those individuals who lost their ancient farms by the changes operated in the political administration of the country.

The undertaking of the Caledonian Canal, and the opening of many new roads in the mountains, have, with this view, been decreed by the British parliament: these no doubt were great benefits; but the good effected by them was only temporary, as such enterprises were limited in their duration. An act of much greater importance, would have been the repeal of the prohibition laws, as such a benefit would have caused not only the present, but even future generations to explore with advantage the inexhaustible seas: at the same time perhaps, by premiums of encouragement for the better cultivation of the lands, they might have been able to awaken among the proprietors the desire of retaining their ancient vassals.

It will be seen from all that has been said, that the true cause of the emigration of the Highlanders is the conduct of their Chiefs; instead of misleading the opinion of the proprietors, by holding forth to them emigration as the natural consequence of the rebellion of 1745, and instead of extinguishing among

them the voice of conscience, by encouraging them to be guided only by their pecuniary interest, it would have been more desirable had they considered this important question in the moral point of view which is the most essential, and had they invited them to reconcile their fortunes with the duties which they had contracted towards their ancient vassals.

As the sole object of the proprietors of the mountainous districts was to increase their fortunes, and as they sought only an augmentation of revenue to gratify their vanity by a display of luxury and wealth, being no longer willing to content themselves, as formerly, by that of a feudal suite of numerous warriors, it would have been necessary to appeal to the tribunal of public opinion, to account for that motive which reduced so great a number of men to despair. This opinion would have reached the point where the legislature could no longer act. They would have marked with disapprobation those who sacrificed the members of their tribe to the contemptible ambition of appearing with eclat in the English metropolis, since it would have been much more honourable had they deprived themselves of a portion of their possessions to contribute to the happiness of their inferiors.

It is, however, here necessary to observe, in justice to the pure and liberal intentions of Lord Selkirk, that having once admitted emigration to be necessary, and even indispensable, and this emigration existing in fact, he has performed a great service in seeking to regulate it, and to give it a new course, by directing it from the United States, where it had until then been directed, towards the English colonies of North America, which has tended still to preserve to the British government a number of brave and loyal subjects. He himself accompanied a body of emigrant Highlanders, whom he destined to occupy lands purchased by his lordship for this object in the Isle of St. John, or Prince Edward's Island, in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, near the coasts of Nova Scotia. He has let out to each family, on advantageous terms, a portion of his territory, to clear and cultivate; and has neglected no means, nor spared any expence, for the success of his enterprise. Thus success has crowned his expectations; and the very interesting details which he has given of the establishment, and the labours of this little colony, are, according to our view of the subject, the most useful and important part of his work.

Conclusion.

Having now terminated my remarks on the Scottish Highlanders, the reader will perceive that every thing among them,—their manners, customs, language, poetry, and even music, possesses a truly original character. Such are the traits which the lapse of many centuries has strongly imprinted on the soul of every Highlander; and which, uniting an invincible love for his wild native country to long and glorious historical recollections, have given this small nation, confined to one of the least frequented extremities in Europe, a peculiar physiognomy, and, at the same time, a lively sentiment of national dignity. These are the traits, however, so profoundly engraven by the hand of time itself, which a mistaken policy, aided by a parliamentary decree issued at the termination of the last rebellion, imagined could be effaced by a single blow. The illustrious father of the great Pitt felt the cruelty, and, at the same time, the folly of such measures; he hastened to restore the Highlands of Scotland the full liberty of preserving all the ancient usages which were compatible with the state of things recently established in that country. Thus, at the present day, the King of England has not in his dominions more faithful subjects, nor the British Government more intrepid defenders, than the descendants of the ancient Gaëls. A new era has commenced among them; they now proceed with rapid strides in the career which has been opened: may they enjoy that happiness which the prospect seems to promise! The love of liberty among them is engrafted upon the ancient and memorable attachment to their sovereigns and their superiors; education, supported by religion, and wisely directed by its ministers, is diffused amongst them, and must be productive of excellent results; in fine, comfort, and perhaps wealth, will succeed an hereditary poverty; but the very nature of their country, its severe climate, its mountains, its barren valleys, and its seas, will avert luxury and corruption from them. May this estimable people know, like their southern neighbours, how to prolong to a distant period the space of time (frequently so short among other nations) in which learning and the arts of civilization go hand in hand with the sentiments and the energetic virtues of another age!

THE END.

LONDON:

SHACKELL AND ARROWSMITH, JOHNSON'S-COURT, FLEET-STREET.

A
SKETCH
OF
OLD ENGLAND,
BY A NEW ENGLAND MAN.

"Republicanism, as it exists beyond the Atlantic, in all the glories of bundling, gogging, negro-driving, and dram-drinking; such poems as the Columbiad; such speeches as Mr. Adams makes at convivial meetings; and young ladies, who, when asked to dance, reply, "I guess I have no occasion." QUARTERLY REVIEW.

"Often while waiting at table, and listening to their disgusting opinions, I have been called forward by one of the guests, and struck in the face merely for some trivial mistake I had committed in serving him with food. In South Carolina the guests do not hesitate to chastise their entertainers' servants whenever they feel disposed; and a party of white people there, often make cursing and beating their slaves in attendance, their chief employment during dinner." BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE.

"Any American will gratify a stranger by giving an account of himself; and if the truth is unfavourable to him, he will invent falsehoods, rather than not play the egotist."
"The Americans are more detestable than any other people under the influence of ardent spirits. Liquor only serves to draw forth their natural coarcesness, insolence, and rankness of feelings." HOWISON'S TRAVELS.

"These scourgers and murderers of slaves."

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A

SKETCH OF OLD ENGLAND.

LETTER I.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

I AM now comfortably and quietly settled in lodgings, with an elderly lady, who has good blood in her veins; that is to say, if blood be an hereditary commodity, which some people doubt, but which I do not, for there are diseases bodily and mental in most of the old families here that have descended through half-a-score of wealthy generations. She claims descent from Tudors and Plantagenets to boot, and combines the conflicting claims of both York and Lancaster. Though too well bred to boast, she sometimes used to mention these matters, until one day I advised her, in jest, to procure a champion to tilt against young parson Dymoke for the broom at the ensuing coronation. The good old soul took the joke ill, and I was sorry for it. What right had I to ridicule that which, to her, was an innocent source of happiness? I despise the cant of sentiment, but I promise never to do so again.

She has a number of noble relatives among the respectable, old-fashioned nobility, who still possess some of that sturdy, antique morality and honesty, now so scarce among this class throughout all Christendom. Their occasional visits in the dusk of the evening, and the contemplation of her own august descent, seem to constitute her little fund of worldly enjoyment. It is so blameless, that I humour her by often enquiring the names of her visitors; which gives occasion to a variety of family details and claims of kindred, distant enough to be sure, but still sufficient to support the little edifice of vanity, erected in her heart upon the tombs of her ancestors. The old matron

is excessively methodical, and particularly neat in her dress—hates Napoleon Buonaparte with a zeal past all human understanding, and has brought to war against him most exclusively several passages of the Old and New Testaments.

Comfort, neatness, and economy distinguish her household, from the cellar to the garret. Nothing is wasted, nothing is wanting. Such, indeed, is her economy, that I verily believe she never throws away a pin for want of a head, or a needle for being without an eye. This economy is neither the offspring of meanness nor avarice, but the rational result of a determination to preserve her independence. Her means are just sufficient, with this rigid economy, to enable her to appear with that sober sort of gentility, which it is her pride and delight ever to exhibit. Were she to relax in any one respect the nice system would lose its balance and fall to the ground. To sum up all, she is so perfectly upright in all her dealings, that, I am satisfied, no prospect of impunity, no certainty of escaping discovery or suspicion, would tempt her to defraud the living or the dead, or receive more than her due. It is amusing to see her uneasiness at incurring the slightest obligation, or being subjected to the smallest debt. I happened to pay the postage of a letter one day for her in her absence, and she was quite unhappy because I could not make change, and release her from the obligation. She and I are great friends after the *cold English fashion*. If I be sick, every attention is scrupulously paid, but paid as if from a sense of propriety, not from the heart. Our occasional conversations are friendly, but formal; rather genealogical I confess, but let that pass—the old lady comes from Wales. Still I cannot help respecting her most sincerely, and I feel more at home in her house than any place where I have sojourned since I left my own home. I have been the more particular in my sketch, because she belongs to a class of females which once gave a character to England, and to English domestic life, of which the country yet feels the benefit, in the enjoyment of a reputation for integrity, founded on the past, rather than the present. It was this homely honesty, this inflexible regard to principle, which made amends for the absence of those easy and sprightly manners, which attach a stranger, who is generally more in want of courtesies than benefits, and consequently forms his estimate of a people from their general deportment, rather than from any particular act of kindness. This class is, however, I regret to say, daily mouldering away amidst the speculating extravagance and splendid pauperism of the times. They cannot keep pace with the more numerous class of the nobility and gentry, because their pride will not stoop to an alliance with vulgar

wealth, nor their principles bend to earn the rewards of the government by the sacrifice of their integrity.

Our house is situated in one of the old streets, running into ***** which, though rather narrow, was considered quite genteel until lately, but a corrector of enormities in beards made a lodgment directly over the way, and poked his pole at an angle of some forty degrees, almost into the old lady's window. This awful invasion put to flight two persons of quality, who lodged in the house. "'Tis an ill wind that blows nobody good," and I was wafted by this breeze into lodgings that suit me exactly.

Adieu.

LETTER II.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

I invaded London under cover of a great fog, somewhat similar to that recorded on new year's eve in 1730, when, it is stated, that many persons fell into Fleet-ditch, and several prominent noses sustained serious damage by coming in contact with each other. Among the few objects I could see, was a person with a lantern, who, I suppose, like *Æsop*, was looking about for an honest man. You may think, my dear brother, how scarce honest men must be in London. Alighting from the stage, there was a great contest for the privilege of carrying my trunks, like that of the Greeks and Trojans for the body of *Patroclus*. In conclusion, the *Greek* carried the day, as I found, for a good-natured person apprised me, that if I permitted their attendance, I should probably never see my trunks again. I was not aware of the necessity of this caution, as you know in our own dear honest country, no man hesitates a moment to trust his baggage with the first porter that offers, be he black or white. This is not one of those solitary instances from which no general conclusions can be drawn. It furnishes decisive proof, that at least one class of people of this country is not as honest as the same class in ours.

To escape the hacks I called a hack, and by that means fell "out of the frying-pan into the fire;" that is, if rushing upon a positive evil to escape a probable one, will justify the old proverb. He charged me three times the amount of his fare, and gave me a few bad shillings in change. These bad shillings are, in truth, as common as counterfeit notes in our country, and strangers should be equally aware of them. Well, he drove me to the ***** coffee-house, the name of which, being derived from my own country, attracted the yearnings of my inclination. Here the master of the house very soon

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satisfied me I had been cheated. But as hackney-coachmen are for the most part rogues in grain, all over the world, new and old, I determined, in my own mind, to let John Bull off that time, and not denounce him on the score of this universal characteristic of a particular species of men.

The master of the house advised me to buy a "Picture of London," which I did, (not the bastard work yept the *new* Picture, but the genuine standard work) and much consolation did it afford me. Among the first choice passages I fell upon, were the following: "Any man who saunters about London, with pockets on the outside of his coat, or who mixes in crowds without especial care of his pockets, *deserves no pity on account of the losses he may sustain.*" Again: "Persons should be very particular as soon as they have called a hackney-coach, to observe the number, before they get into it. This precaution guards against imposition, or unforeseen accidents. There is no other method of punishing coachmen who misbehave, nor chance of recovering property carelessly left in the coach, but by the recollection of the number." Now, brother, I could not come within a thousand of the number of my coach, for I had no idea of being cheated by a hackney-coachman in this honest country.

For the benefit of any of your honest neighbours, who may chance to visit this city, and be cheated before they can get a "Picture of London," I will extract one or two more passages from that valuable work:

"One of the most dangerous classes of swindlers are those pretended porters or clerks, who attend about the doors of inns at the time the coaches are unloading; or who watch the arrival of post-chaises at the doors of the coffee-houses. These fellows, by various artifices, frequently obtain possession of the luggage of a traveller, who has occasion to lament the want of suspicion, in the loss of his clothes and other effects."

"Mock auctions, in which plated goods are sold for silver, and a variety of incredible frauds practised upon the unwary, ought to be cautiously avoided. They may be in general known by a person being placed at the door to invite in the passing stranger."

"Strangers having business at Doctors' Commons, should previously know the address of a proctor, as all the avenues are beset by *inferior clerks or porters*, who watch and accost strangers, whom they take into some office, where they are paid in proportion to the nature of the business, which is conducted not in the most respectable way, and never without extra charges unwarranted by the profession."

"In asking questions, or enquiring the way, it is necessary always to apply at a shop, or a public-house, and never to

rely upon the information which may be given by persons in the streets."

Such, brother, are a few of the dangers which beset the traveller, in his adventurous pilgrimage through this wilderness of two-legged beasts of prey.

My experience at Liverpool and elsewhere having taught me somewhat, I began to smell a rat, almost the first moment I entered the coffee-house. The waiters were excessively officious, and so anxious to put themselves in my way, when there was no occasion, that I was quite out of patience. The master of the house too, a most important little busy body, made me bow upon bow: all which being contrary to the very nature of an Englishman, I took it for granted that he meant to cheat me. Accordingly, the first day at dinner, he gave me a bottle of half-guinea wine, of the most pestiferous quality, which he pronounced such as Lord Somebody always called for at his house. The next day he gave me still worse, finding I put up with the first, and charged me still higher, on the score of its being a favourite wine of some noble Earl. The third day it was still worse and still dearer, because his Grace of ——— always drank it in preference to any other. Thinking it best to get out of the way, before mine host came to the king's favourite wine, which, according to the preceding steps of the climax, must have been execrable, I got a friend to recommend me to another lodging, who accordingly negotiated the terms, and stood security for my character with the excellent lady, with whom I still remain. On leaving the coffee-house, I was beset by the whole clan of domestics, from the head-waiter in broad-cloth to *boots* in dirt. The landlord made me a sort of half bow, and I complimented him on his Grace's favourite wine, and thus we parted, never, never, never, to meet again, as your sentimental letter-writers say.

The physiognomy of London is by no means inviting, especially that part which was laid out, and built, before the nobility and the rich took it into their wise heads to spend their incomes in town, rather than among their tenants in the country. In some of the new and fashionable squares the buildings are sufficiently aristocratic; but with here and there an exception, the houses bear the stamp of something like republicanism or equality. In general, they are quite comfortable in appearance, but nothing more. The greater proportion of fine buildings is the offspring of public spirit, which certainly, at times, has produced as great wonders in England as in any other part of the world. The merchants, the companies of artisans, indeed almost all classes of people, except the nobility, have vied with each other in public works, either of splendor or

utility, or generally both combined. The nobility have contented themselves with building palaces for their own private use. It may be said, perhaps, that vanity must have its gratification in some way or other, and that those who cannot build a palace individually, must compound by doing it in company with others; thus making a general rather than an individual property. It may be so, but still the public is a gainer by the latter plan, since we can go into some of these for nothing, whereas the palaces are only shown for money.

One thing that has disgusted me most in this city, is the incredible quantity of wretched and profligate beggars who infest many parts, whose ragged, filthy, and debauched appearance turns pity into absolute disgust. I was, the other day, admiring the magnificence of a new palace in one of the fine squares, with my head full of the splendors of this people, when, all at once, my visions of glory were put to flight by the irruption of a family of most wretched beings of all ages, from the gray-headed parent to the little infant holding by the mother's hand. Their story was that of thousands, nay, hundreds of thousands, in this government-ridden nation: want of employment and want of food. If true, it proved how much they were to be pitied; if false, how yet much more they were to be pitied. If necessity drove them to this wretched mode of life, they might still derive some consolation from within;—if choice, then were they wretched indeed. The splendor of the palace vanished like those of the wicked enchanters of old, and little else remained on my mind but the impression that its walls were reared upon the miseries of thousands of such as were now begging at the door.

Another bad feature in the physiognomy of London, is the number and the profligacy of certain ladies, anciently called the *Bishop of Winchester's Geese*. Their effrontery, their shocking depravity, disgusting indecency, and total destitution of every female characteristic, are horrible. Indeed, brother, every species of vice is displayed here in its naked deformity, and with a broad and vulgar grossness, that renders London a complete contrast to Paris, at least, in outward appearance.

LETTER III.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

ALMOST the first thing that strikes an American, used to the clear skies and glowing sunshine of his own country, is the humidity of the atmosphere, and the frequent absence of the god

of day. St. Simon and Jude's day is almost every other day here. It rains or snows about one hundred and fifty days in the year; and of the remainder, between fifty and sixty are cloudy. The result is, that the verdure of the country is excessively luxuriant, although, to my mind, the landscapes rather weep than laugh. The grass and the foliage are so deadly green, that they almost look blue, and resemble the effect of distance, which, you know, communicates a bluish tint to the landscape. But the grass grows and the cattle get fat, and the roast beef of Old England is the better for it, undoubtedly. To me, however, who you know love the sunshine like a terrapin, there is something chilly and ungenial in the English summer, and it offends me hugely to hear a fat, puffing, beer-drinking fellow, bawling out to his neighbour, "A fine day," when the sun looks as if it might verify the theory of one of the old Greeks, that it was nothing more than a great round ball of copper. Whether this melancholy character in the climate; or the practice of drinking beer in such enormous quantities, or both combined, have given that peculiar cast of bluff and gruff stupidity, observable in the common people of England, I cannot say; but certainly, if "a man who drinks beer thinks beer," the question is decided at once.

To describe, or even to name, all the villages and seats which I passed, in going out of London at different times, is a task I shall not undertake, and which indeed can only be done by a person with more time on his hands than he knows what to do with, and more patience than time.

Richmond Hill and village, with Twickenham on the opposite side of the Thames, about ten or twelve miles from London, is all classic ground, and worthy to be so. It is, to my mind, the most charming scenery in the *old* world. What makes it the more agreeable to my eye is, that there is plenty of wood, which is wanting in most of the English landscapes, except about the great forests. What with their smooth lawns and trim edges, the landscapes put one in mind of a well shaven beard. But what gives the charm to these scenes is, that they are connected with the shades of Pope and Thomson. The latter lies buried in Richmond church; and thither I went on a pilgrimage, the least a man can do in gratitude for the many hours his genius has embellished and consecrated to pure and innocent enjoyment.

Until the year 1792, there was no inscription over his grave, which is in the north-easterly corner of the church. The Earl of Buchan, Washington's old correspondent, at that time placed over it, against the wall, a brass plate with this inscription:

"In the earth, beneath this tablet, are the remains of James Thomson, author of the beautiful poems of the Seasons, the Castle of Indolence, &c. &c., who died at Richmond on the 27th day of August, and was buried on the 29th, O. S. 1748. The Earl of Buchan, unwilling so good a man, and so admirable a poet, should be without a memorial, has denoted the place of his interment, for the satisfaction of his admirers, in the year of our Lord 1792."

But such memorials are rather benefits bestowed upon the giver, than the receiver. No one will ever want a memorial of Thomson, whose Seasons will continue while those he has painted shall roll on their course, and men can read and relish nature and truth. But for this memorial, it might, however, have been speedily forgotten that such a man as my Lord of Buchan ever existed.

I afterwards visited a house called Rossdale, where the poet resided, and wrote the Seasons, and where many reliques are still preserved. I was particularly struck with a little, round, old-fashioned table, on which he was accustomed to write, and which excited my reverence infinitely more than Arthur's Round Table, which I afterwards saw at Winchester. There are also two brass hooks, where he always hung his hat and cane, for he was a man of habits, and seldom deviated from them. In the garden was his favourite haunt, a summer-house, overshadowed with luxuriant vines. Solitude and solitary rambling constituted the pleasures of Thomson; and it was doubtless from these habits of walking alone, observing all the latent, and inherent, and even accidental charms of nature, and reflecting upon them as he rambled along, that he was enabled to combine natural and moral beauties so delightfully in his pictures. I wish he had been buried somewhere in the fields, where the grass and the flowers might have sprung on his grave, and realized the inimitable beauty of the verses of Collins to his memory—

"In yonder grave a druid lies,
Where slowly winds the stealing wave,
The year's best fruit shall duteous rise
To deck their Poet's sylvan grave."

Twickenham, where Pope's villa once was, is a village opposite Richmond, to which you pass by a bridge. The house which the poet inhabited is pulled down, but the famous grotto remains, a pretty and fantastic monument of expensive folly. Pope had better have held his tongue about "Timon's villa," and its fripperies; for, to my taste, this grotto is totally unworthy of any reputable nymphs of either wood or water. It is

neither splendid by art, nor magnificent, nor solemn by nature, and is, in truth, an excellent place for keeping milk and butter cool. I felt no reverence whatever for it, and heartily wished the grotto, rather than the house, had been destroyed.

Perhaps I am singular; but though I am one of Pope's greatest admirers, and think him in many, very many respects, unequalled, as well as inimitable, his name, somehow or other, does not carry with it those warm and affecting feelings of admiration, as well as regret, which are conjured up by the recollection of many other bards. It is true, he was rich, was cherished by the great, and lived all his days in sunshine. He reaped, during his life, that fame, as well as fortune, the one of which few poets receive till after death, and the other most want while alive. There was nothing in his whole life either romantic or affecting, nothing to call forth sympathy. But these circumstances, of themselves, are not sufficient to account for my want of enthusiasm at visiting the spot where he lived, wrote, and died.

It is for these reasons, probably, combined with the causes before mentioned, that Twickenham and Pope's grotto does not elevate the heart with those affecting, yet lofty emotions, that arise from contemplating the little round table, and the vine-covered summer-house, of the author of *Liberty*, the *Seasons*, and the *Castle of Indolence*. Pope is the poet of those who reason rather than feel; the poet of the understanding, and of men past the age of romantic delusions: Thomson is the poet of youth, nature, and an uncorrupted heart. The one is a man of the world, the other a druid of the woods and melancholy streams, the beautiful and sublime of nature.

I do not know any thing more affecting than a passage in Fielding's *Tom Jones*, which is recalled to my mind by these speculations. He was always poor, and in his latter days a martyr to disease, slow, yet sure in its progress. It was, perhaps, while tasting in advance the immortality he has since attained that he broke out into the following invocation:

“Come, bright love of fame, inspire my glowing breast! Not thee I call, who over swelling tides of blood and tears dost bear the hero on to glory, while sighs of millions waft his swelling sails; but thee, fair, gentle maid, whom Mnemosyne, happy nymph, first on the banks of Hebrus did produce; thee, whom Mæonia educated, whom Mantua charmed, and who, on that fair hill, which overlooks the proud metropolis of Britain, satest with thy Milton tuning the heroic lyre—fill my ravished fancy with the hope of charming ages yet to come. Foretell me that some tender maid, whose grandmother is yet unborn,

hereafter, when, under the fictitious name of Sophia, she reads the real worth that once existed in my Charlotte, shall from her sympathetic breast send forth the heaving sigh! Do thou teach me not only to foresee, but feed on future praise! *Comfort me by a solemn assurance, that when the little parlour, in which I sit at this instant, shall be reduced to a worse-furnished box, I shall be read with honour, by those who never knew or saw me, and whom I shall never see or know."*

The man who could dream, and dream truly too, could not be miserable, even amid the neglect of fortune and the scorn of fools. This secret consciousness is the staff which supports and rewards genius in its weary pilgrimage.

LETTER IV.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

IN the neighbourhood of Richmond, I was attracted by the appearance of a grand house, which, upon inquiry, I learned was built by a noted brewer of that village. This monument of the inveterate beer-drinking propensity of the nation, is one of the largest private dwellings I have seen in this country. The story went, that it was finally devised to an Oxfordshire baronet, who, not dealing in beer, could not afford to keep up the establishment. He accordingly sold every thing about it but the walls, and here it stands ready for the next portly brewer, who shall be smitten with the desire of building up a name in stone and mortar. The labours and the parsimony of years are very often employed in this manner, by the rich tradesmen of London, whose estates, not being in general entailed, like those of the nobility and gentry, are for the most part divided in such a manner, that not one of the heirs can afford to live in the great house. It is therefore either sold out of the family, or its deserted walls remain as a monument of ostentatious folly.

I also reconnoitred Osterley house, which attracted my notice, not so much for its magnificence, as its history. Every schoolboy has heard of Sir Thomas Gresham, the great merchant, who built the Royal Exchange, and gave such grand entertainments to Queen Elizabeth, who loved nothing better than feasting at the expence of other people. There is an old story, that Elizabeth, being at a great entertainment at Osterley, found fault with the court, as being too large, and gave her opinion, that it would look better divided in two parts. Sir Thomas, like another Aladdin, but by means of an agent more powerful even than the genius of the lamp, that very night

caused the alteration to be made, so that next morning the queen, looking out, saw the court divided according to her taste. Her majesty, it is said, was exceedingly gratified with this proof of his gallantry; but passed what was considered rather a sore joke upon Sir Thomas, saying, "That a house was much easier divided than united." Lady Gresham and Sir Thomas, it seems, were at issue on the point of domestic supremacy; and Elizabeth, who hated all married women, was supposed to allude to this matrimonial schism.

In going towards Uxbridge, which is twelve or fifteen miles from this city, on the road to Oxford, there is a fine old place called Harefield, where once resided the famous Countess of Derby, the friend and admirer of that illustrious republican poet, John Milton. It was here that Milton's Arcades were represented, and in this neighbourhood the poet resided some years with his father. It was for the son of this lady he wrote the richest, the most poetical of all human productions, the *Masque of Comus*. Nobility becomes really illustrious when connected by friendship and benefits with the immortality of genius. Milton was an inflexible Republican in his political principles, and sided with the Parliament in its attempts to resist the tyrannical encroachments of Charles the First. In this situation he had an opportunity of saving the life of Sir William Davenant, who was taken up on a charge of being an emissary of Charles the Second, then in exile. On the Restoration Milton was excepted from the general amnesty, but was finally pardoned, as it is said, by the intercession of Sir William Davenant, who thus repaid his former good offices. His politics prevented his being a fashionable poet. His *Paradise Lost* was sold to the bookseller for one-tenth of the sum since paid for a dainty song by Tom Moore, set to music; and the bad taste or servility of the critics suffered it to be forgotten, till Addison at length did ample justice to its beauties. Milton is rather in the back-ground at present, being quite eclipsed by the superior merits of Mr. Croly, Mr. Southey, Lord Byron, and the "Great Unknown." The *Quarterly Review* will certainly, ere long, convict him either of a want of genius, or a lack of religion, if it be only on account of his having been a Republican.

I dined at Uxbridge; and as no experienced English traveller ever omits making honourable or dishonourable mention of the inns, I must inform you, for your particular satisfaction, that those of Uxbridge, although specially noted by Camden, are none of the best.

Pursuing my route towards Oxford, I again got upon classic ground, about *Stoke Poges*, in the neighbourhood of which

the poet Gray resided with his mother. He was a frequent visitor to the noble family there, and wrote his "Long Story" at the request of the ladies. To me it appears the very worst thing he ever did write; a very dull and doggrel ditty, with only one line in it worth preserving. Gray was ashamed of it, and tried to destroy all the copies; but the industry of editors, and the cupidity of booksellers, unhappily preserved it for posterity to wonder at. The Muses used to keep a little court at different times hereabouts. Milton lived not far off at Horton; Waller at Beaconsfield; and Pope occasionally in Windsor Forest. Edmund Burke also once occupied Waller's mansion at Beaconsfield; and if being under the dominion of imagination constitutes a poet, may certainly be classed with the trio. In the neighbourhood of Beaconsfield they shew an old hollow tree, in which, it is affirmed, Waller wrote many of his poems. I do not believe much of the story, yet still it is pleasant to see old hollow trees derive an interest from these associations, that the residence of monarchs cannot confer upon the most splendid palaces. In deviating, just as the roads occasionally offered inducement, I had a view of a fine old palace, once the property of the Hampdens, a name so well known in our country for inflexible patriotism, that it is often adopted with that of Russell and Sydney, by those who advocate the rights of the people. The family of Hampden was of great antiquity, of the genuine old Saxon blood, without any mixture of Norman. The gentry who came over with William the Conqueror were mere upstarts of the day before yesterday, compared with the Hampdens. But I was not thinking of their antiquity. As I contemplated the venerable pile, I was recalling to mind that noble Englishman, who was the first to put himself in the breach between an arbitrary king and an abused people; of the man who dared to appeal to the laws of his country against the oppression of his sovereign to judges who betrayed their trust, and sacrificed their conscience at the shrine of a time-serving interest. Eight out of twelve decided against Hampden; but though he lost his cause with the judges he gained it with the people, and the decision became one of the principal grounds of the revolution that followed. Of such a man it is of little moment who were his ancestors; the blood that flowed in his veins was noble of itself without tracing it to a noble ancestry.—But the name and the race are now no more, or, beyond doubt, we should see some of them at this moment foremost in the ranks, resisting the torrent of corruption, venality and boundless extravagance of this government. The great John Hampden is acknowledged, even by Hume, the apologist of the Stuarts, to have been a man of the purest

patriotism; and such was the spotlessness of his character, that not one of the apologists of kingly pretension has ventured to impeach his motives or attack his memory. He was a near kinsman of Cromwell, and fell in action early in the commencement of the war between the people and the king. His grandson became involved in the South Sea scheme, and died by his own hands; he was succeeded by his brother, who dying without issue, the estates fell to a Trevor, who now bears the title of Viscount Hampden. To the disgrace of his country, I believe Hampden's life has never been written—at least, I have not been able to procure it at any of the booksellers!—It is said he was one of those who took passage with Cromwell for New-England, and were stopped by an order of council. I cannot but regret that he did not reach our country, for perhaps he might have left there a posterity worthy the soil of freedom. Hampden was always a friend to our New England—may we never lose the recollection of his virtues or his friendship!

It is traditionary of the Hampdens, that they owned vast possessions in the time of Edward the Third, a considerable portion of which was forfeited by the heir of the family, (in consequence of some provocation not exactly known,) for giving the Black Prince a box on the ear. There is extant a couplet, which has reference to that circumstance.

“ Tring, Wing, and Ivengo did go,
For striking the Black Prince a blow.”

You see, brother, the Hampdens were, from the first, gifted with the spirit of freemen. It is a pity the race is extinct; for never did England more require such men as Hampden and Sydney. She has yet a Russell in the person of Lord John, one of the most respectable and patriotic noblemen in the kingdom.

Leaving this old nest of the eagles, I returned into the Oxford road, and pursued my way towards that famous city of the Muses, that is to say, the Prize Muses; for the Sacred Nine of Oxford never sing now, except when tempted by a medal. Palaces and fine seats were sprinkled thickly by the road-side; but as they contained little else but a collection of pictures to attract the stranger, I passed them by. Few things, in this world of trouble, are more intolerable than a visit to one of these *show-places*, where one is not only obliged to pay for opening every door, but, what is still worse, to listen to the eternal gabble of a cicerone by rote, who will by no means permit a man to consult his own taste in the selection of objects of admiration. The only way to silence one of those is to

give him a shilling when he expects half a guinea. He will never speak more, depend upon it.

The sunset, I remember, was exceedingly unpropitious to my entrance into Oxford, for it set in a profound English mist. I had been forewarned and fore-armed of the beauties of the place, and that I should enter it by one of the finest and longest streets in the world. It certainly was long enough, for I thought never to have got to the end of it; but its beauties were too modest to meet the ardent gaze of a stranger, and retired quietly behind the fog.

I was ready to be pleased with every thing; and never, I believe, were the noble fanes of Oxford admired by a more enthusiastic votary. Learning was, for once in her life, lodged in palaces, some of which were so lofty and majestic, that I actually mistook them for poor-houses, which are beyond all comparison the most sumptuous edifices in this country. I cannot describe them, nor recollect half that I saw in this Gothic heaven. I had introductions to some of the jolly *fellows*; but they were of very little use to me, owing to a most untoward matter, which I shall proceed to disclose, which disturbed the prize muses, and occupied the exclusive attention of every member of the university, from the vice-chancellor, in his white band, to the students in their black caps. To explain it properly, I must furnish you with a few preliminaries, concerning the peculiar constitution and privileges of the university, without which it would be difficult to comprehend the nature of the case.

The University of Oxford is governed by its own peculiar laws, which are administered, or ought to be, by a great officer, called the chancellor; but as almost every great office is executed here by a deputy or sub-deputy, the chancellor nominates to the university two persons, one to be chosen high steward, the other vice-chancellor. The high steward assists the proctors, if required, in the performance of their duties, and hears and decides all capital cases, arising within the jurisdiction of the university, when required by the chancellor. The vice-chancellor is, in almost every other respect, the deputy of the chancellor; he receives the rents due to the university, licenses taverns, &c. and, to use the words of an old author, "he takes care that sermons, lectures, disputations, and other exercises be performed; that heretics, panders, bawds, *Winchester geese*, &c. be expelled the university, and the converse of the students; that the proctors and other officers do their duty; that courts be duly called and law-suits determined, without delay; in a word, that whatever is for the honour or the profit of the university, or may conduce to the

advantage of good literature, may be carefully obtained." The vice-chancellor, at his entrance into office, chooses two pro-vice-chancellors out of the heads of colleges, to one of whom he deutes his power during his absence. The high steward is chosen for life, but the vice-chancellor is nominated annually, and is always a person in holy orders as well as the head of a college. Now for the affair which so effectually disturbed the repose, not to say the profound sleep, of this temple of the Muses.

It seems a ferocious tailor, not having the fear of the vice-chancellor before his eyes, had brought a suit against a student of *Brazen-nose*, in the court of King's Bench, when the statute prescribed that he should bring it before the vice-chancellor. The vice-chancellor, indignant at this contempt of his authority, hereupon summoned the tailor before him, and addressed him, as is affirmed, in something like the following, when he found that the souls of nine stout heroes were domiciled in the body of this ninth part of a man :

"Avaunt and quit my sight!
Thy shears are edgeless: thou hast no thread and needle
In those paws, that thou dost stitch withal.
Approach thee like an Edinburgh Reviewer,
French *sans-culotte*, or damned democrat,
The Carbonari, half-starv'd radical,
Or Cato Street conspirator!
Nay, come like nonconformists in a row,
And swear that church and tithes shall be no more;
Moot points of logic with a cambric needle;
Or, cross-legg'd, like a rascal papist, sit,
With thimble on thy pate instead of helmet,
And dare me to the shopboard with thy shears,
But never dare me to the king's bench court—
Skip, stitch-louse, skip, I say!"

"Ay, ay," cried this unparalleled tailor; "ay, ay, Mr. Vice, you may talk Latin as much as you please; but, in plain English, I must have my money, and, what's more, I will. I have had enough of dunning; and as for bringing a suit in your courts here, I recovered one not long ago, and was almost ruined by it." The vice-chancellor, it is affirmed, did not swear: but it was the general opinion he would have done it, had he not been a clergyman.

The recreant tailor brought the curse of Ernulphus upon him; he was cursed in all the moods and tenses; in Latin and English; and would have been cursed in Greek and Hebrew, had any of the present professors been sufficiently versed in those tongues. He was formally excommunicated; his shop windows hermetically sealed, and himself prohibited from labour-

ing in his vocation for the fiery students of Brazen-nose ; his business was doomed to destruction here, and his soul hereafter. Still the thrice, and nine times valiant tailor, refused to take a single back-stitch or herring-bone, either to the right or to the left ; he continued to demur to the jurisdiction of the vice-chancellor, and to stand by the King's Bench, which, next to the shopboard, he looked upon to be the purest seat of justice in the kingdom. "I defy the d—l and all his imps !" said the tailor, snapping his fingers ; which saying was held to be a reflection upon the vice-chancellor and the scholars.

In this state the matter remained all the time I staid at Oxford, which was nearly a week. The tailor was the greatest man of the age ; another Caliph Omar, enemy to learning and orthodoxy. His name was in every body's mouth, and the Muses, all nine of them, sung in praise of this ninth part of a man. The Senior Wrangler was deputed to argue with him, but the tailor got him betwixt the sharp shears of his logic, and almost cut him in two. A *Terræ Filius* was next sent ; but, though his speech was bitterly satirical, the tailor remained as immovable as the sun himself. At prayers, and lectures, the students could think of nothing but the tailor ; the jolly fellows could not sleep quietly upon the "Pennyless Bench" over their ale, for thinking of the tailor ; the sempstresses, who are very pretty at Oxford, marked nothing on their linen, but tailor ; the little boys at catechism, answered nothing but "the tailor" to all questions ; and several children, born about this time, cried for their nurses' thimbles before they were a day old. Never, in fact, since the days of the furious contests between the students of the "north and south," recorded by Anthony Wood, was the seat of the prize Muses in such a consternation. I left the place before the matter was settled, with a determination that if the tailor were ever restored to the use of his weapons, and I ever had an opportunity, he should make me a full suit of the cloth called Thunder and Lightning, which cannot but equal armour of proof, considering his indomitable and valorous propensities.

Notwithstanding, however, the confusion which I have described, I gained sufficient opportunity to put my nose into some of the old rusty remains of antiquity, which abound in this place. Among these, the Bodleian Library, the Ashmolean Museum, and the Arundel and Pomfret Marbles, are particularly curious and interesting. In the libraries are many notices of the early events which occurred in different ages, which throw vast light upon the state of manners, and mark the gradual changes produced by time and circumstances. As such, they are highly worthy of notice, and if I had possessed

sufficient time or patience, I would have made copious extracts from them. As it was, I could only copy a few of such as I considered might contribute to the future instruction or amusement of my friends. I will select some of these, pretty much as they occur in my memorandum-book. They are principally taken from Anthony Wood, whose work is a sort of store-house of Oxford antiquities. The nature of his book may be gathered from Wood's complaint of one John Shirley, *Terræ Filius* of Trinity College, in 1678, who said, "That the society of Merton would not let me live in the college, for fear I should pluck it down to search after antiquities; that I was so great a lover of antiquities, that I loved to live in an old cockle-loft, rather than in a spacious chamber; that I was *vir caducus*; that I intended to put into my book pictures of mother Louse and mother George, two old wives; that I would not let it be printed, because I would not have it new and common." This is the character of Anthony's book, given by a wag, with some little exaggeration, of course.

The state of learning at Oxford, in the thirteenth century, may be gathered from the following: "In the year 1284, John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, came to Oxford, to visit Osney Abbey; which being finished, he called together the masters of the University, who appearing before him, he made a grave speech; then told them of divers erroneous opinions, which they, not becoming their wisdom, did entertain; and that neither by reason, nor upon any scholastical ground, but for the cause of commotion, did *impudently* affirm and defend, against the instructions and lessons of the ancient philosophers, and other wise men." Among their grammatical errors, it seems they held "*Ego currit*," and "*Ego legit*," to be good Latin.

As late as the beginning of the sixteenth century, the study of Greek was entirely unknown at Oxford; and, with the exception of Thomas Linacre, and one or two others, who were trying to introduce it into the University, the members treated the study of Greek with contempt. King James the First, with his Queen, in 1605, visited Oxford, and was entertained there with speeches, sermons, comedies, mysteries, and tragedies, for some days. Several regulations were made for their reception, among which, the most remarkable, are the following:

"The University College, All Soules, and Magdalen College, do sett up verses at his Majesty's departure, upon such places where they may be seen as he passeth by."

"Doctor Parry to preach a Latin sermon three quarters of an hour long." It is stated afterwards, that his Majesty "yawned mightilye," on this occasion; indeed, he seems to have been

"mightilye" tired of the whole visit, if we may credit the chronicler, who gives the following account of his behaviour at a comedy :—

"The Comedy," quoth he, "began at between nine and ten, and ended at one; the name of it was *Alba*, whereof I never knew the reason; it was a pastoral, much like one I had seen in King's College, Cambridge." "There were many rusticall songes and dances, which made it very tedious, insomuch that if the chancellors of both Universities had not entreated his Majesty earnestly, he would have been gone before half the comedy had been ended."

Neither did His Majesty, it seems, relish their tragedy better than their comedy. The same writer, who, you may depend upon it, was a *Cantab*, proceeds to record—"The next morning and afternoon we passed in hearing sermons and disputations. The same day after supper, about nine of the clock, they began to act the tragedy of *Ajax Flagellifer*, wherein the stage varied three times; they had all goodly antique apparel, for all that, it was not acted so well by many degrees as I have seen it in Cambridge. The King was very weary before he came thither, and much more wearied by it, and spoke many words of dislike."

A comedy called *Vertumnus* was next day represented, and though allowed by our *Cantab* to be much better performed than the others, "yet the King was so overwearied, that after a while he distasted it and fell asleep; when he awakened, he would have him gone, saying, I marvel what they think me to be, with such other like speeches, shewing his dislike thereof; yet did he tarry till they had ended it, which was after one o'clock." The only thing that pleased his Majesty, was a "discreet and learned speech by Dr. Warner, dissuading men from tobacco, by good reasons and apt similes, backed by twenty syllogisms, which so delighted the great opponent of tobacco, that he said to the nobles about him, "God keep this fellow in a right course, he would prove a dangerous heretic; he is the best disputer I ever heard."

The poverty of the students at Oxford, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was such, that many of them were obliged to get a license from the chancellor to beg, and it appears that it was at that time common for them to go "a-begging with bags and wallets, and sing *Salve Regina* at rich men's dores." "The students were about this time (1559) so poor and beggarly, that many of them were forced to obtain licence under the commissary's hand to require alms of well-disposed people; and indeed the want of exhibitions and charity of religious people, was so much, that their usual saying now was,

"*Sunt mutæ musæ, nostraque fama fames.*"

The following clerical anecdotes may amuse you, at the same time that they illustrate the style of preaching, as well as the charity of the priests of those times:—

“Richard Taverer, Esq., did several times preach at Oxford, and when he was high sheriff of the county, came into St. Mary’s church, out of pure charity, with a gold chain about his neck, and a sword, it is said, by his side.” One of his sermons began as follows:—

“Arriving at the mount of St. Mary’s, in the strong stage (the stone pulpit) where I now stand, I have brought you some fyne bisketts baked in the oven of charitye, carefully conserved for the chickens of the church, the sparrows of the spirit, and the sweet swallows of salvation.” Mr. Sheriff Taverer must have been another Friar Gerund.

Two itinerant priests coming, says Anthony Wood, towards night, to a cell of Benedictines near Oxford, where, on a supposition of their being mimes or minstrels, they gained admittance. But the cellarer, sacristan, and others of the brethren, hoping to have been entertained by their buffoonery, and finding them to be nothing more than two poor priests, who had nothing but spiritual consolation to offer in return for their hospitality, disappointed of their mirth, they beat them soundly, and turned them out of the monastery.

The same author gives a character of Sir Walter Raleigh, who was of Oriel College, which I copied for two reasons. Raleigh ought ever to be remembered and honoured in our country, as one of the first who employed his influence and his fortune in laying the foundation of our western empire. “His eminent worth,” says Wood, speaking of Raleigh, “both in domestic polity, foreign expeditions and discoveries, arts and literature, both practive and contemplative, was such, that they seemed at once to conquer both example and imitation. *Those that knew him well, esteemed him to be a person born to that only which he went about, so dexterous was he in all or most of his undertakings, in court, in camp, by sea, by land, with sword, with pen.*”

There is something, I think, singularly and oddly affecting in the following notices of the early Protestant martyrs, which I got out of Strype’s Memorials, an old book in the Bodleian:

“I cannot here omit,” he says, “old Father Latimer’s habit at his appearing before the commissioners, which was also his habit while he remained prisoner at Oxford. He held his hat in his hand; he had a kerchief on his head, and upon it a nightcap or two, and a great cap such as townsmen used, with two broad flaps to button under his chin: an old thread-bare freez-gown of Bristow, girded to his body with a penny leather

girdle, at which hanged, by a long string of leather, his testament and his spectacles, without case, hanging about his neck upon his breast." What would our modern English bishops, with their twenty, thirty, aye, fifty thousands a year, say to this costume of one of the noblest of their tribe? I mean those consistent ones, who, it has been aptly said,—

" All over luxury, they at vice declaim,
Chide at ill lives, and at good livings aim;
On down they sleep, on downy carpets tread,
Their ancestors, th' Apostles, wanted bread!
At home they lie, with pride, spleen, plenty stor'd,
And hire some poor dull rogue to serve the Lord."

" In October," continues Strype, " Ridley and Latimer were brought forth to their burning; and passing by Cranmer's prison, Ridley looked up to have seen him, and to have taken his last farewell. But he was not then at the window, being engaged in a dispute with a Spanish friar. But he looked after them, and devoutly falling on his knees, prayed to God to strengthen their faith and patience in that their last but painful passage."

I will conclude this letter with some curious particulars relating to the first introduction of newspapers into England, which took place little more than two hundred years ago.

I am indebted to honest Anthony Wood for the succeeding list, and the particulars collected with so much industry. The first paper mentioned by him is, "*Mercurius Rusticus*, or the Countrie's Complaint." It first appeared, he says, the 22d of August, 1642, in a single quarto sheet, and extended to only nineteen or twenty numbers. I believe Wood is mistaken here with regard to this being the first. Cleveland, in giving an account of the London periodicals and diurnals, states, that " the original desiner of this kind was Dutch *Gallo Belgicus*, the *Protoplast*, and the modern Mercuries but *Hans en Kelders*." I have somewhere read, that the *Mercurius-Gallo-Belgicus* is mentioned in Carew's Survey of Cornwall, first published in 1602, and by Donne in some verses of the date of 1611. If the *Mercurius Rusticus* was the first of these diurnals, there is probably some error in the date as set down by Wood.

There was a second part of *Mercurius Rusticus*, giving an account of some outrages committed on the cathedrals in various parts of England. These were all collected in a volume, four or five years after their first publication; but I believe no copy is extant at this time. It would be an invaluable accession to the treasures of his Grace of *****,

of my Lord *****. These papers were written by one Bruno Ryves, a Dorsetshire man, first one of the clerks in New College, then chaplain to Magdalen, and then "a most noted and florid preacher" at Stanwell, in the County of Middlesex. He afterwards became rector of St. Martin's, London, and chaplain to Charles the First. When the Presbyterians got the upper hand, they turned him out of his rectory, and he fared ill enough, until the Restoration, when he enjoyed several rich benefices, was "sworn scribe" to the order of the garter, and died in 1677.

Mercurius Aulicus, the next paper of this kind, was begun at Oxford, where the court then was, in 1642, and continued to be published once a week, till the latter part of 1645, when it ceased to appear with any degree of regularity. Wood says, it had a great deal of wit and buffoonery; and that Nedham, the writer of *Mercurius Britannicus*, was no more to be compared with *Aulicus*, than a dwarf to a giant. *Mercurius Aulicus*, according to Nedham, was the work of several hands, such as George Digby, Secretary Nicholas, and Birkenhead, the scribe. He also says, that each college was assessed both for a weekly contribution of money and wit. But Wood says, that notwithstanding what this liar affirms, all Oxford knew, that John Birkenhead began, and continued them, only that in his absence his place was supplied by Peter Heylin.

Birkenhead was the son of a saddler in Cheshire, and became amanuensis to Archbishop Laud, who got him elected a fellow of All Souls. When the king retired to Oxford, on account of the troubles, Birkenhead began the *Mercurius Aulicus*, which so pleased the King, that he got him appointed reader or professor of Moral Philosophy. Being turned out by the parliamentary ascendancy, he went to London, where he was several times imprisoned, and lived by his wits, in helping young gentlemen out at dead lifts, in making poems, songs, and amorous epistles, to their respective mistresses, &c. On the Restoration times mended with him. He became successively Doctor of Civil Law, member of parliament, knight, a Master of Requests and of the Faculties, and member of the Royal Society. He died in 1679.

Mercurius Britannicus, *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, and *Mercurius Politicus*, were all written by Marchmont Nedham, a native of Oxfordshire, who was educated at All Souls college, and afterwards went to London, where he officiated as a schoolmaster or usher at Merchant Tailors. He belonged subsequently to Gray's Inn, where he obtained a comfortable subsistence, until the commencement of the parliamentary war, when, soon siding, says the author, with the rout and scum

of the people, he made them weekly sport by railing at all that was noble and intelligent, in his paper called *Mercurius Britannicus*; wherein his aim was to sacrifice some noble lord, or even the king himself, to the beast with many heads. This prodigy of editorial consistency, however, was either bribed or persecuted into loyalty, since he afterwards was introduced to King Charles, kneeled down, and begged his forgiveness, and had the honour to kiss his majesty's hand. He then attacked his old friends, the Presbyterians, in *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, for which he was caught, imprisoned in Newgate, and escaped with his ears, through the interposition of Lenthall, the Speaker, and Bradshaw, President of the High Court, which brought Charles to the block. These obtained his pardon, I suppose, on condition of his once more changing sides. Accordingly, he commenced a new journal, under the title of *Mercurius Politicus*, in which he treated the cavaliers with as much severity as he had formerly done the Presbyterians. His writings had great influence on the popular feelings; for he was a good scholar, a poet, and a great wag, witty, humorous, and conceited. The royal party pitied him while he continued on their side, but afterwards, he was so much hated by them, that, according to our author, there were many, even in his time, who could not endure to hear Nedham's name mentioned. He died in 1678.

The *Mercurius Britannicus* was published once a week, on Monday, from 1643 to 1647, when the *Mercurius Pragmaticus*, for King Charles, was commenced and ended shortly afterwards, by Nedham again changing sides, and joining his old friends, the Presbyterians, or people. The next series, the *Mercurius Politicus*, it is said, contained many essays against monarchy, and in support of a free state; so much so, that the author was more than once stopped by the interference of the Council of State. Their last order suppressed the paper for the future, in consequence of which, Muddiman and Dury began the publication of a semi-weekly paper, called the *Parliamentary Intelligencer*. To this succeeded the *Mercurius Publicus*, which was continued by Dury till 1663, when Roger L'Estrange took charge of it, and changed the title successively to the *Public Intelligencer* and *The News*. These continued till 1665, when L'Estrange gave them up, in consequence of the publication of other and cheaper semi-weekly papers. These were the *Oxford Gazette*, by Henry Muddiman, afterwards called the *London Gazette*, when the court removed to London, and placed under the superintendence of Williamson, under-secretary of state, who employed Charles Perrot, A. M. to do the business under him, till the year 1671.

From that time to the period of Wood's writing, they were, he says; constantly written by the under secretaries of state, and so continued.

As the progress of intelligence, and the reception of more free principles prepared the minds of the people to become interested in the affairs of government, newspapers and periodical journals continued to multiply, until it became impossible to keep an account of their successive appearance. Magazines, reviews, and political, and scientific, and literary, and philosophical journals, multiplied apace, until the present time; when our daily opinions can scarcely be said to depend upon any other basis, than the varying interests and temporary supremacy of some one or other of these periodical or diurnal oracles. It is well for us, indeed, that those fundamental rules, those moral axioms, on which the relative duties of man to man, and man to society rest, are beyond the reach of the caprices of fashion, or the schemes of politicians; else we should be in danger of having no stationary land-marks, no God Terminus in morals, to designate either our rights or our duties.

I must not forget to tell you, that there is no place in all Christendom, where they say their prayers so fast as at Oxford.

LETTER V.

DEAR BROTHER,

London,

IN my last, I believe I forgot to inform you of a curious fact recorded, concerning Oxford, in the very tedious, particular, and prosing accounts of those various "Progresses" made by Queen Elizabeth, at various times, through different parts of England, by which she reaped such harvests of popularity, and, what pleased her quite as well, lived at free quarters. There is certainly something servile in the nature of civilized man. An Indian will turn his back on any thing which might be supposed to challenge his admiration among civilized people, because he considers it a sort of acknowledgment of his inferiority, to wonder. Only, however, let a great personage come among a refined people, and they will follow, and shout at his heels, and wonder, and be delighted beyond measure, whenever he smiles, bows, or exhibits any of those ordinary condescensions which gentlemen usually pay to their inferiors. The good folks will pardon a hundred acts of oppression in consideration of a bow and a smile.

But to my story. It is recorded that Queen Elizabeth, some-

time in 1556, visited Oxford, where she was royally feasted for a whole week. "The day after," says the writer of the Progress, "she took her leave, and was conducted by the heads as far as Shotover Hill, when the Earl of Leicester gave her notice, that they had accompanied her to the limits of their jurisdiction. From hence, casting her eyes back upon Oxford with all possible marks of tenderness and affection, she bade them farewell. The Queen's countenance had such an effect upon the diligence of this learned body, that within a few years after, it produced more shining instances of real worth, than had ever been sent abroad, at the same time, in any age whatsoever." This is one of the most marvellous effects of the Queen's countenance I remember; it shows how complaisant even genius and learning are, in countries where the people are brought up with a proper notion of the "divine right of kings." A mere visit to Oxford awakened all the Muses, and inspired not only learning, but "worth," in this ancient seminary of loyalty. Oxford, with all its beauties, is one of the dullest places I ever visited; and had not the tailor given it some additional interest, I should have been heartily tired with the sameness of every thing I saw. In leaving it, I had a view of the village of Cumnor, which has lately become noted as the scene of part of the romance of *Kenilworth*. I did not visit it; the scenes described by the "Great Unknown" are not yet classical, and I do not think they ever will be.

From hence to Worcester, nothing particular occurred, and I shall reserve, till a future opportunity, my observations on what I saw, at the different places where I stopped occasionally, and spent from one to three days, in making inquiries on particular subjects. There were as usual several fine seats, and one in particular at Ditchley, where I was told were some valuable pictures; but knowing the price one must pay in money and patience for these treats, I avoided all such places. In general I may observe, that the country was not so pretty as in some other parts I have seen, and that occasionally it presented scenes of barrenness. Two spots, however, seem worthy of some little commemoration. One is the ancient town of Evesham; the other, the famous Malvern Hill, where every picturesque tourist makes a point of being enraptured. I'll not be out of fashion.

Evesham is derived, by the monkish antiquaries, from one Eaves, swineherd to the Bishop of Worcester. As bishops in those days were nearly all of them saints, which I am sorry to say is not the case at present, I presume their swineherds were men of some consequence, by their giving names to towns.

This part of England, between Oxford and Worcester, seems to have been the paradise of monks. At Abingdon they had a rich and stately monastery, whose revenue, in an age when money was probably twenty times more valuable than at present, amounted to about two thousand sterling a year. At Evesham they were lords of twenty-two towns and manors. No wonder such a church abounded in saints! The principal reason for detaining you a little at Evesham is connected, however, with a different matter. It was here that the famous Simon Mountford, Earl of Leicester, the champion of the English Barons, and the great assertor of Magna Charta, after having been virtually lord of England and its paltry king, fought his last fight, was defeated and slain. Like many other assertors of popular and aristocratic rights, in monarchies, his character has come down to us covered with imputations of ingratitude, perfidy, and ambition. But we should be cautious how we receive the relations of characters and events from the pens of historians, who wrote while the descendants of the king, whom Mountford opposed, occupied the throne of England. If historians can ever be said to be impartial, it is only when the events they record, and the characters they discuss, are so distant or obscure, that they are just as likely to err through ignorance, as their predecessors were through prejudice. There is something, at all events, about the renown of this Simon Mountford, which made an impression on me early in life; and as he took the popular side, at least the only popular side there was at that time, I do not for my part, exactly see, why he is not as good a martyr as Charles the First.

Not far from hence, I passed the site of another fat rookery of monks, who in ancient times revelled in the spoils of a score of manors and towns. The name of this place is Pershore, and from hence to Worcester is one of the pleasantest rides in the whole country. This last is one of the most lively, agreeable, not to say beautiful, cities I have ever seen out of our own country. Though one of the most ancient in England, it displays nothing, or almost nothing, of that gloomy aspect of decay, which may be observed in every other old city I have visited; where the houses look old, the people look old, and the very air we breathe seems to come out of old cellars and mildewed cloisters. I never get among these reliques of past changes, without my imagination soon becoming tinged with gloom and superstition; there is certainly something in the very style of a Gothic building that is calculated to nourish such impressions, and a ghost, a miracle, or a murder, is like a fish out of water, unless connected with this species of archi-

ecture; it was the cause, as well as the effect, of the superstitious character of those times in which it flourished.

But there is little of this about this charming city, where the girls trip along as if they were going a maying, and the men actually look as if they had something to do: it lies close by the side of the Severn, which being the largest river in England, is, of course, entitled to be described in the superlative. Accordingly, the poets, call it the "majestic," the "magnificent," "the Father of Rivers," &c., while tourists never mention it without some epithet indicative of prodigious magnitude. This prodigious river is crossed here by a bridge of five arches; it rises in Plinlimmon, in Montgomeryshire, and falls into the Bristol Channel, after an "*endless course of one hundred and thirty miles!*"

As I shall have occasion, in the course of my tours, to remark the frequent recurrence of this species of the bathos, in describing scenes of nature, permit me to make a few observations once for all. Every man, in speaking of whatever is great in his estimation, refers to some standard of comparison, formed from the result of his own individual experience. The greatest he has seen, is, to his imagination, the greatest in the world. Hence, the English tourist calls his rivers, his mountains, and his lakes, the greatest, the highest, and the most beautiful, because he knows of no other. When one of the picturesque tourists comes to the mighty Severn, he is in raptures; when he beholds the lake of *Bala*, the largest in Wales, he calls it "this immense body of water," although, as I am an authentic traveller, it is but four miles long and one broad! But, "body o'me," when he mounts to the summit of Snowdon, which is of the "prodigious height" of three thousand six hundred feet, he is unalterably convinced that he can overlook the tops of the Andes, and that the whole world lies directly under his nose. The painters of the picturesque also practise this species of imposition upon foreigners, especially us Americans, by heightening, as it is called, the effect of their pieces; that is to say, by making the waterfalls higher, the rocks more rugged, and the hills more perpendicular. When I came to view the originals of those coloured landscapes, which abound to such a degree in our parlours and print-shops at home, I did not know them. It is inconceivable, brother, how they are exaggerated in every feature of beauty and sublimity.

Far be it from me to flout these people for not having larger rivers, higher mountains, finer waterfalls, and broader lakes. They cannot help it. All I wish is to put you on your guard against the superlative style in which they speak of things, to which, in our country, we should apply some diminutive epi-

thet. Our standard of greatness is different from theirs. Our Mississippi and Missouri are alone called "mighty streams," because they course their thousands of miles, and roll a tribute to the sea greater than that of all the rivers of Britain combined. Our Lake Superior, with its hundred rivers, is alone named in the language of the superlative degree, because you could empty all the lakes of Britain into its bosom, as a drop in the bucket, without raising its surface the breadth of a hair. Some of our *hills* too, as the *white hills* of New Hampshire, are twice as high as the "mighty Snowdown," yet they are only called hills. This habit of speaking in the superlative has also crept into their modes of estimating their exploits, the beauties of their landscapes, the excellence of their literature, and above all, the talents of their great men. In just the same degree that they exaggerate the dimensions of natural objects to the imagination, by their inflated epithets, do they exaggerate the talents and qualifications of their great men.

At present, I must not forget this "boundless" city of Worcester, and its "magnificent" river. It is spread, as I before stated, along the Severn, which is really a pretty little river, or rather, as we should call it at home, a creek. They go so far as to say, that Worcester owes its foundation to *Constantine Chlorus*. It was burnt by Hardicanute the Dane; set fire to by Roger de Montgomery; afterwards burnt by accident; again burnt in the wars of king Stephen and Maud; in the time of Henry the Second it again underwent the same fate. From out of all these burnings Worcester rose a gay, a beautiful city; the seat of the graces in this part of England, and the town residence in winter, of many of the country gentry of these parts, who prefer it to the noise, smoke, and corruption of London. It is just large enough for all the real purposes of social enjoyment, containing, I should imagine, between fifteen and eighteen thousand persons. From these is formed one of the most agreeable, polite, and intelligent circles to be found any where; equal in polish, and superior in real politeness to the London *Beau Monde*, which is, in fact, a fantastic assemblage of coxcombs and coquettes, with now and then a fashionable poet or chemist to give it a literary or scientific air.

From Worcester I proceeded towards Hereford, it being my intention to visit some of the picturesque scenery of the Wye, and thence take the mighty Snowdown by the hair of his head. The road was one of the roughest I had yet travelled, but the country on either side abounded in fruit trees and flowers. The man who drove my vehicle assured me I might gather a rose, without being transported to Botany Bay, that paradise

of English rogues. I ventured to pluck a beautiful one over the fence, and would you believe it, brother, was neither shot by a spring gun, caught in a man-trap, nor prosecuted afterwards for trespass! This I record as the first miracle which has happened to me in this country. I confess, however, a stout, square, roughfaced damsel did start out upon me, and bawl out something, which luckily I could not understand; for I do assure you, that notwithstanding the vulgar opinion on our side of the water, the English is not the national tongue of this country. In the various counties, particularly Somerset, Yorkshire, Cumberland, and elsewhere, I give you my honour, not one in a hundred can speak the English language. Were not my servant a sort of booby, who speaks all the languages of this island, except the English, I should be quite at a loss to understand or be understood. I am often reminded by such little incidents as this of the rose, of the difference between this country and our liberal and plentiful land, in which a country gentleman or common farmer would be disgraced as a miser or a brute, who should refuse to a stranger or his neighbours his flowers or his fruit. Of the latter, indeed, no one scruples to pluck what he likes from the road side, without ever asking. Soon I came to the foot of Malvern Hill, where I halted at a neat inn at its foot, with the determined purpose of going to the uttermost top, where, as I have read in all the picturesque tours, was to be seen one of the finest prospects in England.

In my opinion, brother, the very first excellence of this fine view is, that the ascent to it is not fatiguing. Fatigue destroys the very essence and being of delight. I have often, in my own country, climbed a rugged precipice to see a fine prospect, and when I got to the top, felt as if I could lie down and die, I was so tired. But the ascent of Malvern Hill is all an easy slope, covered with velvet grass. Were it more laborious, however, it would pay well, for it is indeed a noble throne for the very king of the picturesque. The evening was a little hazy, and the atmosphere presented that soft sleepiness of hue, on which the soul, at least mine, reposes with such measureless luxury. The fields just beneath, were some of them in the sun, some in the shade, and their different tints were like the first and second of two well-tuned instruments, producing variety and harmony. Farther off, landscape faded by imperceptible gradations into less of the bright green, and more of the sky blue. The white houses were sprinkled among villages and lawns, and woody groves, whose foliage was all in soft fleeces. Among these, through the vale of Evesham, I saw two little rivers, like white ribands, waving and meandering along; and

In the distance the Welsh mountains, whose outlines could hardly be distinguished from the blue sky. On inquiring the names of these streams, I was made to comprehend by my guide, that one of them, the smallest, was the Avon. The very name of this river conjured up visions and recollections of Shakspeare, to whom it is for ever consecrated, and mingled what was alone wanting in my impressions, the charm of moral association, with all that is beautiful to the eye.

The next day I proceeded on towards Hereford, through an exuberant hop country, rich also in every other production of English husbandry, as well as in pastoral beauty and fine houses, to a tolerably miserable town, the name of which I think is Ledbury, for it is so equivocally written in my memorandum book, that I will not swear to it. The next day I arrived at a place noted in days of yore.

LETTER VI.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

HEREFORD looks dull and is dull. There is no deception in the place; for, in approaching, it presents a heavy, flat appearance, very different from Worcester. There is little to be gleaned here, except old tales about Griffin the Welshman, Algar the Englishman, Leofgar the Bishop, and William Fitz-Osborne, with remains of English and Roman antiquities; all which is to be found in every book of travels, and all which you are as well acquainted with as myself.

The picturesque tourists come hither for the purpose of viewing the scenery and ancient remains of the river Wye, which abounds in some of the finest landscapes to be seen in this country, and they all make a point of repeating over the same things. Among the public buildings here, the Cathedral is the principal; and of all parts of a cathedral, the most interesting to me are the old tombs to be found in most of them. Here is to be seen a number of these, most of them erected in memory of bishops and ecclesiastics. Among them, however, is one representing a figure in close armour, with the hands raised in prayer, the usual fashion of the more ancient tombs. The figure had a wooden leg, whence I concluded he was some great soldier, who had lost it in the wars; but it turned out that the leg of the figure, and not that of the living knight, had been accidentally broken off, and replaced by an artist of this place. Observing a garter, the badge of the order of knights of the garter, remaining upon the leg, the artist carved another

on the wooden one, exactly like it, so that this is, beyond doubt, the best gartered knight in all England.

Hereford, although its name is quite familiar to our American ears, is but an insignificant place, containing not more than seven thousand inhabitants. As an ancient frontier town between England and Wales, it has, however, derived historical consequence, from having been overrun, plundered, taken and retaken, by Welsh and English marauding princes and border-barons. Its castle was once reputed of great strength, but there is scarcely a vestige of it remaining, although its adjacent walks along the river, being kept in good order, form a most agreeable promenade. Hereford is one of the most orthodox places in England; so much so, that when I was there, the library association in that town actually talked of making an *Auto de Fe* of Hume, Gibbon, and some other writers, who have marvellously disturbed the fat dignitaries of the church! I am not jesting, upon my word, and from this and other indications, begin to have serious doubts, whether the nineteenth century will not turn out in the end almost as enlightened as the ninth.

The first objects which, in going out of town, attracted my notice, were a dozen or two of beggars, who form a considerable feature of the picturesque in many of the English landscapes, I assure you. Having distanced these, I proceeded towards a noble old place, called *Holme Lacy*, belonging to the Duke of Norfolk, for the purpose of reconnoitring a scene, once a favourite resort of Pope. The situation is just fit for a poet: quiet, soft, and secluded, in the midst of rural beauties. It was once the property of the ancient family of Scudamore, and the last viscount was an intimate friend of the poet, who wrote a great deal in these shades. By the aid of that key which unlocks the flinty hearts of every serving-man and serving-maid in this kingdom, I was permitted to enter the grounds, and ramble about almost at pleasure. I always feel like a pilgrim visiting the shrine of a tutelary saint, in such scenes, hallowed by such associations—there is something so blameless, so pure, so spiritual, in the fame of literary genius, more especially poetical inspiration. The harp of the true poet, when tuned to virtuous feeling, is like the harp of the angels, accompanied by the song of the cherubim and seraphim.

From hence, I pursued my devious course to Ross, and crossed a steep hill, where the bold scenery of this region began to make its appearance; some distance beyond, I passed Harewood, an old seat. In the adjoining forest, is the scene of the bloody tragedy of *Elfrida*, which I refrain from parping

upon, because we have been lately so stultified with history, vamped up in romance and poetry, that no more is necessary at present. I think, however, it would be no bad subject for the "Great Unknown." Next came we to the ruins of an old castle, which I visited for no other reason, than because it was once the property of Arthur Grey, renowned for his Irish wars, but still more as the friend and benefactor of Spenser, who accompanied him to Ireland, as his secretary, and received from him a grant of three thousand acres of land there. Spenser has expressed his gratitude in a sonnet prefixed to the *Fairy Queen*. Very little of this castle now remains. It has passed from the Greys; but long after a stone or a vestige is to be seen, the spot will be remembered and known, as connected with the benefactor of this charming poet.

Leaving Wilton Castle on the right, I proceeded some distance, three or four miles perhaps, without being particularly struck with any features in the landscape. Some fishermen, catching trout in little wicker-basket boats, attracted my notice, however. When I came to Goodrich Castle, I was so struck with its venerable aspect, covered half over with green moss, that I determined once for all to invade this strong hold, and give you one single description, which is to satisfy you for the rest of your life. It is placed on a fine eminence, overlooking the river, and is surrounded by a deep trench, some fifty feet wide, as I should judge, cut out of the solid rock. The first apartment, inside the gate, is a small room to the left, with an ornamental window, and large stone chalice for holding the holy water. From hence it has been sagely concluded, that this was the chapel, of which I have not the least doubt. A mass of ruins directly opposite, with an octagon column rising out of them, indicates the ancient baronial hall, where they no doubt held mortal carousals in the time of William Marshall, Gilbert Talbot, and Harry Grey, successively possessors of the castle. A large square tower remains, flaunting amidst its decay, in moss and clambering vines, that almost make it look gay. This is said to have been built by an Irish Macbeth, a prisoner, who worked out his freedom, and that of his son, by building this enormous keep. Inside of this are mildewed, damp, and dreary walls, festooned with cobwebs, in which I observed certain old spiders that came over with William the Conqueror.

At the iron works, known by the name of Bishop's Wood, the scenery waxed more and more beautiful. At Bicknor I began to comprehend that there was some little reason for the raptures of picturesque tourists, when speaking of the river Wye. Rocks of the boldest magnitude, dressed out in ver-

dure, at every little projection or crevice, and hanging over the water, give a character of grandeur to the scenery, while the narrowness of the stream itself contributes to the sublime, by giving a comparative altitude to the precipices. You tell me you lately sailed up the Hudson River in the State of New York, and observed, how the effect of one magnificent feature of sublimity is diminished by the grandeur and immensity of another. The Palisades, as they are called, are much higher, and in every way more noble than the cliffs of the Wye; but the wideness of the Hudson takes from them more than half their effect, while the narrow channel of the Wye adds to those I am speaking of in the same or a greater proportion. This remark may be extended to almost all our scenery; the very vastness of the constituents of our landscapes diminishes the effect, not only of the different parts, but of the whole combined. I was more particularly struck with the truth of this, in viewing parts of Wales, where, owing to the proximity of objects, the narrowness of glens, and the disposition of rocks, the highest effect of sublimity was produced by objects comparatively diminutive.

Among the wonders of this region are Tintern Abbey, Chepstowe Castle, and Piercefield, the latter, one of the most famous *show-places* in England. The abbey, to my mind, is more remarkable for the exquisite beauty and finish of its remaining parts, than for its situation, which is low, and does not command a view of the river, except from above. It is also surrounded by cottages, inhabited by workmen belonging to neighbouring iron works, the din of whose hammers disturbs, of an evening, the repose of the scene. But the inside is indescribably fine, and cannot be done justice to by any other medium than that of actual inspection. All I shall say is, that as a mere ruin, it exceeds any thing I have seen since, or ever saw before. Its history is not particularly interesting. It was, according to the fashion of the age, endowed by various benefactions in the elder times, from pious or profligate noblemen, who made their peace with heaven by enriching the church: and when the fashion changed, it was suppressed and deprived of its revenues, which were shared again among the nobility, from whose munificence or fears they were first obtained. It is now, if I recollect right, the property of the Duke of Beaufort, who takes pains to prevent its further decay.

The scenery in the neighbourhood of Chepstowe Castle is equal to any on the Wye. A bridge, which, whether handsome or not, is always a good object in a landscape, crosses near it, below which, on the opposite side, is a range of cliffs

rising directly out of the water, on whose sides the ivy and the moss luxuriate, and over whose top the verdure nods. But I must try and elevate myself to the proper degree of picturesque sublimity, and talk a little like a traveller on this momentous occasion. Advancing then towards the battlements (I beg pardon, massive battlements), and sky-aspiring turrets of this adamantine work of ages, I was struck dumb by the view of a grand entrance, personifying the repulsive gloom, feudal reserve, and frantic ferocity of the times, in which its everlasting walls, which are now almost decayed, were reared. The very knocker was warlike, being nothing more than a cannon ball suspended by a vast chain, with which I ordered my man to "knock me here at the gate." He did so, and the very walls, not only of the castle, but the river on which it stands, trembled at the sound. The warder of the castle did not make his appearance, nor did any whylome eftsoons peep over the wall, with his cross-bow levelled, and demand our business; but an exceedingly decrepid, wrinkled, and withal, ugly old woman, did, after some unreasonable delay, open the gate for our admittance, upon receiving a piece of that, which melts stone walls and stony hearts in this country. The professor of English tongues looked rather shy; for he came from a shire where the witches grew, and privately assured me, that this old woman had all the marks about her.

Having already described one castle, I hold myself exonerated from describing any more; for, after all, no words can give any idea, except a false one, of visible objects, for which our senses have acquired no standard. I will only mention, that here, in a large round tower of the ancient citadel, Henry Martin, one of King Charles's judges, was confined thirty years, and here he died. There is probably no set of men, whose memory has been treated with more injustice, or who suffered more unrelenting persecution, than these high-souled republicans. On the accession of Charles the Second, they were hunted through England, Switzerland, and all parts of Europe—nay, in our new world, where three of them, Whalley, Dixwell, and Goffe, found a refuge, and remained secreted for half the life of man. There is, perhaps, no instance on record, of a secret intrusted to so many persons, so dangerous to keep, and for the disclosure of which there were so many temptations of danger and interest, being kept so long and with such inflexible faith. Yet not one betrayed them. They were in New Haven when the king's officers were searching every house; nay, they were in the very house they searched; yet such was the cool discretion and inflexible faith of the people, that they escaped discovery. They lived

many years at Hadley, died there, and two of them were buried in the Church-yard at New Haven, without its being known to a single person who ever betrayed the secret, till it was no longer of consequence to the safety of any human being. The truth is, that the sentiment of the people of New England sanctioned their condemnation of the king, and the hearts of the colonists were with those bold, inflexible patriots, who dared to punish a tyrant for making war against his people. I have often, when at Yale, seen the graves of Dixwell and Whalley, each designated by a stone, which, humble as it is, is calculated to retain their initials, and the time of their decease, for ages. It is a hard, red, primitive stone, very thick, and pointed at the top, in such a way as to form nearly the two sides of a triangle. They lie close together, at the west end of the old Presbyterian Church, where I hope they will remain for ever undisturbed. They were the judges of kings; and, although they escaped a violent death, their latter life was one long series of exile, danger, seclusion, and oblivion. Henry Martin was another of these, and was spared only for perpetual imprisonment. Mr. Southey wrote some exceedingly blank verse on the occasion upon the walls of Chepstowe.

Piercesfield owes its celebrated improvements to Valentine Morris, of St. Vincents, in the West Indies, who wrecked his fortune upon these rocks, and, as usual, was obliged to sell what had cost him a vast sum, the fruits of which he never enjoyed. A Mr. Smith purchased it, but got tired, as every man does, of such expensive playthings, and sold it to Colonel Wood, who, covered with the spoils of India, also spent vast sums upon these rocks for other people to enjoy, which was very good of him. He got tired too, and sold it to a Mr. Wells, who I believe still holds out, but will not probably do so very long. There are, it seems, certain days in which only the *show-place* is opened, and the day I applied for admittance happened not to be one of these.

My next excursion was to the city of Gloucester, situated on the "noble Severn," which, notwithstanding its dignity, is here only navigable for smaller vessels. It is one of the principal cities of this part of England. I found an air of business here, very different from Hereford, and in fact it is a place of considerable trade in pins, &c. by means of the river, which is divided into two channels here. But the great wonder of the place, and that which most attracted my attention, is the cathedral, which is one of the finest in this country. Its lofty tower, and transparent pinnacles, ornamented with beautiful fret-work—the majestic roof, and Gothic ornaments of the choir, with the old Saxon pillars, and arches support-

ing the aisle—in short, the singular, yet not unharmonious combination of different ages of architecture, all contributed to engage my wonder. It was begun, as antiquaries have decided, about the latter end of the tenth century, and not completed, as it now stands, till more than four hundred years afterwards. It therefore exhibits a curious, as well as complete exemplification of the variations and progress of church-architecture in England. It would fill a book to describe all the various portions of this building, and even then, without drawings, the impression would be altogether indistinct. There are several very ancient tombs; among others, that of Edward the Second, which is very singular as well as striking. His effigies exhibit him with cropped hair and beard, whence we may conclude, this was the fashion of the time.

This, and many other vast edifices of a similar kind, form one among the many boasts of the people of this country. They certainly add both dignity and splendour to the cities where they are situated; and the stranger, while contemplating them with awe and admiration, is apt to forget what an expense of human labour was here applied to purposes of church vanity; what vast sums of money were taken from the poor people, to rear those ostentatious monuments of the power and pride of churchmen. They were built in ages when probably one-third of the wealth of the kingdom flowed into the treasury of the church; when kings trembled at the frown of a mitred minion of the pope; and the people were the beasts of burden that laboured for them all. When we reflect that the labours of millions, the wealth of kingdoms, were thus invested in a dead capital, that yields nothing to the state, and how many hundred thousand people are, at this moment, suffering for the common necessities of life, it is difficult to resist the impression, that it would add to the happiness of mankind, if the incalculable sums lavished on these temples of human vanity, could be made to return to the children of those whose fathers paid the price. Nothing could be lost on the score of religion, since these immense structures are not in the least calculated for sermons, which cannot be heard through their interminable aisles.

LETTER VII.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

AT Gloucester I received some information which induced me to alter my original design of penetrating into Wales from that quarter, and determined me to proceed to Shrewsbury,

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thence into North Wales. I was told I might in this way have an opportunity of seeing one of the finest parts of the country. As it was of little consequence to me which way I entered into Wales, I accordingly proceeded towards Shrewsbury, by the vale of Evesham, and another beautiful vale extending to the foot of Coteswold Hills. Crossing another hill, which separates the two valleys, I had a noble prospect of the cities of Gloucester and Worcester, with almost countless villas and villages, in the midst of a rich assemblage of natural beauty. At the foot of this hill is the ancient Evesham, which lies on the river Avon, out of which I drank to the memory of Shakespeare. But what was rather extraordinary, I found very little inspiration therefrom.

Somewhere about two centuries ago, Coteswold Hill was famed for certain annual sports, called Dover's Olympics, of which Anthony Wood gives the following account :

" These games were begun and continued at a certain time in the year, for forty years, by one Robert Dover, an attorney of Benton-on-the-Heath, in Warwickshire, son of John Dover of Norfolk ; who being full of activity, and of a generous, free, and public spirit, did, with leave of James the First, select a place on Coteswold Hills, in Gloucestershire, whereon these games should be acted. Endimion Porter, Esq. a native of that county, and a servant of that King, a person also of a most generous spirit, did, to encourage Dover, give him some of the King's old clothes, with a hat, and feather, and ruff, purposely to grace him, and consequently the solemnity. Dover was constantly there in person, well mounted and accoutred, and was the chief director and manager of those games, frequented by the nobility and gentry, (some of whom came sixty miles to see them), *even till the rascally rebellion was begun by the Presbyterians ; which gave a stop to their proceedings, and spoiled all that was generous or ingenious elsewhere.*" These games were celebrated in verses by Ben Jonson, Drayton, Randolph, Marmyon, Heywood, and many other wits of the day. Their poems, it is said, were collected and published, with a picture of Dover on horseback, superintending the games : the book, I believe, is not extant.

We now advanced into Warwickshire, famous for its valiant champion, Guy, and a thousand times more famous for its Shakespeare, to whom the world is indebted for more pleasant hours than all the bloody triumphs of a thousand heroes have ever bestowed upon mankind. What a charming reflection it is, to think that genius has the power of giving delight, when the organization of mind and matter which produced it is dissolved for ever ! Soon we saw the spire of

Stratford church, and then the town itself, with its pretty little river. Nobody would ever have heard either of the town or the river, beyond their neighbourhood, were it not for the name of Shakespeare, who has conferred a never-dying fame upon both. Stratford is now a place of pilgrimage, like the grave of Washington, at Mount Vernon. They are worthy to be mentioned together, for one is the birth-place of the first of poets; the other, the tomb of the first of men. Our countryman, Irving, has lately given so pleasing an account of this place, and all the localities connected with the life of the poet, that I will not attempt any thing of the kind, for it would only be repeating what another has said much better.

From hence to Warwick, where every body knows there is one of the finest castles, or *show-places*, in this country. It is remarkable for some pretended reliques of the champion *Guy*, who, judging from his porridge pot, was a great hero, at least in trencher feats. You have no doubt seen views of this castle, as it is in all the picturesque works; and if you have not, it is impossible to convey any likeness in words. What amused me most was, the honest country people I occasionally conversed with, who repeated, with an air of most credulous gravity, all the enormous tales recorded of this renowned trencher-man, Sir Guy, whose legendary feats in valorous fight, and valorous eating, are all authenticated by a statue, at *Guy's Cliff*, in the neighbourhood, of most gigantic proportions.

From Warwick I passed the castle of Kenilworth, which has lately been dug out of its ruins by the indefatigable pen of the "Great Unknown." It is a fine ruin, overgrown with ivy: the comparatively modern additions of the Earl of Leicester are gone to decay, while the more ancient still subsist in tolerable preservation. Rout, and revel, and beer-drinking, bear-baiting, and other royal sports, are here succeeded by silence, decay, and desolation. These castles formed the links of that vast feudal chain which bound the people of the middle ages. They are fast disappearing from the land, and let them go: they swallowed up the cottages, and held the cottagers in bondage.

Passing some fine seats I now came in sight of Coventry, famous for Peeping Tom and ribbon weaving. It is an old city; and all the old cities I have ever seen, except Oxford, that have not been burned down two or three times at least, are, to my mind, very ugly. The streets of Coventry are narrow, inconvenient, and dirty; the houses gloomy, and the people bear the indelible marks of a manufacturing town. Soon after leaving this place, which is regularly anathematized by all picturesque tourists, the country became flat, and ap-

parently volcanic; for all around I could see the columns of black, malignant, manufacturing smoke, curling to the skies, or flattening and spreading over the landscape.

Approaching Birmingham, I breathed the very essence of coal-smoke, which lowered over the pretty, smart, new country-boxes of the manufacturers. I had passed through this town before, on my way to London, but as I was in haste to deliver my ———, made no stay here. On this occasion, however, I spent several days in viewing the manufactories, and making inquiries as to the effects of the system upon the morals, manners, and health of the people engaged in them. The general result of all my experience, observation, and inquiry I shall perhaps give you in a letter particularly devoted to the subject, which is just now of peculiar interest in our country. I found every thing at a stand here; the manufacturers dispirited; the workmen ragged, starving, and disaffected; the whole town complaining. Nothing, in fact, can present a more miserable spectacle, than a place arrested in a course of almost unparalleled prosperity, by those unaccountable mutations which turn the tide of commerce into new channels, and, while they throw thousands out of employment and bread, produce premature decay, and modern ruins. The most common appearance here, is that of beggary; the rarest, a clean face and hands.

Skirting the borders of Worcestershire, Staffordshire, and Shropshire, the country was beautiful, and some of the views highly picturesque as well as extensive. In many parts of Staffordshire especially, the appearance of innumerable furnaces gave the country at night a most singular aspect. It seemed that Mr. Hutton's subterranean fire was bursting forth in every direction, and that the whole interior of the earth was teeming with combustible matter. I had a view of the Leasowes and Hagley, two beautiful spots; the one connected with the genius, taste, and prodigality of Shenstone; the other, with the name of Lyttelton. The latter place has been fruitful in distinguished characters. Their beauties are familiar to the imagination of most general readers in our country, and so I pass them by. I visited Colebrooke Dale, which is in the way to Shrewsbury, and where Vulcan and the Cyclops resort. Every thing is iron here; there is an iron bridge; the seats are iron; and the men who sit on them are either iron or steel, I could not tell which. The eternal clink of hammers, the roaring of the forges, and the columns of thick black smoke, render this place particularly detestable to ears and eyes of common sensibility. If ever they catch me there again, I'll give them full leave, as Shakspeare says, "to hammer me into a twigger bottle."

From Colebrooke Dale, winding along the "Noble Severn," which may be about as wide as our Thames at Norwich, in Connecticut, I was highly pleased with the pretty scenery of the little basin through which the river passes. In getting to the city, however, it was necessary to mount an eminence, from whence I had a clear view of the mountains of North Wales. On the other hand, was a fine hill, called the Wrekin, rising pretty abruptly out of a great plain and richly clothed with verdure. I afterwards climbed to the top, in an excursion from Shrewsbury, and was gratified with a view that paid me for the labour, which is more than I can say of many others. I arrived at that city about five in the afternoon, crossing a second time by a grand bridge over the Severn, which almost flows round the whole hill on which Shrewsbury is built.

I had two particular objects in view, which induced me to spend three or four days at Shrewsbury: one was to see the prison, which is conducted and governed according to the system proposed by Mr. Howard, and combines with it a house of correction; the other was, to inspect the House of Industry, which is considered one of the most luxurious receptacles of idleness and beggary in this country. Having made the necessary arrangements, I accordingly first visited the prison. The area within the walls contains about two acres of ground; you enter by the porter's lodge, over the gate of which is a bust of Mr. Howard, that benevolent man and inflexible father! The ground floor on the left is occupied by the turnkey's rooms, above which are his bed-chambers; that on the right is occupied by the lazaretto, where is a hot and cold bath, an oven to fumigate clothes, which are taken from the prisoners, and a prison uniform put on them. Other rooms up stairs are appropriated to the performance of the last offices for criminals by the clergy, previously to execution on the flat roof above. The debtors, male and female, female felons, capital male felons, petty male felons, women of ill fame, and vagrants, male and female disorderly servants, and apprentices, male vagrants and deserters, are each accommodated with a spacious court, day rooms, and sleeping rooms, so that it is quite a luxury to be here. In addition to these, there are two courts for male and female refractory prisoners, together with a detached infirmary, with separate courts, day-rooms, and sleeping-rooms: in short, my dear brother, beyond all doubt, a large proportion of the prisoners here are better lodged, better fed, and better clothed, than they were at home. In fact, nine out of ten, of the people of England, do not spend as much as it costs to maintain a pauper here.

All this is pretty enough in theory, and looks very like hu-

manity ; but I dare only shake my head at it, and say nothing. If people will divert the laws from their original intention, and make that, in effect, a reward, which was intended, and ought to be, a punishment ; if they will build palaces for felons and paupers to revel in at the expense of honest industry, why nothing is to be said against humanity, which, under pretence of tenderness to the worthless and unprincipled, pardons the wretch who is only liberated to commit new crimes, or feeds and lodges him in infinite comfort at the expense of the society he has offended. Experience, not argument, must cure these indiscreet gambols of philanthropists. It will not be long before they discover, that they are only heaping coals of fire upon the heads of thousands, in the remote hope of reclaiming one, and offering premiums to vice and immorality. If Mrs. Fry will bribe women of ill fame to reformation, by supporting them comfortably, while thousands of wives and mothers, who never wallowed in scenes of corruption, but have worked their fingers to the bone, to keep themselves and their children from want, are pining in hopeless and obscure wretchedness ; let her do it, I say again. Instead of offering premiums to virtue, she is proposing temptations to vice, since it seems women must first become infamous in society, in order to entitle themselves to her notice and bounty. No wonder, my dear brother, that vice should thrive ; poverty multiply, and prodigality and idleness increase here, under this new system of patronage. But the voice of warning is the voice of one crying in the wilderness ; or, if it be heard, it is only heard for the purpose of bringing the charge of inhumanity against him who uttered the warning. It is not difficult to predict the result of all these injudicious measures.

From the prison I was carried to what I supposed to be a palace, beautifully situated on a lofty bank, and overlooking one of the finest prospects imaginable. Concluding there was some mistake, I begged to be conducted to the poor house. My guide, with an air of great self-complacency, assured me this was the poor house, and that it cost, first and last, above twenty thousand pounds sterling. It is a superb building, affording such luxurious lodgings and excellent accommodations, that I was not surprised people preferred living there in idleness and luxury, to working hard at home, and faring indifferently. In looking over the books, and seeing the vast quantities of provisions, the number of fat beeves slaughtered for the entertainment of these sumptuous beggars, I no longer wondered that beggary was grown so respectable a trade. It is quite natural that the people of England should be degraded into paupers, when they are thus actually seduced into idleness,

by the tempting prospect of good living and good lodging, instead of being deterred by the certainty of want, and all its train of ills. Is this humanity, is this charity? thought I. Is it thus, that the happiness of human beings is brought about, by tempting them from labour and economy by the prospect of indulgence and plenty, at the expense of others? Is it thus that children are prepared to encounter the labours to which their birth renders them liable, by being pampered in this splendid eating-house? I put some of these questions to those about me, and never got a civil word afterwards. These people share in the good things, and grow rich on charities. It is a fine thing, brother, to manage the concerns of the poor in this country. I wish some one would have the honest hardihood to speak of these institutions as they deserve; risk the reputation of a philanthropist in the attempt to restrain the progress of idleness and beggary, and rid the industrious of the task, not only of supplying their own wants, but of pampering those of others. He might be a martyr to his honesty, but I am mistaken if posterity would not do him justice.

LETTER VIII.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

BY the advice of mine host of the 'Talbot, who prided himself on "serving the noble Earl of Shrewsbury," I left my horses here, and hired a couple of Welsh ponies, which, he assured me, would carry me much more safely over the mountains and through the defiles of Wales. He likewise hinted, that a Welsh pony had a sort of instinctive feeling of the picturesque, and never failed to stop where there was a fine view, so that there would be no occasion to carry a guide-book with me. I took his advice, and accordingly bestrode a pony that turned out to be broken-winded. This, however, proved in the end to be a great advantage, for whenever I dismounted to scramble up a precipice, or view a cascade in some glen, unapproachable on horseback, I was always sure of finding him exactly in the same place on my return, he being never guilty of any voluntary locomotion whatever.

Some of the picturesque hunters make their tours on foot, but I had two invincible objections to this mode. I hate walking, and should have been as long getting through Wales, as a Welsh pedigree. In the next place, I was aware, from experience, that a man on foot never gets a civil answer or civil treatment at a decent British inn. The first salute will be from the chambermaid, who, on being questioned about a bed, will

go near to snap your head off. This is particularly the case about Shrewsbury, where the women, having a little of the hot Welsh blood in them, are apt to be somewhat *shrewish*, whence, possibly, may be derived the name of this ancient city. On one occasion, in Herefordshire, I was very much amused with a respectable, though plain looking man, who came up on foot to an inn, where I had stopt to dine, and ordered dinner. Nobody invited him into the house, and he was permitted to sit on the piazza, until I was wrought upon to ask him into the room I occupied. Contrary to my expectation, for I concluded this piece of civility would make him suspect me of a design to pick his pocket, it is so uncommon in this country, he accepted the invitation very frankly, and I found him exceedingly intelligent and well-bred. To tell you the truth, I began to suspect *him*, it being so unnatural for an Englishman to be entertaining without the hope of advantage. However, no dinner came, or was likely to come, when, after a delay of an hour or two, an elegant equipage drove up to the door, preceded by an outrider, who enquired if a gentleman, whom he described, had stopped there. An explanation ensued, and I found that the carriage having received some little damage, the owner, the plain gentleman I spoke of, had taken it into his head to walk on to this hospitable inn. Never were there such civilities, such bows, such *congees*, and such enquiries, about what the gentleman would choose for dinner, and such apologies for the delay, which was all put upon the cook. The gentleman, who seemed somewhat of a sly humourist, upon this insisted upon the cook's head being well singed, and made into a stew for his dinner. This brought up the cook, who, in spite of the landlord's menacing looks, told, what was no doubt the truth, that no dinner had been ordered. The incognito then, pulling out his watch, observed that it was now too late to cook a dinner, and he would go on to the next inn to sup and sleep. The landlord was in despair, and the chambermaid almost bit off the end of her thumb, on the occasion. Previously to his departure, we exchanged addresses, and the stranger took my promise to visit him, should I ever pass his mansion, which was in a distant part of the country.

Having furnished myself with a map and portfolio, I set forth from Shrewsbury one bright morning, for the land of promise, which I had come so far to visit. Previously to this, I had brightened up my rusty genealogy, and traced my descent pretty clearly from Adam, which is considered a tolerable pedigree in Wales, though nothing to make a boast of. Blood, brother, blood is every thing here. In the words

of an old writer, which I quote because I am fairly tired of every new one,—“ You shall ever find amongst a hundred Frenchmen forty hot shots; amongst a hundred Spaniards threescore braggarts; amongst a hundred Dutchmen fourscore drunkards:—amongst a hundred Englishmen fourscore and ten madmen; and amongst a hundred Welshmen fourscore and nineteen gentlemen!” Some of the family trees there took root long before the flood. I must not omit to apprise you, that I was still accompanied by the Professor of languages, whose services as an interpreter I found necessary in crossing through some of the shires, where they speak a tongue not to be found in the German professor’s book, that enumerates six or seven thousand. To one, who in America has been accustomed to hear the commonest people speak with the fluency and almost the correctness of a gentleman, it is intolerable to listen to the *haw hawing* and *yaw yawing* of these terribly thick-headed fellows, who, with all their really good qualities, and these are many, are most stupidly deficient in ideas, and possess no language to express the few they have. I long to get among the sprightly, saucy Americans, whose tongues run like mill-tails, and whose brains are the inexhaustible reservoirs that keep the mill-clappers going.

Passing Oswestry, a neat town, I came to a small brook, called the *river* Carriac, rolling through a deep glen, and there first entered Denbighshire, the frontier county in this part of North Wales. The first object that attracted my attention, was ——— castle, belonging to one of the ———, who here, as in our country, are people of figure. From the ascent leading to this castle, there is one of the first fine views, comprehending seventeen counties, and bounded by the Wrekin, Clay Hills, and various other picturesque mountains. A servant came out to us in the park, but rather with a view to watch our motions, I believe, than to show the grounds, for he stuck right close to our heels, without pointing out any thing to notice. Being thirsty, I asked for a drink of water, but, according to the information of our spy, there was not a drop in or about this grand place.

From the castle we gained the road, which divides towards Chester on the one hand, and Llangollan on the other. The name of the latter being familiar to me, as abounding in rural beauties, I turned in that direction, and after riding about seven miles, came to the village of Llangollan, which is worth going seven miles to avoid. It is, however, useful to the lovers of the picturesque, as forming a perfect contrast with the scenery in the vicinity, which is embellished by the river Dee, and various other beautiful objects. And here, my dear bro-

ther, before I proceed another step, I must apprise you, that you are not to expect me to mention the name of every place I attempt to sketch for your amusement. The Welsh names, when spoken, are musical enough ; but woe to the man, unless he be a descendant of Caractacus, who attempts to pronounce them as they are written ! The easiest of them are such as Craig, Eglwyseg, Llechweddgarth, and St. Collen ap Gwynnawg ap Clydawg ap Cowdra ap Caradoy Freichfas ap Lleyr Merim ap Einion Yrth ap Cunedda Wledig ! the name of one single Welsh saint, the patron of a church in this neighbourhood.

On arriving at Llangollan, I trusted to instinct for the choice of an inn, and, as ill fate would have it, came to the sign of the Open Hand, which looked like an indication of liberality. My experience, however, demonstrated to me afterwards, that this Hand was open to receive, not to bestow ; and that it was a very grasping hand. The first object that attracts the eye of a stranger at Llangollan, is *Dinas Bran*, consisting of a few remains of what appears once to have been an extensive castle. Having rested myself a little, I sallied forth, book in hand, to pay it a visit. Tradition records, that as long ago as the middle of the thirteenth century, which, however, is but as yesterday in Wales, this castle afforded a refuge to Gryffdd ap Madoc, Mr. Southey's hero, who discovered America, and settled a Welsh colony somewhere.

Here, too, more than a century after, lived a beautiful maid of the House of Tudor, who was beloved by an illustrious bard, whose name occurs in Gray's fine ode, as " High born Hoel." Myfanway Vechan, for that was her name, it seems was content to receive the homage of the bard, and often listened to his harp and song, which was heard at all times of the night in this charming valley. Sometimes he tuned his harp to the warlike exploits of the Tudors and the Hoels, in old times compeers in battle, and, in his prophetic inspiration, predicted that the former would one day give kings to the isle. At others he sung the joys and the pains of love : he painted the hopes of the lover as he won the smile of his mistress, his despair at her frown or indifference ; the elysium of success, and the agony of disappointment. The lady listened, but she did not love ; at least, she only loved his music and his poetry : her hand was destined for princes. She married a Tudor, and her descendants fulfilled the prophecy of the bard. Hoel wandered away with his harp, through the wildest and most unfrequented parts of the country, sometimes frenzied and sometimes forlorn ; in his lucid hours singing the falsehood of his mistress, and his own unalterable love. One of these

songs is still extant, and, it is said, is exquisitely affecting. In one of the paroxysms of his frenzy, he foretold the subjugation of his country ; and having finished, he broke his harp in the sight of some astonished peasants, and precipitated himself from a high rock into a torrent that carried him no one knew whither.

It is probable this story, which I heard, not at Llangollan, but in one of the most sequestered parts of the country I afterwards visited, suggested to Gray the fine picture of his bard plunging into "Conway's foaming flood." There are plenty of these little historical romances connected with the old ruins in different parts of Wales, and it is from such that the latter derive a great portion of their interest. The hill, on which these ruins lie, is estimated at 1800 feet high, and commands a prospect finer than that from the higher mountains, though, of course, not so extensive. In fact, every one that has had experience in these matters knows that views, bounded only by the powers of human vision, are neither so beautiful nor so gratifying as those which are circumscribed by picturesque outlines. I have often had finer views from the base of a mountain than its extreme summit, where every thing was confused and indistinct.

The whole of this vale and adjacent country is full of fine rural beauties, and abounds with interesting local associations. I wandered from the centre of the village, almost every day, for four or five days, in different directions, and every where found objects, and combinations of objects, that attracted my attention. Among others, I one day stumbled by chance upon the site of Owen Glendower's palace, which is marked by a clump of old trees growing on an eminence. Glendower, like almost every man of great abilities in those days, at least among the Welsh, was reputed by the English a magician : if Glendower escaped their snares, or gave them a defeat, they saved their credit by ascribing both one and the other to the aid of necromancy. The ignorant, in an age of ignorance, are prone to believe this, for they have in their own minds and resources nothing that can enable them to comprehend the powers of a great genius. Glendower, after baffling the arts of the English, and fighting with his neighbour, Grey of Ruthyn, about boundaries and what not, for many years, finding himself over-matched, retired into private life, and died quietly in his bed, I believe. He left three daughters, one of whom married an ancestor of that Scudamore, whose descendant I mentioned as the friend of Pope. His posterity is numerous still, and connected, in various ways, with many of the first families in Great Britain. But he is best known, and will for ever re-

main best known, as associated with the Henry Percy and the Douglas, in the imperishable works of Shakespeare. It is from that circumstance alone, that I have been induced to sketch this little biography. The name of Owen Glendower would never have been familiar to every body in our country, had it not been mentioned by the bard, who has given many passports to immortality.

Having spent several days at Llangollan, roaming and rambling about with infinite satisfaction, I returned by the way of Chirck Castle, on the road to which, I should have mentioned the famous Offa's Dyke, said to be the ancient boundary between England and Wales. It might be the boundary between two wheat fields, or vineyards, for it is sufficiently insignificant. From hence I proceeded towards the river Dee; crossed it by a bridge in a deep vale or ravine, and reconnoitred Wynnestay, which is the noble seat of Sir Watkyns Williams Wynn, and, as the talk goes, is soon to be consecrated by the presence of no less a visitor than King George. This will be matter for the Wynns to talk about as long as there is half a one left. I then turned towards Wrexham, which has nothing but a tower steeple to recommend it. From thence to Gressford; and after stopping to view a fine prospect, through Shropshire and Cheshire, crossed the Dee to the ancient and certainly very curious city of Chester, which I visited previously to continuing my picturesque tour, for the purpose of —————.

Chester is one of the most respectable old cities I have ever seen: there is an air of originality about it too, that makes it quite an object of interest. It does not appear to have much business; yet, from being the residence of many opulent families, not only natives, but from Ireland and the neighbouring Wales, it has not that intolerable air of decay and total stagnation, which I have generally observed in those ancient dozing places. The people seemed actually inclined to politeness, which was quite new to me; and there were various genteel amusements for evenings, that are always a great relief to a stranger. Nobody ever carries an umbrella here, as the covered galleries that extend all along the streets on either side, like piazzas, jutting out from the second story, afford a safe walk for foot passengers. Nevertheless, I was assured that a cunning fellow, a real John Bull, observing there was no umbrella-maker in all the city, thought to make a fortune by commencing the business. He succeeded wonderfully; for, though he failed in business, he became entitled to the privileges of pauperism, which are now beginning to be considered by the common people equivalent to a freehold. The walk on

the rampart of Chester, is a most singular and delightful promenade. In short, brother, there is more novelty in old Chester, than in many of the new towas in England. There is a cathedral, but old, and rather uninteresting. A castle too, but it is gone to decay. Let it go—they are only memorials of feudal wars and feudal slavery; and wherever they abound, one may be sure there is oppression on the one hand, and suffering on the other. They were among the strongest links in the chain of feudal slavery, and stood as monuments of the abject situation of the people, whose labour was employed at the will of the liege-lord, in erecting these strong holds, by the possession of which, he was the better enabled to keep them in subjection.

LETTER IX.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

FROM Chester I again penetrated into Wales, passing along the borders of Flintshire, a small county, apparently pretty much divided among marshes and mountains. The old capital lies buried in a marsh along the river Dee, and Holywell is now the principal mart of this part of the country. The neighbourhood contains a great many manufactories, and is, of course, distressed and disaffected. Holywell, like all the manufacturing towns I have seen, is tinged with black smoke, and presents a disagreeable aspect. Below the town is a glen, where the manufactories are placed, on a fine stream flowing from St. Winifred's well, which, I believe, has lost all its medicinal virtues, ever since the waters were prostituted to these mechanical purposes. The mills and manufactories are principally for brass and copper; and it is hardly possible for me to describe the wretched, cadaverous, and unwholesome looks of the workmen in these metals. One might almost be tempted to conclude that the conveniences of life were too dearly purchased at the expense of such unhealthy employments. I felt grateful to Providence, that our countrymen were, as yet, permitted to exchange the fruits of labours that result in health, manliness, and virtuous independence, for the products of occupations so fatal to all these.

The famous well of St. Winifred, from whence is derived the name of Holywell, is the finest gush of water from one single source that I have ever seen. It springs at one bound from the foot of a fine rock, and in a single volume, that, at a short distance below, without any accession that I observed, turned

all the mills employed in the manufactories. The well is covered with a little venerable Gothic building, said to be an offering of gratitude from Margaret, mother of Henry the Seventh, for her recovery through the virtues of this well. The inside of the little canopy is exquisitely carved. Many votive offerings of crutches, &c. are left here by invalids of former times, in memory of their recovery to the use of their limbs, some of whose stories are perfectly miraculous. But the miracle of all miracles is the history of the saint herself. Winifred was a devout and beautiful damsel, daughter of *one* Thearth, as we say of obscure persons, and niece to St. Benno, another rather obscure person. Having obtained leave to found a church upon the possessions of her father, the saint took her under his tuition, and instructed her in religion. Crodorus, son to a very obscure king, one also who reigned in this neighbourhood, being smitten with her beauty, according to the customs of the age, attempted to violate her person. She ran towards the church for sanctuary, but was overtaken at the brow of the hill by this gallant British prince, who, enraged at his disappointment, cut off her head, which rolled down the hill to the place where the congregation were kneeling at their devotions. From the spot where it stopped, immediately gushed forth a clear and beautiful fountain; and thereupon St. Benno, taking up the head, and joining it to the body, to the surprise of all, the virgin became re-animated, nothing remaining to mark the separation but a white ring round the neck. Crodorus dropped down upon the spot where he committed the outrage; but, whether he was swallowed up by the earth, or carried away by the devil, the legend rather doubts. It is affirmed that the sides of the orifice, whence the waters issued, became all at once fringed with a green and sweet-scented moss, and the stones at the bottom tinged with the blood of the virgin. She outlived the cutting off her head about fifteen years, and, having taken the veil, died abbess of Gwytherin, in this county.

The well became famous for its sweet-scented moss, the bloody tint of the rocks, and the miraculous virtues of its waters. The sick and the pious resorted to it from all parts of the neighbourhood; and the votive crutches and barrows announce the recovery of some at least, whether by faith, or the workings of the waters, cannot be known. Of late years, however, it has not been much frequented. Industry and employment, most potent enemies to superstitious fancies, have called the attention of the people from legends and saints, while the clink of hammers, the turning of wheels, and the roaring of bellows, have all combined to banish the silent musings of

wayward imagination. Either the water, the human mind, or the human constitution, has altered, for no cures are now worked by the miraculous well of St. Winifred. The moss and the blood-tinged stones, it is true, remain, but they have ceased to excite wonder, ever since the prying curiosity of botanists discovered that the former was nothing more than the mere vulgar *jungermannia asplenoides*, and the latter the *byssus joliferus*, a little red fibrous plant, which is common at the bottom of our pure mountain brooks. Nevertheless, it is a fine curiosity, inasmuch as it gushes forth upwards of eighty hogsheads of water a minute, which never freezes, nor ever varies in quantity, under any change of seasons. After all, my dear brother, what business have we to laugh at the credulity of our ancestors, or pride ourselves upon our disenchantment from the wonders of St. Winifred's well, while half the world is buying quack medicines, and trusting to quack doctors? I am somewhat apprehensive, that the boasted improvement, in the present age, consists pretty much in banishing old to make way for new absurdities. While the good folks of England continue their faith in the magical operation of the sinking fund, the blessings of a national debt, or Mr. Owen's plan of placing the people out at board at the expense of the nation; and while our worthy countrymen follow in the footsteps of this faith, what business, I say again, have we to laugh at the magical wonders of St. Winifred's well? If Dr. Solomon could build a palace upon the credulity of mankind, in the nineteenth century, why should we laugh at the credulity which built only a little dome to the virtues of St. Winifred's well?

I shall say nothing about the ruins of Basingworth Abbey, which I passed in my way to the famous vale of Clwydd, which you may pronounce if you can. This vale extends almost all the way to Llangollan, which, on the whole, I think it excels in beauty. It is generally about three to four miles wide, and nearly thirty in length. Throughout almost the whole length of the vale, the two little rivers Clwydd and Elwy meander in curving parallels, sometimes appearing as if they would unite their waters, then capriciously separating wide apart, as if they had brawled themselves into a quarrel. Thus they coquette with each other through the vale, exhibiting a thousand little meandering curves, and adding every beauty that can be added, to rich cultivated fields, pleasant villages, beautiful country-seats, and ruins associated with history, tradition, and fiction. The contrast of sterile hills and bald mountains on either side, with this scene of rural wealth, rural health, and rural innocence, is peculiarly striking.

On a distant eminence, as I passed along, I observed the town of Ruthyn, once the seat of Grey of Ruthyn, the wily neighbour and antagonist of the "d——d magician Glendower," as Shakspeare calls him. It yet gives the title of Lord Grey of Ruthyn. The present representative, a lady, claims the right of bearing the king's spurs at the coronation! On another high mount I saw the castle, or rather the remains of the castle of Denbigh, a most striking object, whose ruined gateway seemed trembling on the verge of the steep. Shall I tell you, my dear brother, that most of these old castles, which form such prominent features in the picturesque tours, are, in reality, most insignificant objects. Now and then indeed I met with one, as Conway Castle, for instance, which was really a noble ruin, but by far the greater portion of them are, in every respect, insignificant.

Leaving the vale of Clwydd, of whose sweet rural beauties I shall ever retain a pleasing recollection, I passed over a hilly rough ridge around the base of Penmanmoss, in doing which, I suddenly came upon a fine view of Conway Castle and town, finely backed by a range of mountains in the distance. The position of this castle, and what remains of it, is really fine, and in some measure justifies the eulogies passed upon its picturesque beauties: it is as old as the thirteenth century, and was the work of Edward the First, who put rings in the Welshmen's noses by building strong castles. One of the Earls of Conway transported the timber, lead, and iron, to Ireland, in the way of speculation, I believe; since then it has gone to decay. It is usually rented at six shillings and eightpence paid to the king, and a dish of fish to the Marquis of Hertford. The town itself is a miserable place, abounding in beggars. Indeed, all the pleasure to be derived from a tour in these fine scenes, is in a great measure saddened by the wretched state of the people, and the fast increasing habit of begging. The pride of the Englishman, as well as of the Welshman, is gradually stooping to this degradation; nor is it any longer a disgrace to beg. In every direction I was repelled from these recesses, which ought to be, and once were, the strong holds of virtuous independence, by the sight of human beings, whose spirits were bound down by poverty, and who, instead of hiding their wants, made them a pretence for asking charity of a stranger. At Conway is the worst ferry in the United Kingdom. I waited for the ferryman till I was quite tired, and finally altering my original intention, instead of crossing the river, continued on the side where I was for several miles. It turned out well, for I thus, by mere chance, fell into the track of some of the finest views I had yet seen.

The road wound along the terrace on the bank of the river, which gradually grew narrower, merely leaving room for strips of verdant meadows between its banks and the hills, which were fringed with wood at their base. On the other side appeared a ridge of high mountains, broken with masses of rocks, and sometimes half hid by the clouds flitting along its sides; here and there brooks, rushing down the sides, or precipitating in fine little cascades, gave life and animation to this solitary scene. At the extremity of this vale is the town of Llanrwst, which must be pronounced with a twist of the mouth: here I halted with a design of getting rest and refreshment. Llanrwst is hardly worth mentioning as a town; but its situation is truly delightful, although here also the curse of inequality has showered its miseries. The principal proprietor of this part of Wales is Lord Gwydir, who is to figure in the coronation as chamberlain, in right of his wife, and will come in for a few towels, if not a wash-hand basin. He has the character of an easy landlord, and rolls in wealth, while his tenants are, a great many of them, wallowing in poverty. You may think how they live in these stagnant times, when some of them pay as high as four guineas an acre, yearly rent, for meadow land. No wonder that even in this sequestered nook they think and talk of our New World, and like the Israelites in the desert, look with longing eyes to the land of freedom, the land of individual independence, the land flowing with milk and honey. I cannot express the proud and secret transports of my heart, at hearing, as I have done in every part of England, in the crowded city, the cultivated fields, and sequestered mountains, poor people talking about our country, as a home to which they looked with longing eyes; as a refuge, which if they could only once gain, they would no longer fear the ills of poverty, or the curse of dependance. In vain is it, that hired or disappointed travellers have indulged in every species of wanton and exaggerated misrepresentation; in vain have they pictured our country, its character and its institutions, in the most uninviting colours; in vain have our newspapers conjured up yellow fevers every summer; in vain has the government tried to allure them to Canada, to the Cape of Good Hope, to Botany Bay. All that has been said of these; all that has been said of the distresses under which our country is labouring; all that truth, falsehood, and declamation have uttered, has not diminished the poor man's confidence in the advantages held out to the English emigrant. They know, that for the price of one year's rent of an acre of English land, they could purchase to themselves the right and property for ever, in half-a-dozen acres, quite as good;

they know they will hold this land free from poor-rates, tithes, and taxation, except a mere trifle of the last; and above all, they know, that the very miseries of which our mean, unmanly, and unprincipled speculators so loudly complain, would be happiness to them; vast numbers would emigrate to America had the lower and labouring classes only the means of getting there: as it is, they talk of it as an event familiar to their wishes and imaginations, and feel that sort of anxiety to get thither, which those, who are born and brought up in a happy country, feel to return to it, after a long absence, like mine.

I must not forget to mention, that mine host at Llanrwst was one of the most pompously indifferent, inattentive fellows in the world. He never knew any thing about his house, or what was in it, not he; but he was somewhat excusable, being descended in a direct line from Llewellyn ap something, Prince of Wales; in imitation of whom, he kept open house to all comers, and made them pay double.

LETTER X.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

FROM Llanrwst I made an excursion up the vale of Conway, to where the mountains approach so near each other, that there is just room for the river to pass. All the rest of the valley was completely shut in by the curving hills. This is the neighbourhood of Snowdon, which is never spoken of except in the extreme of high-wrought superlative. Its "astonishing height," 3,600 feet—its abrupt sides and fantastic heads—its "horrible beauties,"—and the "incredible velocity of its torrents," which, like most other mountain streams, are apt to run pretty fast down hill, and to tumble when they come to a perpendicular—all these, brother, are described by the picturesque travellers in such terms, that you would suppose every cascade a Niagara, and every hill a Mont Blanc or a Peak of Teneriffe. The scenery, however, in spite of all their exaggerations, which of course must necessarily diminish the effect of the reality, is very striking. The misty mountain tops, the rugged and confused masses of rocks, the occasional torrents, and the rushing of the river through the pass, together with those rugged and savage features, which almost every where accompany the passage of rivers through mountains, all unite to form a scene of glorious variety.

Following a wild track, I came to the ruins of an ancient castle, called Dolwyddellan, which, mounted upon a high

steep rock, formed a striking feature of this wild region. Below these ruins, and about a mile distant, is the little village of Dolwyddellan, situated in one of the most sequestered spots in the world. It consists of a few small cottages, inhabited by the simplest race, who speak no other language but the Welsh, and never, except when broken in upon by a picturesque tourist, see any new faces. They pride themselves, however, (for no people, however insignificant, can live without something to be proud of)—they pride themselves upon an old tradition, that Llewellyn was a native of their town. This I learned from my professor of languages, who, I beg you to understand, though I do not mention it, is always at my heels. I found him particularly useful here, as an interpreter, having begun to understand his English lately. I spent the night here among these rural innocents, in a thatched hut; and I do assure you, that never since I left America have I passed one more pleasantly. To the eye, the whole world was centred in this little valley. The breezy stillness of twilight, disturbed only by rural sounds, the most homely of which (such is the charm of association), sounded musically sweet, lulled me into a train of reflections, that centred at last in home. The calling of the cows; the voices of the women and children talking or singing; even the squeaking of the pigs, were all harmonious to the scene and the hour. The moon by and by rose, and hovering along the tops of the mountains, divided the little valley into spots of light and shade, beautifully contrasted, yet harmoniously blending with each other. All was peace, serenity, and confidence. For the first time in England, among strangers, I was received without inquiry or suspicion, and nothing could exceed the simple reliance with which they placed their house, and all it afforded, at my command. True, they had nothing to lose worth taking; yet still it was a rare and pleasing trait of character, and as such I have remembered it, and shall do so as long as I live.

Their mode of living in this little village, and indeed throughout all this sequestered region, is such, as our beef, ham, and turkey-eating villains at home, would call starvation. They would not even put up with it in the poor-house or state prison. The cow and the goat furnish them with most of their food, and it is very seldom they get a meal of flesh among them. Yet they are far happier than most of the lower English peasantry, and a hundred times happier than a large portion of the labouring manufacturers. Their wants are few, and their habits are virtuous. Labour is there combined with health, wholesome, though simple food, and pure elastic air. In a word, they are apparently happy in their situation, what-

ever estimate others may form of it, and that is quite enough for them. I met here but with one family, the one where I slept, who talked of going to America when they could get there. Through the medium of the professor, I told them of the old Welsh woman and her husband, who kept your dairy and garden; and when assured that these ate as much fresh meat as they liked, morning, noon, and night, they cast up their eyes, and clapped their hands in utter astonishment. When I also made them comprehend, that this good couple had saved money enough, in a few years, to buy a hundred and fifty acres of land for themselves and their children, to have and to hold for ever, without lords, rents, tithes, or taxes, they almost shed tears, and for the first time seemed sensible that something was wanting to their happiness. I almost reproached myself for what I had done. On going away I gave the father your address; and as God shall prosper you, my brother, should they ever find their way to your door, I would have you recollect that they treated me kindly in the mountains of Wales.

From Dolwyddellan, I went, through a succession of interesting scenery, to the little village of Aber, which is a good place to halt at, for the purpose of ascending Penmanmuir. From this village I explored a little glen, deep and romantic, which leads to a famous fall, called *Maes-y-Gair*, or *Rhryadr Mawr*, I cannot say which, as my note is rather obscure. Here, to use the proper elevation of language, which all the tourists indulge, whenever they want to make a mountain of a molehill—here, the water, a small brook, rushing with indescribable velocity, foams and dashes over a tremendous slate rock, fifty feet high! I made a drawing of this, and some other great falls, with a scrupulous regard to the size and dimensions of objects, which I send with this letter. From these, which I assure you, are rather heightened than otherwise, you will perceive, how we in America are misled by the high-sounding superlative of tourists, and the unjustifiable hyperbole of picturesque pencils. The *Rhrydr Mawr* is what we call a pretty little cascade at home. During a dry season, I am told, it is apt to disappear entirely. The winter is the best time for visiting them, only nobody can get there in that season.

Near the village of Aber once stood a castle or palace of Llewellyn ap Gryffyd, Prince of Wales. Tradition has preserved the following tale connected with these ruins. At the siege of some place, Llewellyn took prisoner an English baron, of the name of *William de Breos*, or *de Bruce*, whom he carried home, and treated with great hospitality, insomuch, that a strong friendship grew up between them. Llewellyn's wife,

Joan Plantagenet, daughter of King John, from pitying the captive knight, who was said to be very accomplished and beautiful, realized the affinity between compassion and love, and finally carried on a clandestine intercourse with De Breos. The English knight was afterwards set free, but before Llewellyn had discovered the wrong he had done him. When, however, it came to his knowledge not long afterwards, he invited De Breos to pay him a visit, threw him into a dungeon, and afterwards hanged him at a short distance from the castle upon a little knoll, full in sight. He then drew Joan to the window, and in the words of the legend---

“ Lovely Princess,” said Llewellyn,
“ What will you give to see your William ?”
“ Wales and England and Llewellyn,
“ I'd freely give to see my William.”

Llewellyn, as might be expected, irritated at this answer, pointed out, with horrible satisfaction, the body of De Breos, hanging full in view. The lady did not expire at the sight, but lived several years afterwards with her husband, who, it seems, was satisfied with his revenge upon the lover. You must excuse me for troubling you with this stuff; but the fact is, there is little else to be told about these old castles, but tales of unprincipled love and outrageous revenge.

Nothing occurred worthy of record between Aber and Caernarvon, whither I next bent my way. This last is one of the finest towns in North Wales. It is surrounded by walls, which, together with the castle, were more entire than any I had observed in this country. The castle was built by Edward the First, and is admirably situated for “ curbing the Welsh,” as the phrase then was. In one of the small dark rooms was born Edward the Second, in consequence of the Queen being taken there to give the Welshmen a native Prince. He did them very little honour by his birth, for he was, beyond doubt, one of the most weak and worthless monarchs that ever reigned in England. The views of, and from this castle, are highly picturesque and beautiful; and its preservation, for more than five hundred years, gives it a degree of sublimity approaching to the idea of perpetual duration.

Near to Caernarvon are the remains of the ancient Segontium, a Roman station; and parts of a Roman road are still to be traced in the vicinity. The road to Beddgelert passes through it. There are also the vestiges of a Roman fort, consisting of walls of great thickness, and perhaps ten feet high. Here I had the satisfaction of seeing, that the Romans built stone walls in Wales exactly as we do in America, and as they

did in Italy, by laying one stone upon another. You see, brother, one learns something by travelling. It is said, however, that they used boiling water for cement, which is, undoubtedly, one great reason of the durability of their works. The mortar, being thus in a sort of liquid state, insinuated itself into every vacancy between the stones, and formed a solid wall. In the walls of this fort are a number of round holes, about three inches in diameter, and passing quite through. These holes have puzzled the antiquaries very much, and given occasion to various conjectures. If it might be permitted me to make a yankee *guess*, I would say, they were left there to look through, as occasion required, at the enemy, or any thing else. From the eminences in the neighbourhood of Caernarvon, are seen the Isle of Anglesea, and a great variety of mountain peaks ranged along for a considerable distance. The view of Anglesea was quite inviting, and almost tempted me to cross the ferry. Other considerations, however, prevented me, and I passed into what is called, by the picturesque tourists, the wonders of Snowdonia. The mention of this mountain reminds me of an omission, in not telling you, that from Conway I ascended to the summit of *Penmanmuir*, which rises fourteen hundred feet, almost perpendicular, from the sea. It was the only place that at all realized the magnificent descriptions of the tourists, that I had yet seen in Wales. A walled road passes close around the edge of this tremendous ocean barrier; and the boundless prospect, as well as the sublime precipice, caused a glowing fluttering of the heart, partaking of elevation and apprehension combined. This place is all simplicity and sublimity. There are but three ingredients, all purely grand—the sky, the ocean, and the tremendous precipice. It is beyond doubt the noblest spot in all England, and makes an impression never to be forgotten.

I contented myself with viewing Snowdon from Beddgelert, from whence it makes rather a striking appearance, presenting a high peak, generally, however, encircled with vapours. Indeed, this is the region of humidity; and nine times in ten a traveller ascending the mountain gets wet in going up, and when he gains the summit, can see nothing but a Welsh mist, equal in obscurity to a genuine Welsh pedigree. I therefore turned my back on Snowdon, who very modestly retired behind his veil of vapours, and did not appear again the whole day. This region, which is called Snowdonia, is composed of subsidiary hills, lying about the base of Snowdon, and constituting properly the different steps in the ascent to that mountain, although there are valleys between. It is a wild and dreary region, with scarcely a vestige of agriculture, and pre-

senting nothing but the most harsh and savage features of nature. But I must caution you once more against the superlative phraseology of the tourists, when speaking of these places. They set out from London, where perhaps they have lived all their lives, without seeing a hill higher than Hampstead or Highgate, or any object of nature more sublime than the Thames and Rosamond's Pond, and coming into Wales, are fully assured that every thing they behold is on a scale of immensity, because it exceeds all they have ever seen before. I assure you, brother, I have not half the opinion of Welsh scenery that I had, when reading tours and looking at pictures of Llangollen, &c. by your fire-side in America. The mountains of Switzerland present objects on a far greater scale; and nothing I have yet seen, in England or Wales, can rival the scenery of the Rhine and its neighbourhood for sublimity and beauty combined. All England can produce nothing to compare with the *Rhinégau*, any more than all England can produce such wine.

Still you are not to understand me to mean, that the Welsh scenery is not very pretty, very respectable indeed, in point of variety at least. By one, who has never been out of England, it will undoubtedly be considered wonderful and unequalled. It is under this impression that the tourists have deceived themselves and their readers, by adopting the superlative, when they should modestly have confined themselves to the positive, and not even ventured upon the comparative. Excepting the pass of *Pennanmuir*, the higher class of sublimity is no where to be seen in Wales. For my part, it was neither the mountains, the rivers, the cataracts, nor the magnitude, indeed, of any particular feature of nature that struck me. It was the beautiful, romantic, and solitary little vales, deeply embosomed in the mountains—the softer and more latent beauties, that caught my heart, and awakened the rural feeling in its highest state. Such scenery abounds in Wales, and to those who have a taste for it, few countries present more frequent or more entire gratification.

The view of the vale of Festiniog, on emerging from the defiles among the ruins and rugged tributaries of Snowdon, was of this character, and carried with it also the charm of novelty, as well as the sight of a comfortable looking little inn, to a weary and hungry traveller. This last is a prospect in which all true lovers of the picturesque delight.

LETTER XI.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

THE vale of Festiniog or Maentwrog is well cultivated, and abounds in rural beauties, the very seat of musing and tranquillity. It is all wild mountains without, and all gentleness within. The little village of Festiniog lies somewhat elevated above the surrounding fields, and at the foot of the mountains. Near it are the pretty falls of Cynfael, separated by a distance of about half a quarter of a mile, and the principal pitch about forty feet high. Below this, the water, being confined in a narrow pass of rocks, rushes along with considerable velocity, exhibiting altogether a picturesque and romantic spectacle. There is a singular rock rising out of the bed of the river like a column, and is called Hugh Lloyd's pulpit.

This little vale, which is only about three miles long, and a mile wide, is intersected by a rivulet, called the river Dwyrid, on either side skirted with meadows, succeeded by cultivated fields along the sides of the hills, which, in many places, are covered with wood. At either end are high mountains, shutting out this little sequestered spot from all but the skies. The tide, at the bottom of the vale, flows in from the sea, which is just distinguished through the opening, as you pass between the mountains. It is indeed a beautiful scene; presenting, on every side, a combination of objects, associated with all that is gay, innocent, and happy, in the lot of man. I must not omit to mention that there is an inn here, called *Tan-y-Bwlch*, which is reprobated by all the picturesque travellers, and particularly those who journeyed on foot. Each of these has had a fling at the poor host, who, like Fielding's landlady, is not really an ill-natured person, but he loves money so well, that he hates every thing like poverty. There are two ways of quieting Englishmen, particularly English landlords. One by the jingling of money, the other by the jingling of bells. Either of these will calm the roarings of the stoutest John Bull. But among all the triumphs of gold, that of winning civility from an English innkeeper, is certainly the greatest. It is conquering both nature and habit at a blow.

Passing the southern barrier of the valley, I took a farewell look at its beauties. The road now carried me for miles over mountains, which afforded views of great extent and variety, and comprehended the summit of Snowdon, which seems to have as many heads as Hydra; for one cannot look, it would seem, in any direction, without seeing Snowdon, or at least the

clouds that hide his top. Passing a miserable village, inhabited by a miserable people, I gradually descended again into a valley, abounding in wood, the road through which leads to the famous cascade of Dollymyllan, formed by a brook called the Gam-lan, which foams and dashes terribly in the accounts of the tourists, but is really no more than the ordinary mountain torrents that our country presents to every traveller, who has leisure and taste to admire them.

After visiting two other little cascades, the Cayne and Moth-waye, which are really worth going a couple of miles to see, and passing through a track abounding in striking features, I gradually descended, along the rocky and almost sublime shelving bank of the Mawdoch, to Dolgelly, the poor capital of Merionethshire. There was very little here to eat, but a great deal to see; poverty, the bane of happiness, is here—I mean beggarly poverty—want. The town lies at the base of *Cader Idris*, which rises almost perpendicularly, presenting a broken rocky face, of uncommon grimness and savage majesty. It is only about twenty-eight hundred feet high; but its abruptness, and, above all, its detached position, distinct from any other range, gives it an air of great majesty. Indeed, it may be remarked, that the Welsh scenery, particularly mountains, derives most of its effect from its abrupt transitions, and the frequent occurrence of hills and rocks that are nearly perpendicular. A precipice, or very steep mountain, approaches more near to the sublime, than a mass of rocks, or a full-swellling hill of thrice their altitude. Another feature, which undoubtedly contributes to render the Welsh mountains more striking, though far less beautiful, is their general barrenness. Destitute almost entirely of trees, they present a grim and terrible aspect; and I was perpetually struck with the contrast between them and our native hills, the fine foliage of whose trees, extending quite to the summit, gives them a fleecy softness, a feathery outline, peculiar to themselves. Nothing indeed can be more enchantingly beautiful, than a view of the grey rocks, and variegated foliage of one of our mountains through the pure transparent atmosphere of an early October morning.

The fiend, who presides over the picturesque in these regions, tempted me to the ascent of *Cader Idris*. Accordingly, invited by a fine morning of most promising aspect, I proceeded to the house of an honest, but exceedingly poor publican, situated just at the point for beginning this mighty task. I chosen path gullied out by a little torrent, which, during rains, leaps from rock to rock, through a deep winding way, from the summit to the vale below, stopping, as it were, to rest after

each leap, in little transparent crystal basins, formed by its perpetual action. *Hic labor, hoc opus est*, quoth I, as I toiled and climbed upwards, the ascent growing more and more difficult as I approached the summit. Nevertheless, the anticipated prospect supported my strength, and renovated my spirits. But the picturesque d—l, or, more politely, fiend, brownie, or goblin, played me a trick after all; for, just about the time I was toiling in the ravine, the vapours were gathering at the top; and a shower of rain hailed my emerging to the light of day. I got a wet jacket, and missed a prospect of two hundred miles in circuit. Cader Idris tempted me, however, and I fell into a great shower, which not only spoiled my picturesque hunting coat, but hid all the prospect in dense mists. When I came down I took out my book to see what I might have seen, if it had pleased heaven, and was consoled to find that several tourists, besides myself, had got a wet skin in ascending the mountain, and had, like me, come down as wise as they went up.

I shook the mud from my feet, as did the trees of Orpheus from their roots, when that divine fiddler set them a dancing, and turning my back to this uncourtly, inhospitable mountain, proceeded to the junction of the Mawdoch with the Avon. The ride from Dolgelly, along one of the most extraordinary roads in Wales for art and labour, is singularly fine, presenting a bold and variegated scenery, particularly on the north. After the junction of the two rivers, the expanse of water becomes very broad, at full tide especially, when it appears like a broad lake encompassed with high and irregular mountains. At low water it looks, if the truth must be told, very like a great marsh, with a creek meandering through the mud thereof. At the outlet of this lake is Barmouth, which is frequented by the Welsh gentry for the purpose of sea-bathing. Barmouth is called the Gibraltar of Wales. It is placed on a high rock, 'tis true, but it is not Gibraltar. The town is mean, incommodious, and difficult of access, presenting, on the whole, nearly all the inconveniences which form the principal attraction of watering places.

Returning to Dolgelly, I followed the course of the Avon—not Shakespeare's Avon—through a well-cultivated region, enclosed by high hills, dividing the basins of those streams that water the two divisions of Merionethshire. This brought me at length to the great Bala, Lyn-Tegid, or Pimble-Mere, the largest lake in North Wales. It has little remarkable about it, and the greatest wonder is, that being so small, it should be the greatest in all this country. It is estimated at from four to six miles long, and one mile broad. I forgot, however—

there is a wonder about this lake. The river Dee, which rises near the head of the lake, is affirmed, by Giraldus Cambrensis, to pass quite from one end to the other, through this "immense" body of water, as it is called, without mingling its waters with those of Bala. It is quite amusing to read the accounts of terrible dangers, of inundations, and the like, which have frequently befallen the unfortunate people there, from the immense swells, occasioned by the storms, upon this immense body of water of one mile wide! I had heard of a puddle in a storm before I came to Wales. I made an excursion round the lake, but saw nothing remarkable, except the vestiges of an overflow of the river, of which my guide gave me a terrible account, concluding with the catastrophe of ten cows that were carried away.

Leaving the little town of Bala, I reached the river Dee, and came to the little town of Corwen, remarkable for a most ferocious and gigantic likeness of the great Owen Glendower, who is the hero of every impossible feat, or miraculous appearance in this his chosen retreat. I hope, for the credit of Owen, the likeness is not a good one. There is the impression of a dagger in a stone, which he made by throwing it away in a passion. This forms part of a door-way, made on purpose for him, when he one day took it into his head, it seems, to go to church, a rare event commemorated by this door. Nobody must doubt these stories, for all Wales would rise to resent it, and the very echoes turn into growls of disapprobation. From Corwen, I again passed along the banks of the Dee, by a charming road to Llangollan, having thus returned to the spot, from whence I commenced my tour.

The peculiar characteristics, by which the Welsh were formerly distinguished, are fast wearing away. Subjugation to English rulers, and submission to English taxes, have altered their very nature, and little of the high-spirited independence of the followers of Llewellyn now remains. Excessive poverty, when it begets an abject dependence upon public or private munificence, grinds away all prominent points of character, and almost uniformly produces a sycophant. I do not say, this is true of all the middle and lower orders in Wales; but there is enough of this to give a different aspect to the national character.

Yet there is plenty of every thing, and every thing is cheap among them. How is it then that this paradox of human misery exists in the midst of plenty? The land they till is not their own, my brother. They have the same rent to pay when their produce is cheap, as when it is dear, and, consequently, the plenty of a surplus produce, for which there is no demand

impoverishes them. Had they no rents nor taxes to pay, this profusion would be a blessing; now it operates in the other extreme, and is actually a misfortune. Lord Liverpool, the premier, not long since acknowledged the truth of this strange doctrine, when he ascribed a great portion of the miseries of this country to the abundant harvests, bestowed by the bounty of Providence. Thus it is, that this boasted system of British wisdom has produced the paradox of want in the midst of profusion. By its incessant cobbling and tinkering, and undertaking to divert the course of nature, as well as the eternal economy of Providence, this government has wrested the blessings of heaven from their usual and ordinary effects, converting benign seasons and plenteous harvests, and all the bounties of an indulgent Benefactor, into curses and maledictions. It cannot be that this is wisdom, that so mars and murders the mercies of God, and distorts the very redundancies of the harvest into famine and misery.

Of the land-proprietors, and higher orders in Wales, and their once renowned hospitality, I can say but little. You can get a dinner and a night's lodging of them sometimes, provided you bring a letter from a great man they wish to oblige; but it is not given to you—it is given to the great man. But that noble feeling of hospitality, which springs from a liberal heart and open hand; which is bestowed, not from vanity, ostentation, or interest, but from love to our fellow-creatures; that hospitality, which you and I, and every other reputable traveller, have shared liberally in our own country, is not to be found among the gentry of Wales or England.

LETTER XII.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

BIDDING adieu to North Wales, I again found myself at Shrewsbury, where, resuming my horses, I returned by a roundabout way through Staffordshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Leicester, Northampton, &c. to London.

Beyond all doubt, some of the farmers in the midland counties have brought agriculture to as high perfection as it was ever before carried. The vast labour and expense, applied to small farms and parcels of land, and that too with much judgment, generally resulted in the production of the greatest crops. While these crops met with a ready sale, and at a price affording a profit, this vast application of labour and expense brought with it a return of profit, and enriched the farmer. But it is

quite natural, that when the produce no longer repays the expenditure of labour, food, tithes, and taxes, there should be no longer any spur to enterprise or exertion. The improvement of the land, the labours of cultivation, and all the refinements of agriculture, which the common farmers practised with profit, because every additional bushel of wheat brought more or less of a clear gain—all these will be abandoned by degrees, when the fruits no longer repay the toil and expense.

My practice has been to make a short stay at the villages I passed through; to wander about, and look at the people in the fields, who, by dint of seeing me three or four times, would get over their strangeness, and often converse with me freely on their affairs. It is by frequently resorting to this practice, that I gained a knowledge of the depression of agriculture and its causes. No one knows where the shoe pinches, or the cause of its pinching, so well as he that wears it; the sufferer can best tell the sources of his grief. The noble trio that have produced the ruin of the tenantry of England, are rents, tithes, and taxes.

While a brisk market, a ready sale, prompt payment, and high prices offered themselves, the tenant did not so much mind the rent he paid, or the taxes levied upon him, both which, have been gradually increasing with the creation and magnitude of paper credit, paper currency, and national expenditures. But suddenly his market is glutted, prices fall, and rents and taxes continue the same, or become higher than they were. His situation may easily be conceived without the magic spectacles of political economy; he is impoverished and ruined. The very perfection to which he brought his system of farming adds to his misfortune, because it will not now repay him the interest of the labour and expense laid out upon it.

Under all these circumstances, you cannot wonder if the agricultural interest is in a state of great depression; that the people have no heart to labour, since neither industry nor economy can keep them from want. That must be a wretched country, where the two great virtues of the labouring class, industry and economy, cannot keep the wolf from the door. Such is the case with England. The tenantry find the produce of their fields decreasing in value, while their rents remain the same, and the taxes and poor rates are increasing. The consequence is, abject poverty among a large portion, and approaching poverty among the remainder.

I have never been among a people I pitied so much as this industrious, patriotic, abused, and deceived tenantry. No body of people on the face of the earth, or that ever were upon the face of the earth, have made such sacrifices for their coun-

try. They have patiently endured for years a system of taxation without example, and have freely given to their country all that they could spare, and more besides. They have worked, and watched, and starved for their country, and contributed to what they believed to be her safety or her glory, almost as many millions as they have given to their own comforts. They looked to the banishment of Napoleon and the re-establishment of peace, as the end of their sacrifices, and they found it but the beginning of their sufferings. They discovered, too late, that they had sacrificed their substance for a shadow, and riveted their own chains while they believed themselves breaking those of Europe.

Could they by any possibility be relieved from their burthens, and rise to a state of comparative competency, they would be, what they once were, worthy of being the ancestors of our countrymen. But such is not even to be hoped, without a revolution. The government cannot, if it would, diminish the taxes, and would not, if it could. The landlords make subscriptions and form societies for giving them charity; but they do not diminish their rents to any great extent, nor do the clergy relinquish a tittle of their tithes, either for the love of man or the love of heaven.

In comparing the situation of the manufacturing with that of the agricultural labourers, I found the balance against the former in every point of view. There is more misery, as well as vice and ignorance, among them. Their wages are actually and literally entirely insufficient to satisfy the wants of nature, where a man has a family to support. In many of the manufactories of Birmingham and Manchester, they labour only half the time, three days in the week, because there is not work for them, and this at one-third, and sometimes one-half less wages, than they received during the war. No one, that has not seen can conceive the squalid and miserable looks of these people, between the dirt and unwholesomeness of their employment, the ignorant worthlessness of their characters, and the shifts the poor creatures are obliged to resort to in order to exist. It is not to be wondered at, if in the madness of misery, and cast out as it were from a participation in the common benefits of society, they become turbulent, seditious, and dangerous. It is because they are hungry, and their children are starving, and not because they have read Thomas Paine or William Cobbett, that they are become radicals, as is the phrase of the day. Give them plenty to eat, and they will lie down as contentedly as a pig in the sty. Probably more than two-thirds of them cannot read; what absurdity then to suppose, or what hypocrisy rather to pretend to suppose, they are excited to acts of violence by books!

That you may the better understand the actual and fundamental causes of this depression in the agricultural interest, and be satisfied that poor-rates, tithes, taxes, and rents, and not a "superabundant harvest," are at the root of the evil, I will state to you some facts, which I neglected in the proper place. They will, however, come in well enough here, especially as they are entirely corroborated by testimony delivered to this very committee by agriculturists from different parts of the kingdom. In one of the counties, I was assured, that all agricultural produce had, within a given period, suffered a depression averaging thirty-five per cent. while the poor-rates in the same period had advanced seventy-five, and the taxes about seventy per cent. The poor-rates, in other counties, in many cases, amount to an assessment of from twelve to fifteen or sixteen shillings an acre per annum. In another place I was told by farmers, hard at work even in the midst of this hopeless state of things, that their actual losses upon the last year's crop amounted to as much as their whole rental. In other places, such is the depression of the tenantry, that they have not been able to pay a shilling of rent from one to two years past, and the landlords have permitted them to remain, because no others would occupy them, even on condition of paying tithes, taxes, and poor-rates, and living rent free. In other places, warrants of distress for rent have been issued to four times the number ever known before, in the same period of time; and the shopkeepers have gone so far in some cases, as to enter into combinations not to trust the farmers, from a conviction of their total inability to pay. When I asked these unfortunate people, what possible modification of things would relieve them, the answer invariably was, "*relief from tithes and taxes.*" All agreed, that it would be impossible to go on much longer, unless these were reduced at least one-third. This is impracticable without a reduction of the expenditures of the government, and the interest of the national debt. As to tithes, the clergy might be brought to relinquish these, under a discipline similar to that King John exercised upon the rich Jew. Every way, therefore, it seems to me, that any salutary, permanent change in the situation of the English tenantry is hopeless, from any voluntary reduction of their burthens either by the government or the church. They must either be content to accept from the rich that charity which is exercised at the expence of their own labours; or emigrate; or boldly demand, that they be permitted to share in the blessings of that government, for the support of which they pay so dearly.

Such is the wretched state to which Mr. Pitt's policy; his system of funding, borrowing, and wasting, has brought Old

England, the favourite of philosophy and song. All the mystery consists in relieving one class at the expence of another ; bleeding until the patient is near fainting, and then filching a smelling bottle from his neighbour's pocket, to afford him a temporary resuscitation. It is thus that the present ministry supports itself, by playing off alternately the wants of the poor against the fears of the rich ; arraying them from time to time in opposition to each other, and holding the balance of victory in its own hands. Should this income tax be laid, the consequences are pretty obvious. The landlords, who have been duped into the support of every arbitrary measure of late, and thus entirely lost the affections of the poor, will be unable to make head against ministers ; while the tenantry will very probably laugh in their sleeves, and support the very ministry they have been accustomed to denounce and revile. Had the landlords made common cause with the tenants, they could have done what they pleased ; but they were frightened at the " Spencerean system," and will ere long feel the consequences. They will have the privilege of being next devoured.

LETTER XIII.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

THAT the present age is in rapid progress to something nearly allied to fanaticism on one hand, and infidelity on the other, is, I think, pretty evident from various indications ; and it is equally clear, that the origin of this may be traced to political causes, which have in truth exercised in all ages a vast influence over religion. The kingdoms of Europe were all pretty much in the same situation. The church and state were every where combined, and mutually supported each other's prerogatives. The French Revolution, which shook these thrones, shook with them the pillars of the established churches, I mean those churches which shared with the kings and their nobility a great portion of the wealth of nations. Connected thus by the strong tie of mutual interest, it is therefore obvious, that the ancient political and the ancient ecclesiastical establishments would make common cause against the claims and rights of the people. Their mutual fears would also operate still more to cement this bond of union, and the alliance for mutual defence. The example of this alliance in France was followed by the different states of Europe, whose similarity of situation dictated the same measures, and thus happened the wonderful

coincidence of all the monarchs of that quarter, together with the princes and nobles becoming all at once extremely pious ; that is to say, so far as the support of a hierarchy was essential to their interests, and so far as the possession of piety did not carry with it the necessity of practising what they professed. In fact, there seems to have been a compromise, by which the faith of the monarch was to be accepted in lieu of all good works, except the good work of repressing those throes of misery among the nations, which sometimes came near to shake the throne and the hierarchy.

Two effects resulted from this cunning conspiracy. All those, who supported the throne and the *established church*, which last at length became synonymous with religion itself, were friends of order and religion as a matter of course. On the contrary, those who thought that causes, which have been gaining strength for centuries past, had accumulated to such a degree as to render some alterations in the old systems of governments necessary to the welfare of mankind, were stigmatized as enemies to the true faith, as hostile to religion itself. In short, despotism became order, and an established church, with exclusive privileges, religion. To question the claims of the one was treason ; of the other, infidelity.

In the natural course of things, these excellent synonyms found their way into our country. The two great parties, for and against the Revolution of France, in the United States, adopted, in a great measure, the cant which prevailed abroad, and opposed each other on the same grounds, though we had happily no privileged church nor privileged orders. Still, one party did not hesitate to stigmatize the other with being deficient in an orthodoxy, of which there was no standard among them ; while the other maintained, with a greater appearance of reason, that there was no connexion between religion itself and a church with exclusive privileges, but what was arbitrary and injurious to the best interests of piety and morality. Thus the connexion between democracy and heterodoxy became naturalized among the opposers of the French Revolution in the United States. In horrible imitation of their prototypes abroad, a vast many people became advocates and converts of that "legitimate party," which disdains an alliance with moral principles, and can reconcile a breach of the moral duties with the sincerest devotion and the truest faith. Hypocrisy, however, has generally a number of sincere followers ; and a simulated piety adopted, merely from political and interested motives, by the great, has produced, among a large portion of the lower orders, a species of fanaticism, which seems to be spreading over the face of the earth. The advocates of

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political freedom, in their solicitude to avoid the imputation of being without religion, because they do not adhere to an established church, seem determined to go even beyond legitimacy in the race of fiery zeal ; so that it is probable, before long, we shall have nothing but fanatics and infidels, and that rational religion will no longer be found among the nations of Europe, or the people of the United States.

You have no doubt heard of the million of pounds sterling, appropriated some two or three years since, at the recommendation of his present majesty, who is a great example of morals and religion, for the building of one hundred new churches in and about London. This was advertised and puffed to the uttermost corners of the earth, as if the Regent had himself bestowed this million from his own privy purse. No such thing, I assure you. It was a million extra, not drawn from his own pocket, but from the pockets of the people. What rendered this appropriation still less praiseworthy, was the fact to which every man in this city can bear witness, that the episcopal churches already built are amply sufficient for all the purposes of public worship. The dissenting chapels and methodist tabernacles are indeed generally crowded ; but the places of worship belonging to the established church are, I repeat again, never filled, except on some extraordinary occasion. It is true, that the present churches in this city are not sufficient to hold the whole population of London, should they all attend public worship at one and the same time, a thing that never did nor ever can happen.

If a stranger wishes to see how the people of fashion spend their Sunday mornings, that is to say, from two till five in the afternoon, he should go to Hyde Park. Here he will see Corinthians, fine ladies, and sons of aspiring cits, galloping, galloping, galloping ; and trotting, trotting, trotting, in one eternal " never-ending and still beginning " circle, admiring themselves and envying each other. The great pleasure arising from this pretty variety of round and round, seems to be the stupid admiration of the commonalty, who stare at these great ones, and decide upon the claims of each rider, horse, and equipage. It is impossible to describe the vast variety of extravagance exhibited on these occasions, or the whimsical diversity of riders and equipages. This exhibition of valery continues, till it is time to go home and dress for dinner, to a good appetite for which, half the lives of the young Corinthians are devoted.

To conclude: most of the superiority of this country in religion will be found to originate in newspaper advertisements and missionary magazines, speeches in parliament, and declara-

tion. If we try it by any other standard, it will be found entirely unsupported. If we look to morals as a criterion of religion, and to crimes as a test of morals, there is no foundation for this claim. If we look to other outward indications, such as a respect for public decorum; an observance of the Sabbath; a friendly regard to other nations; or a general benevolence, indicated by a habit of speaking of them with temper and decorum; a desire of preserving peace and good will with their neighbours on the continent, or the distant people of the other quarters of the globe—there is still less foundation for this boast. Her practice has never been to speak well of other nations. Her wars, for the last hundred years, have been more frequent than those of any other country. In every quarter of the globe she has warred against the human race, through the impulses of ambition and avarice. Asia, Africa, and America, can tell of her oppressions; and if she thinks she can make amends to them, or deceive the world, by sending missionaries and Bibles to pave the way for a still greater extension of trade and empire, I think she is mistaken. The veil is dropping lower and lower every day, and the physiognomy of the hypocrite becoming more visible to the eyes of the world.

LETTER XIV.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

THOMAS PAINE, although his “Age of Reason” was answered and refuted so completely in this country, is still, though dead, an object against which the fears of this government are strongly directed. To buy and read his book is considered an overt act of disaffection, if not treason; and to sell it, subjects a bookseller to a prosecution, although he may vend the works of Tindal, Bolingbroke, Hume, Gibbon, Swift, Rabelais, and Voltaire, in perfect security. This the most orthodox booksellers do without scruple; and what is more, the most orthodox of the clergy and nobility buy them with as little. It is true, that Paine has treated the religion of our fathers with indecent sourrility; whereas most of those who previously attacked it, preserved an air of respect, which only made their efforts the more dangerous. This is not, however, the case with Tindal, Woolston, Swift, Rabelais, and Voltaire, whose works, as I observed before, are still vended by the trade, who, as there is no law to the contrary, settle the point of conscience quietly among themselves.

Not long ago, I alarmed the shopman of a worthy bookseller, by inquiring for a copy of Paine's works. This honest fellow has lived so much among books, that he resembles an exceedingly old edition of a man by Caxton or Wynkyn de Worde. In reply to my question, he pursed up his mouth into an excruciating vinegar expression, and assured me they never kept any such vile trash in the store. I believe I have almost lost his good opinion, for he eyes me ever since with a look of suspicion, and I begin to believe takes me for a confirmed radical.

This worthy and well-meaning man, however, on my inquiring for Voltaire and the rest, very courteously handed me a quarto of Tindal, from which he brushed the dust with an air of great devotion, being one of those excellent scholars who actually worship a great book. What I mean to infer from this toleration of other deistical works, and this inveterate persecution of Paine, is simply, that a regard to the interests of religion has nothing to do with the matter. I am no advocate or defender of Paine's theological opinions. Though I look upon him as one of the most clear and able advocates of human rights, I certainly have no respect whatever for his religion or morality. By his attacks on the Bible, he has not only meditated a great injury to the welfare and happiness of mankind here and hereafter, but he has likewise vitally injured the interests of human freedom, by affording its enemies a pretext to couple it with infidelity. Because the same writer happened to advocate the rights of man, and question the authority of the Scriptures, occasion has been taken to establish a sort of affinity between the unbeliever and the republican, which would probably never have been thought of, had it not been that the example of Paine afforded a pretext for this preposterous association. For this reason, I am apt to think him one of the worst enemies to liberty; and that, so far as his influence extends, he has actually retarded the progress of freedom more than all the efforts of the Holy Alliance.

But though the pretence set up by the ministry, the beneficed clergy, and indeed all those orthodox people here, who enjoy more than their share of the good things of this life, for persecuting Paine and his opinions, is that of religion; yet nothing is clearer to my mind, than that his political opinions are almost exclusively the objects of their apprehension and hostility. If he had only maintained the divine right of kings, I believe he might have questioned any other divine right with impunity. As it was, he afforded, by his religious, a pretext for prohibiting the circulation of his political opinions; and although his morals were quite equal, I am inclined to think, to most of the

kings and princes of this age, he left behind him a reputation which has deprived his opinions of a great portion of their weight and authority. His *Age of Reason* has been triumphantly refuted by men who were made bishops for their good service: yet such are the apprehensions still entertained by the good ministry and Church of England, that though his book has been thus entirely subdued, they have actually outlawed its disarmed heresies, and made it penal to print or to read "this flippant, nonsensical, and dangerous blasphemy." Nothing, my dear brother, so strongly indicates the weakness of a government as the fear of a book. It is a sign of a presumptuous habit in any system, religious or political, when it shrinks from the battery of truth, much more when it is afraid even of the sapping of falsehood. When a single volume, a single newspaper, or a single individual becomes an object of royal, ministerial, noble, or clerical apprehension, it would seem to indicate, that the edifice which thus trembles at every blast, is destitute of a proper basis of truth or utility, to sustain it against reason, ridicule, or declamation.

In witnessing thus the whole force of the government applied to the suppression of a single book, one might be tempted to suppose, that Thomas Paine was the first English writer who ventured to question the authority of the Bible, and the truth of revealed religion; or, at all events, that the present king was the only pious monarch, and the present ministers the only pious ministers, this country has been blessed with since the days of lord Herbert of Cherbury. He was one of the bravest, most gallant, and accomplished persons of the seventeenth century, a courtier and scholar combined. He has written his own life with a degree of candour and openness, which seems to prove him incapable of deceit or falsehood, and from which it appears that he was somewhat spoiled by the admiration of the ladies, with whom he was a great favourite, on account of his wit, gallantry, and great personal beauty. Lord Herbert was every where celebrated for his generosity and magnanimity; nor can it be denied that he carried the point of honour to a pitch that might almost be called fantastical. He filled several offices about the court of England, and was ambassador at the court of France for some time. Here he first printed his work, "*De Veritate prout distinguitur a Revelatione.*" This tract is a vindication of natural religion, which he maintains to be in itself perfect without the aid of revelation. That he might clearly understand whether his work was agreeable to Heaven, he adopted the following method of consulting its will previous to the publication. "I took," he says, "my book '*De Veritate*' in my hand, and kneeling on my knees,

devoutly said these words, 'O thou eternal God, author of the light that now shines on me, and giver of all inward illumination! I do beseech thee, of thy infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than I, a sinner, ought to make. I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book *De Veritate*; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from Heaven; if not, I will suppress it.' I had no sooner spoke these words, than a loud, though gentle noise came from Heaven, (for it was like nothing on earth,) which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign demanded."

Thomas Hobbes was one of the most learned and scientific men of his age, and among the most acute reasoners, although entirely worsted in a mathematical controversy with the famous Dr. Wallis. He was a person of great purity and simplicity of character, and held with Socrates, that a man was bound to conform to the religion established by government. Hobbes traces religion to a fear of invisible powers, and an ignorance of second causes, which ascribes natural or accidental appearances to supernatural power. Inspiration, he affirms, is a sign of madness; the immortality of the soul, and a belief in a future state, as hearsay; and the distinction between soul and body, as a modern branch from the old root of Grecian demonology; that the truth of the scriptures rests altogether upon the decisions of councils and the will of magistrates, who are the interpreters in authority, whose dicta must be obeyed. He also maintained, that a subject might conscientiously comply with the will of his sovereign, acting as God's vicegerent, even to the denying of Christ in words, while he cherished him in his heart. It was this courtly doctrine of the king's supremacy, that probably procured him the patronage of King Charles, who settled a pension upon him. He also was all his lifetime patronised by the Earl of Devonshire, at whose house he died in the year 1679. Unluckily, however, he was not a democrat, and therefore affords no support to the prevailing theory of the inflexible affinity between freedom in politics and free opinions in religion.

Lord Shaftesbury was a cotemporary of Hobbes, but not, like him, an advocate for the divine right of kings, being a steady opposer of arbitrary power, although by no means a republican. He wrote the famous "Characteristics," and was justly esteemed one of the most elegant scholars and well read persons of the age. His style of writing, though condemned by Blair, has been much admired by fine judges. Though Lord Shaftesbury, in his dialogue of "the Moralists," most eloquently supports the doctrines of a Deity and superintending

Providence; yet he is never solicitous to hide his doubts respecting the divinity of Christ. Hence he must be classed with those, who, like Paine, have been the opponents of religion, according to the opinions of orthodox writers, although in other respects an advocate of virtue, and an enemy to arbitrary power. For this last reason, while Hobbes was pensioned, Shaftesbury lost his place of vice-admiral of Dorsetshire, and continued out of favour with queen Anne.

Bolingbroke, the cotemporary of Pope and Swift, and one of the finest English writers, imitated by Burke, and praised by all the wits of his time, also wrote against revealed religion. After the publication of his tracts, the grand jury of Westminster presented them as calculated to subvert religion, morality, and government. They have, however, continued to be publicly vended in this country ever since; and have met their antidote, as all such writings should do, not in the persecution of their author, or the proscription of his book, but in able and satisfactory refutations. Bolingbroke's opinions on religious subjects were undoubtedly known during his life, for he was not a man to keep them secret; yet he was secretary of state to queen Anne, and owed his subsequent disgrace and attainder, not to his religious, but his political opinions. His favourite doctrine was, that atheists were much less dangerous than divines. How came he to escape being burnt?

Matthew Tindal was another bold and bitter enemy to christianity, cotemporary with Bolingbroke. He was the son of a clergyman, and a doctor of laws at Oxford. He turned catholic at the instance of some Roman missionaries, but afterwards returned to the Church of England. He wrote a book called "The rights of the Christian Church vindicated," &c. which waked up the high church clergy, who would go to sleep at their fat stalls, if it were not for a blast of heterodoxy to awaken them now and then. Tindal was furiously assailed as a deist, and his publishers indicted. He afterwards published a defence of this work, which was ordered by the house of commons to be burnt by the common hangman, in the same fire with Sacheverell's sermons. Like many other men, Tindal, finding himself persecuted on suspicion of heterodoxy, was spurred on by a sense of injury, and injustice perhaps, to direct opposition. He accordingly wrote a book, called "Christianity as old as the Creation;" in which he boldly and directly maintained the broadest principles of natural religion, and denied all external revelation. But his politics, as usual, atoned for his heterodoxy; being a staunch advocate of the Hanoverian succession, he enjoyed a pension of two hundred sterling a year from George the First.

Toland, author of "Christianity not mysterious," the "Panthæisticon," and other works, was a haughty, bold spirit, exasperated by opposition into open and violent assaults on christianity. Being prosecuted in Ireland for his first work, he threw aside disguise, and afterwards came to England, where he published the others, which contain the most undisguised attacks. But though prosecuted in Ireland for the most moderate of his productions, he remained unmolested in England for the most violent of them all, and neither suffered in person nor property, although heterodox in the extreme. He was accused of dying with a blasphemous prayer in his mouth, beginning with "Omnipotens et sempiternæ Bacche," &c. But this is probably a calumny, as the prayer, according to Voltaire, was composed two centuries before, for a society of tipplers. He died with perfect composure, saying, "I am going to sleep."

Anthony Collins, author of "A Discourse on Free-thinking," "A Discourse of the grounds and reasons of the Christian Religion," and various other controversial works, was a man of extraordinary ability, as well as great private and public virtues; but he was one of the most dangerous enemies to orthodoxy that ever lived, not excepting David Hume, whom he resembled in many respects. Instead of being persecuted for his opinions, he successively enjoyed the most honourable public offices, such as deputy lord-lieutenant of Essex, and treasurer of that county. On his death-bed he appealed to his Maker for the purity of his intentions in all his writings. He was a friend and correspondent of Mr. Locke, who had a great regard for him, and his most bitter adversaries always treated him with respect. They thought it better, perhaps, to take the trouble of refuting him by their learning, than to resort to the more easy and expeditious method of the modern Church of England, clamour and persecution.

Thomas Woolston was a cotemporary with Collins, and mingled in the controversy with him and Dr. Clarke, who, perhaps, of all the champions of orthodoxy, was the most able, learned, and tolerant. He refuted Woolston, and interfered for his release when imprisoned for a fine which he could not pay, condemning every species of religious persecution. Woolston was, in the latter part of his life, reputed mad by his opponents, and yet, at the same time was prosecuted by the attorney-general for his heresies; for it happened, unluckily for him, that his opinions coincided with neither party, being far more extravagant than those of lord Herbert, or any of his successors. He belonged to no faction, and was persecuted by one, without being protected by the other. His moral cha-

teacher was, however, without reproach; and his last words were, "This is a struggle which all men must go through, and which I bear not only patiently but willingly;" certainly neither the words of a madman nor unbeliever. Woolston was offered his freedom from prison, if he would promise to refrain from the further publication of his opinions. This he refused, and it is said that he died in jail, although from the best authority, and the testimony of eye-witnesses, it appears that he obtained his liberty, and died peaceably at his own house. He maintained that the miracles of our Saviour were all allegorical, and attempted to explain their mystical sense. Such was the demand for his discourses against the miracles, that three editions, of ten thousand copies each, were sold by himself at his own house in a very short time.

Thomas Chubb was a person of extraordinary natural abilities, which he managed greatly to improve by study, although successively engaged as apprentice to a glover, and assistant to a tallow-chandler. His first work was published in conjunction with the celebrated Whiston, who, together with Pope and many other persons, admired his talents greatly. He was in truth, a philosopher of nature's forming. In his book, entitled "The Supremacy of the Father asserted," &c. his object was to prove the Son a being of inferior order to the Father. It engaged him, eventually, in a whole life of controversy, though he escaped legal prosecution and clerical persecution. Being charged with hostility to revealed religion, he proceeded to justify himself; and, as often happens, in the zeal to defend himself, advanced into the very errors with which he was charged; he at length came to the point, and placed the Saviour in the highest rank of teachers and moralists, such as Socrates and Confucius. He was a man of great purity and simplicity of character, and so disinterested, that he refused to accept any addition to his income, which was already equal to his wants. The famous Dr. Clarke, the two Hoadleys, the bishop and Dr. John, although they rejected and opposed his theory, bore testimony to his ability and virtues: but it must be remembered, this was before it became orthodox to take away a man's character for disagreeing in opinion. Chubb, however, like many others of his class, is now known principally through the writings of his adversaries, and has more reputation than readers.

But of all those writers who attacked religion under many masks, and in various ways, there is none who took such liberties, and broke so many severe jests as Swift, a beneficed clergyman of the Church of England. His "Tale of a Tub" is one of the bitterest satires ever written; nor do I believe any works now

extant, not even excepting those of Rabelais and Paine, so well calculated to weaken our respect and reverence for the scriptures. He possessed an admirable vein of humour, with an invention that supplied him with all sorts of incidents in which to display it; and having chosen the vehicle of a romance, has had more readers than all the preceding catalogue of writers put together. By placing the pulpit side by side with the gallows and mountebank's stage, as theatres for the display of eloquence, he did what would in preceding ages have cost him his life. Yet he escaped persecution, and was rewarded with a rich benefice. His only punishment was not obtaining an English bishopric. The matter is easily explained; he was the partisan of ministers, and the advocate of tory principles.—This merit atoned for his having soused the christian religion all over with ridicule. But I forget—he had another merit; he made the catholic more ridiculous than any other, which procured him toleration from the protestant divines.

It is not generally known, nor is it mentioned, that I recollect, by any of his biographers, that Swift borrowed the idea of his "Tale of a Tub" from an eastern story of considerable antiquity, called "The Three Rings." An old man, having three sons, leaves each one at his death a ring: they fall together by the ears about which is entitled to the handsomest. After long debates and furious contentions, they make the discovery that the three rings are all perfectly alike. The father signifies Theism, and the three sons typify Judaism, Christianity, and Mahomedanism. The three coats of Peter, Martin, and Jack, and the three rings, suggest nearly the same ideas, and the resemblance in the plans is certainly not accidental.

During the eighteenth century, England appears to have produced no other writers against orthodoxy of particular note; except Hume, Gibbon, and Thomas Paine. The preceding century had exhausted the subject in a great degree, or perhaps few persons had the hardihood to resume a controversy, which not only ensured a life of contention, but a bad name after death. David Hume, however, the most cool and philosophical of Scotsmen, published, during the last century, his "Dialogues concerning Natural Religion," and "Essays on Suicide," which last contains those principles that have called forth the abuse and reproaches of thousands who have never read them, and know not what they contain. He was certainly a most sturdy heterodoxian; and though more temperate as well as decorous in his style and manner, aimed greater blows at religion and the immortality of the soul than Paine himself. But his History of England made amends for his

scepticism, by its orthodox precepts inculcating the divine right of kings. Hume became secretary to embassies and charge des affaires; received a pension from the king; was admired and respected by the first men of the age; and finally died like Socrates, leaving behind him one of the best characters on record.

Not long after the "Essays on Suicide," appeared the celebrated "History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," by Edward Gibbon. Gibbon had turned catholic when young, and was sent to a calvinist minister at Lausanne by his father, with a view of having him brought back to his mother church. The experiment was successful, and Gibbon abjured his errors. Two chapters of his great work gave offence to the ruling church here. In relating the progress of the christian religion, he ascribes much of its success to temporal influence; in short, he maintains that secondary causes had highly favoured the first establishment of the church. These chapters of Gibbon were made the pretext perhaps, for avenging the tales he has told of the profligacy of some of the early patrons of the church—the ridicule he has cast upon some of the most frivolous grounds of church divisions and ecclesiastical persecutions—and above all, the light he has thrown upon the creed of St. Athanasius. To these offences may be added the terrible liberties he has taken with the Reverend George of Cappadocia, tutelary saint of England. This worthy he proves to have been one of the most corrupt, unprincipled rogues of his time, by testimonials which are of unquestionable authority. St. George is, however, the patron of more orders of knighthood than any saint in the calendar, and figures as the tutelary of the most noble order of the garter, of which his excellent copyist, his present majesty, is grand master. He was assailed by many writers of the established church, and will descend to posterity as the enemy of true religion. But his politics were right orthodox; as a member of parliament, he voted with the ministry; as a political writer, he supported the principles of Mr. Burke in his "Reflections," and professed himself an enemy to every species of reform. Instead, therefore, of being fined, imprisoned, or outlawed, he was made a lord of trade, a profitable sinecure, and was a favourite of kings and their ministers all his life.

But it was otherwise with Thomas Paine, who was neither so profane as Tindal and Swift, nor so much of a sceptic as Hume and Collins. His "Rights of Man" rendered his "Age of Reason" unpardonable. Although the examples I have quoted, and the fact that all the other heterodox books continue to be

publicly sold, sufficiently justify the belief, that if he had abjured his politics, and supported the divine right of kings, with the same clearness and ability he did those of the people, he might have enjoyed his unbelief unmolested either by church or state. As I observed before, I have no great regard to the memory of this person, although his early writings were serviceable to our cause in the time of the revolutionary war. All that he ever wrote in favour of freedom, is insufficient to atone for the indecent and arrogant manner in which he questions the authority of Holy Writ; nor can all the clearness of his reasonings in support of human liberty, counterbalance the injury he has inflicted upon it, by giving its enemies a plausible pretext for connecting the progress of political freedom with the spreading of religious indifference, if not absolute unbelief.

In the present state of human intellect, the middling orders of people here, who see the works of those writers I have just enumerated publicly sold by the most orthodox booksellers, and publicly bought by the most orthodox people (bishops and all), naturally think they have a right to read these matters in books adapted to their taste and capacity. Like the gravedigger in Hamlet, they exclaim, "It is a shame, that great folks shall have countenance to drown or hang themselves, more than common christians." Accordingly, they claim the privilege of incurring the same risk as to the future, that their superiors so heedlessly encounter. The higher orders, on the contrary, seem to think that these books come under the class of luxuries, to which the other classes have no right to aspire. They are delicacies only calculated for the most refined palates, and must not be prostituted to the uses of the vulgar. While they do not hesitate to purchase and read the ribaldry of Rabelais and Swift, as well as the dangerous heresies of Collins and Hume, they prosecute the printers and purchasers of Paine, and sentence Mr. and Mrs. Carlile, Miss Mary Ann Carlile, and half-a-dozen more, to what, in fact, amounts to perpetual imprisonment, for selling a twopenny pamphlet. Of those guilty of these inconsistencies, what can we say, except that they must be either the greatest hypocrites on earth, or the most disinterested of human beings, since they heedlessly subject themselves to a danger which they punish others for daring to encounter? They had better be consistent, however, like the great Meccenas of Germany, who honestly confesses his motives, and has made abundance of regulations to prohibit the introduction of Voltaire, Hume, Gibbon, and various others whose works have ever since been not only more plenty, but also more read, in the empire, than they were before. This

was just what might have been foreseen by all persons gifted with the faculty of growing wise by experience.

As an abstract proposition, nobody ever denied that prosecution had any other effect, than to render opinion more obstinate in matters of religion.

“ For conscience is a thing you know,
Like to a mastiff dog ;
Which, if tied up, so fierce he'll grow,
He'll bite his very clog.”

And yet, no government of modern days but our own, ever acted upon this universal experience. On the contrary, they have ever proceeded upon the supposition, that they could do what no other had ever done before, and cemented by oppression, what, if let alone, would very probably have, in a few years, crumbled to pieces.

LETTER XV.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

MR. ———, who, in consequence of his extensive dealings with the United States, is sometimes partly civil to us Americans, amused me lately with an account of the anniversary dinner of the ——— Society, to which he is one of the subscribers, and which is honoured by having his Grace of ——— for its patron. The dinner was given at the Old London Tavern, where there is a capital cook, and the fare equal to any in the city. Indeed, Mr. ——— seemed, as I thought, rather to countenance a suspicion, that if it were not for the bond of good fellowship and good eating at these places, most of these societies would soon fall to the ground. The anniversary dinners are, he says, however, aided by the honour of an association with their Royal Highnesses, who patronize these societies by always coming to the dinners, and by the particular care always taken to record their proceedings, as well as the presence of their Royal Highnesses in the public papers. This dinner cost some three or four hundred guineas; and was so excellent, that, I am assured by Mr. ——— that the venison and iced Champagne so wrought upon several present, that they actually subscribed nearly the amount of the price of a ticket to the charitable fund. He likewise hinted, that there are not a few of these subscription-people, who thus unite charity and economy with the gratification of their appetites, and under cover of the first, escape the imputation of gluttony and hard drinking. By this you

are not to understand any imputation on the _____ of _____, Lord _____, or either of the R_____ D_____, who are extremely liberal in their attendance on the anniversary dinners. Not one of these, Mr. _____ assured me, indulged in any indecorum of speech, or extravagance in drinking, on this occasion; but whether this proceeded from a habit of temperance, or an untoward accident, which took place shortly after the cloth was removed, must be left in doubt.

You will understand, my dear brother, that no mission can be sent to India, no poor people relieved, nor any poor children put to a charity school, unless there be a good dinner, and plenty of wine consumed, as a sort of modern christian libation to the goddess of charity. So universal is this practice of eating and drinking for the benefit of the souls of the Brahmins, and the bodies of the English, that it is computed the consumption at these feasts would go a considerable way in relieving the poor of the nation. In no two places, I am told, do they keep up this classical mode of making libations more piously and charitably, than at the meetings of the _____ and the Society for the Suppression of Vice and Immorality, at which last they generally drink eighteen bumper toasts, to set a good example to tavern tipplers and the rising generation. In brief, nothing of this kind can be done without a good dinner, which is a *sine qua non* with the R_____ D_____ and my Lord _____, for which the latter is rather more tenacious than he was for the *sine qua non* at the treaty of Ghent. Not one of the R_____ D_____ will patronise a society that does not give a famous anniversary dinner, with plenty of iced Champagne.

You are to understand, that these dinners are not given to the poor people belonging to those institutions, but to the directors, and not unfrequently out of the charitable fund. But the grand object is gained. His _____, who is himself a pauper, supported by public bounty, gets an excellent dinner, and is complimented for eating it; the stewards and directors get their names in the newspapers, and the whole affair redounds wonderfully to the credit of their charity! Oh, but say they, our example at least is beneficial. The example of the hypocrite can never inspire others with a sincere love of virtue. On the contrary, as hypocrisy is never consistent throughout, it is much more likely to injure the cause of virtue by the frequent display of vices irreconcilable with its own pretensions. Those, who give charity with one hand, and gripe the hard earnings of the poor with the other, will more probably do harm rather than good by their example.

In conformity with this truly charitable custom, after the business had been gone through, that is to say, after nothing had been done and a vast deal said, we (I use the language of Mr. ———) sat down to one of the most enormous dinners I ever saw; the Lord Mayor's feast was nothing to it. Every body was delighted with the condescension of the duke, and the bishops sustained their ancient reputation for abstinence at dinner. His grace of ——— undertook to prove, that ignorance was the source of all crimes, but was interrupted by a candidate for one of the livings in his grace's gift with, "your grace must except the crime of forgery." The joke occasioned a smile even from Sir ———, who is a very serious man, owing to the vast many murders he hath committed *secundum artem*—but the luckless wit, in the opinion of the company, had lost all chance for the living.

Matters went on swimmingly, and all the children, including those of the ———, 'bastards and all,' were in a fair way of being well educated, when the drinking of toasts began. The first was 'the king,' which was pronounced by the waiter, who acted as toast-master, with infinite devotion, and drank with still greater, especially by his grace of ——— and the bishops. This was of course a bumper toast. A little after the toast-master bawled out 'the queen and the rest of the royal family,' at which the whole company was struck dumb, and they all stared as if the hand-writing had been seen on the wall. 'Treason' looked his ———, 'radicalism' looked his grace of ———, while poor Sir ———, I think it was, jumped up and snatched the list of toasts out of the waiter's hands, who was now suspected of being at least one of the Cato-street conspirators. The toast was there at full length, but the author and the hand-writing remain unknown even unto this day, although the Constitutional Society, aided by the Bridge-street Association, were busily employed in ferretting out the traitor, who will certainly be hanged if caught. The poor waiter has been discharged, I understand, and two government spies sent to watch his motions, so that if there be any virtue in perjury, I think he is in a fair way to the gallows.

This unlucky incident of the toast spoiled one of the finest commencements to a pleasant drinking bout I ever saw; it destroyed all harmony and confidence; each man now looked on his next neighbour as a radical, and ———, who drank the toast most loyally, were eyed with marks of jealousy and suspicion. The drinking now flagged, the company began to deal in forced laughs, and several excellent jokes had already fallen dead under the table, when his Royal Highness

thought proper to retire, and was shortly followed by the rest of the company. Owing to this untoward accident, the guests all went home sober, a thing, I am told, that has not occurred at an anniversary dinner of a charitable society here, within the memory of man. What rendered this toast so much more awkward and ill-timed, was, that it came in the very nick when the name of _____ was to have been given, and _____ had already cleared his throat, and adjusted himself for a speech, in reply to the compliment, as is customary on such occasions. He was actually on his legs, when the name of the queen knocked him fairly down on his chair; from whence he rose no more until his final departure.

I should certainly not have mentioned this ludicrous incident, or given this ludicrous turn to the whole business, had I not ample reason for doubting the sincerity of the great leaders in these institutions for curing all the wants, healing all the sores, and reforming all the vices of mankind in England, by eating anniversary dinners. But I have seen and see enough every day to convince me, that these innumerable societies for bettering the condition of the poor, are, nine out of ten, the offspring of a great and general plan of the present monopolists of all the property and patronage of this kingdom, for bringing the common people into a state of abject dependence, and thus depriving them, not only of the power, but the will, to assert their constitutional rights. In the ages of ecclesiastical tyranny, the people were reconciled to the monopoly of the church by distributions of alms from the monasteries, which converted them into idle and dissolute beggars; and now, in the age of expiring antiquated abuses in government, the same means are resorted to. The property of the country, if even tolerably distributed, would be amply sufficient to make the tenantry farmers instead of beggars; but as this is at present quite out of the question, it is thought a good stroke of policy to reconcile them to their fate, by inviting them to poor-houses, or soup-houses, to eat the miserable pittance of charity. Thus these new and increasing charities are nothing more than links in the chain, by which the people are kept in a state of degrading dependence on the rich, and taught to be grateful to the benefactor, who takes pounds from the produce of the labouring peasant in tithes and rents, and gives them pennies in charity.

Charity, however, as it would seem, is no longer the modest, unobtrusive, blessed minister, who walked forth in secret and in silence, alone and in darkness, to solace the wants of deserving sufferers. She must be treated with anniversary dinners, complimentary toasts, and puffs innumerable in the news-

papers and magazines—in short, she is become a mere political engine to enslave a whole people, by inuring them to habits of abject dependence, and making them fit only for what they will soon become.

I grant you, brother, that when I see the rich, the clergy, and the nobility liberally contributing to these societies, it seems little less than wicked to doubt their motives. Yet let me not be deterred from questioning motives and actions, directly tending to corrupt and debase mankind. Half the evils of this world are produced by the abuse or misapplication of a good thing to a bad purpose. The delicacy which shrinks from detecting hypocrisy in whatever garb, whether of charity or religion, is treason to mankind.

It is a fact which nobody, except Mr. Vansittart, can or will deny, that a great portion of the present distress, in this country, arises from taxation, rents, and tithes, combined. What then should be the great object of those who are really animated with a pure and disinterested passion for the good of their fellow-countrymen? Certainly to diminish as far as possible these burthens—to adapt the amount of rents and tithes to the present depressed state of agriculture and manufactures. They would, at least such is my humble opinion of philanthropy, large, comprehensive, practical and efficient—they would, in their capacity of legislators, resist, on all occasions, every attempt to lay any additional burthens on the people—they would use every effort within the limits of rational economy, to diminish the expenditures of government; and, if clergy or landholders, gradually relinquish a portion of tithes, and lower the rents of their poor tenants, already bowed to the earth by taxes, that eat the coats from their backs and the food from their tables.

With respect to those numerous charitable schools established of late years, they are, for the most part, intended for little else than mere means of strengthening particular sects, by bringing up the children educated by them, in the tenets of the church, under whose patronage the school happens to be placed. Thus the church of England has its schools supported by what by courtesy is called charity, but at which no child is admitted, whose parents will not consent to its being educated in the tenets and forms of this particular church. This is also the case with the dissenters, the methodists, and every other denomination, whose different charity schools are exclusively devoted to the education of religious proselytes, and, for the most part, beyond doubt, originated in the spirit of jealousy, rivalry, and esprit de corps. Within a few years past more than one plan of national education has been defeated by the

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The result is as might be expected. The taste of the mob must be consulted, as by the mob the theatres are principally supported. Every species of monster, moral and intellectual, two-legged and four-legged, riots on the stage. Horses, dogs, cossacks, elephants, camels, and dromedaries, are the heroes of the drama, so that I have often been tempted to cry out with the excellent mayor of Quinborough,

“Give me a play without a beast, I charge you.”

These exhibitions of quadrupeds take precedence over all others, and command the most outrageous plaudits of the discriminating audience. The next in public attention is the melo-drame, where the passions are expressed by the fiddlers, and the author is saved the trouble of attending to such low matters. All he has to do is to produce striking situations, at all hazards, at every risk of probability, and in defiance of common sense. After these comes the legitimate comedy, as the excellent critics call it, which owes all its effect to a drunken Irishman or sailor, two or three non-descript and original monsters not to be found on the earth, nor in the waters under the earth; a smart hero, compounded of the opposite extremes of harem-scarem imprudence and profound sentiment, together with a sentimental young lady, always ready to make a fool of her parents. The dialogue must consist in cant phrases, gross slang, offensive double-entendre, and inflated sentiment on the part of the young lady—as also her lover, whenever he has time to be in love. A fourth class of plays, very much approved of by John Bull at present, are those not absolutely written by any body. They consist of the united labours of the scene-painters, the machinists, the scene-shifters, and the “Great Unknown,” whose works are regularly dramatised by an industrious journeyman playwright, called Nathaniel T——. They are made up of all the most striking incidents of the novel or poem, crowded as thick as hops, and jumbled together pretty much at random. The whole machinery of these farragoes is held together by the fiddlers, who, whenever the playwright is at his wit’s ends, or on the verge of absurdity or impossibility, flourish their bows, and thunder away in the very nick of time, while the lucky wight escapes under their cover to the next incongruity. The audience, which in London always goes to sleep while the music is playing, forgets what came last, and the next scene commences with all the advantages of an utter oblivion of the past. The nice taste of the mob is thus perfectly satisfied, in witnessing a quick succession of striking incidents, without the necessity of those fatiguing efforts to make them appear pro-

babel, that have thrown such obstacles in the way of many dramatic authors. The most illustrious of these detestable manufacturers of second-hand trumpery is Mr. Nathaniel T—— aforesaid, whom the "Great Unknown" calls "my friend, Mr. T——;" a proof, in my opinion, that the aforesaid Unknown is a very good-natured knight, or he would not call a man his friend who had committed so many assassinations upon his Muse. Saving this gentleman, I know of no other distinguished comic writers here at present. There are several that write excellent farces in five acts, however, which please the public taste just as well, and better, than a Sheridan or a Moliere.

Tragedy, who has certainly more lives than a cat, and has been daggered and ratsbanded at least a dozen times within the last twenty years, has lately, it is said, revived here with great splendour. Mr. Walker has written the tragedy of Wallace; Mr. Sheil, that of Damon and Pythias; Mr. Haynes, that of the Bridal Night; and Lord Byron, as distant rumour states rather obscurely, four new ones, only one of which is yet before the public. That I presume you have read, as I perceive it has been republished in the United States. Of the other three I know nothing, except what has leaked out from persons lately arrived from Italy. One, it is hinted, is antediluvian, another Asiatic, and the third Italian. His lordship, in addition to these, has, it is said, written his own life; besides a poem, called, I know not what, for it is only rumour as yet. He has, I should think, rather too many irons in the fire to do any one of these jobs as it ought to be done; and I fear is frittering away his genius, by lending it alternately, or, as it would seem, at one and the same time, to the most lofty and the most frivolous objects. It is stated that he intends to give his biography to "the first lyric poet of the age," who has already sold it to Mr. John Murray for two thousand guineas. Whether this "first lyric poet of the age" be Mr. Southey, Mr. Wordsworth, or Mr. Thomas Moore, I cannot determine; for each of these has his respective admirers, aye, and critics too, who will not give up a hair's breadth of their opinions. With respect to the two thousand guineas, I do not believe in one quarter of it; for it is one of the secrets of the excellent art of puffing here, to circulate accounts of the enormous sums paid by booksellers for their copyrights. The enlightened public, which always applies the Hudibrastic criterion, and estimates the value of a thing at what it will bring, will run after a two thousand guinea book, when they would run away from one of ten pounds. The admirers of genius here have never purchased a copy of Milton's Paradise Lost, since they found out he

was a republican, and sold his poem for twelve or twenty pounds.

Another of the accoucheurs, who assisted at the late new birth of a tragedy, is known to the Muses by the name of Barry Cornwall. For some unknown cause he is a great favourite of the *Edinburgh Review*, which has for some time past been preparing the way for giving him a *run* upon the town. He first published some smaller pieces of poetry, which were praised by the reviewer. He then felt the public pulse with some fragments of a tragedy, which were also praised by the reviewer. Then, after a vast deal of preliminary puffing, and appeals to public curiosity, the new tragedy of Mr. Barry Cornwall, which was to establish a new era of the drama, was acted before the discriminating mob, which constitutes a London audience. The *Literary Gazette*, and a few other *half-crown* critics, attempted to maintain its reputation; but it did not obtain a run, as was expected. It is by no means equal to our countryman Payne's tragedy of *Brutus*, which is quite as original as *Mirandola*, and, in the opinion of the best judges here, much superior to any tragedy brought out within several years past.

But the most popular of all those inspired writers, who have lately assisted at the resurrection of tragedy, is Mr. Maturin, an Irish clergyman, who is, in the region of fiction, what Counsellor Phillips is in that of law. There is certainly some of the smoke of genius in this writer, and where there is smoke, they say, there must be fire: but it seems to be a sort of clumsy, unpurposed, and indiscriminate faculty, engendered in horrors, and nestled in the same cradle with the great "raw head and bloody bones" of the nursery. It seems always labouring with some mighty godhead, and yet produces nothing but shapeless monsters. Devoted to a mere accumulation of horror upon horror, extravagance upon extravagance, his efforts seem those of the cyclop, Polyphemus, the result of energy and blindness combined. His genius appears, in fact, entirely devoted to the salutary purpose of exciting a people, like the citizens of London, the genteeler portion of whom are so used to boxing-matches, and the lower classes to executions, that their blunted sympathies can only be awakened on the stage by the most disgusting exhibitions of extravagant horrors.

Mr. Maturin always has his pockets full of daggers and ratsbane; and not content, like *Bob Acres*, with killing a man a week, murders away in every page, like a perfect Jack Ketch in tragedy. Then his characters are always insuperably melancholy or ineffably mad, without ever, on any occasion, either thinking, feeling, or expressing themselves like the people who

inhabit this humble earth. I should take it that he had made an excursion to the planet Mercury, or some other in the near neighbourhood of the sun, and there studied nature sublimated to "hissing hot," at the same time that his brain became heated to the salamander temperament. We have convulsions; murders by dagger and poison; ravings, writhings, gnashings of teeth, and extremes of all kinds, which are the mere ordinary, every-day amusements of his characters; and from beginning to end, not one of them is sufficiently cool to act like a person in his sober senses for half a minute together.

But it would appear, my dear brother, that these blustering, poisoning, daggering, and ratsbaning tragedies are not only eminently fitted for the audience, but actually seem manufactured on purpose for the actors who are to perform them. These last are eternally in a fever or a fidget, just like the author. Their muscles are always in a busy convulsive motion, and their eyes, as it were, starting out of their heads, like the honest captain in Italy, who got what he called "a d——d painted snowball in his mouth." They rage, roar, grin, and skip about like so many mad harlequins; and it is worth a great deal to see one of them fight a battle and die on the stage. The English, with all their humanity, you know are fond of boxing-matches, cock-fighting, and bull-baiting, except when they see these things abroad, when their tourists always write down their people brutes, or something equally complimentary: Nothing, therefore, except the wild beasts, delights them half so much at the play, as seeing Richard and Richmond, Macbeth and Macduff, Hotspur and Harry, fight like bull-dogs or bruisers. They appear to enjoy every imaginary thrust, pretty much in the spirit of an Indian banqueting upon the tortures of a prisoner at the stake; and they would never forgive an actor if he suffered himself to be killed like a Christian man, by the first thrust through the body. But the dying is the triumph of the art, and occasions equal satisfaction with an execution at Tyburn. The hero must not be less than a quarter of an hour about it. He must roll and tumble about the stage, like one in a fit of the cholic, and at the last pang give himself a flip-flap like a flounder, and fall flat on his back, as stiff as buckram. If he do not lie in this way, John Bull will set about demolishing the playhouse directly.

I have seen the critics convulsed with ecstasy, and the whole house in a roar of delight, at a death-scene of Roscius Kean. On receiving his first wound, he doubled himself up like a tobacco worm, and announced the accident with a broad grin. But he fell to again with most resolute courage. Anon he received another poke, which caused him to stagger

and fall upon one knee, where he delighted the audience with various displays of determined valour, grinning terribly all the while. On receiving the third push, he wheeled round, staggered, stamped, and fenced with the air like a blind game cock, until finally he received a *coup de grace*, which caused him to jump up two yards, and fall down in the most affecting manner. Now, heaven be praised! thought I, the man is dead at last. But I was out in my reckoning, for then began the cream of the affair: the rollings, the contortions, the gnashings of teeth, the bitings of the dust, the gropings about for the sword, and, finally, the great flip-flap which crowns all. I swear to you, brother, one of these first-rate actors is as hard to kill as our Missouri bears, which, it is said, are so tenacious of life, that a bullet or two through the vitals is a mere flea-bite. Now, if the result of this terrible battle were not perfectly well known to every one of the audience beforehand, at least, to a great majority of them, one might suppose, that the intense interest it excited was simply the effect of a high state of suspense and anxiety to see which of the combatants would be victorious. But they all know perfectly well, that Macduff will kill Macbeth; and Richmond, Richard; so that it can only originate in that innate love of bloodshed, which is gratified even with a mere sham battle and fictitious death.

Comic acting, like Comedy herself, is on a scale still inferior to that of tragic acting. The real fine gentleman is no more, either in real life here, or in the comedies or comedians of the present time, unless Mr. Elliston may be called an exception. In the room of those sprightly wits and courageous coxcombs, who give such charms to the elder plays, we now see a miserable specimen of a modern Corinthian, stupid as the author himself, and depending entirely for endurance on the size of his neckcloth, the enormity of his costume, and a few cant phrases, equally destitute of meaning and wit. The rest depends upon the actor, who is obliged to animate the skeleton, by every exertion of the powers of grimace and buffoonery. The broad vulgarity, mixed up with incongruous and exaggerated feeling, as its contrast, by which the comedy of the present day is characterised, is equally at war with genteel humour and sprightliness, as well as natural, unaffected sentiment. It is the exertion of an exhausted genius, fostered by a worn-out taste. The actors must, of course, accommodate themselves to the poverty of the age, and bring their powers down to the dead level of dramatic degradation. Besides, they have no heart to exert themselves, after seeing a Newfoundland dog, or an elephant, greeted with applauses on the stage, that in a better age would have only fallen to the lot of a Garrick, a Betterton, a Cibber, or an Abingdon.

It is impossible to compare the French stage with the English at this period, without being forcibly struck with the entire superiority of the *Theatre Français*, which is devoted to the preservation of the national taste, over either of the London theatres. At the former, I always found an audience, refined, decorous, quiet, and attentive. Every noise was promptly repressed by the sentiment of the house, and every indecorum immediately arrested by a burst of indignant feeling, which the most hardy insolence or determined profligacy cannot withstand. The costume of the actors, while accommodated, in the most scrupulous manner, to the age and people to which the characters appertained, was totally divested of all tinsel and glitter: the scenery and decorations were always in the most chaste and appropriate style; nor did I ever see an instance of the Birmingham brilliancy, with which Mr. Kean sometimes dazzles a London audience. The taste of the vulgar is never appealed to at the *Theatre Français*, by exhibitions of wild beasts; nor are the menageries emptied of their four-footed tenants, for the purpose of giving a zest to an intellectual banquet. There is no puffing in newspapers and play-bills, nor is the public ever assured by an anonymous friend that the spectacle will be entirely superb. The audience judges for itself, and the decision is seldom, if ever, reversed; because it consists of the most enlightened people of the capital. In short, there is a total absence, a studied rejection, of all those impudent quackeries, and unblushing impostures, to which the theatres here, continually resort to inveigle the mob into their toils. Nothing but the legitimate drama is admitted on the stage of the *Theatre Français*; nor would it be possible for the taste of the polite audience to be brought to endure the profanations nightly exhibited on the London boards.

LETTER XVII.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

WHEN I have nothing else to attract my attention, which is pretty often the case in this very dull city, I amuse myself with attending the debates in parliament, that are sometimes interesting from the subjects under discussion. In this way, I have had an opportunity of hearing the ablest speakers, on topics that afforded the best opportunities for the display of their talents. On a late occasion, in a question connected with African slavery, (a fruitful subject for declamation) Mr. Wilberforce, Mr. Brougham, Sir James Mackintosh, Lord Lon-

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donderry, and several others, made their best figure. Each in turn complained of the encouragement given to the slave trade by many of the European powers, in possession of colonies in the West Indies, and at the same time reluctantly acknowledged, that our abandoned Republic was the only government that heartily and in good earnest co-operated with them in their efforts to prevent it.

Humanity, when in its pure state, and uncontaminated by any mixture of interest or passion, is a widely extended and comprehensive feeling. It comprehends not merely one colour, one nation, and one quarter of the globe, but the whole human race in a greater or less degree. To oppress one people, and at the same time affect great commiseration for another, is not humanity, but hypocrisy. It is assuming a cloak for some interested purpose; either to impose upon the credulity of the world for objects of gain or ambition, or to prop up a falling reputation. If this government were really and sincerely actuated by a principle of humanity, not altogether confined to the colour of the epidermis, why has it lately permitted the Mussulmen to exercise the most cruel outrages on the Greeks; to carry on a war of extermination against Christians, who believe in the same Saviour as the people of England? Why did not Lord Strangford, the English ambassador at the Porte, while dining with the Grand Seignior, an honour never before conferred on a christian dog, and basking in the sunshine of Ottoman favour—why did he not take the opportunity to interfere to prevent the indiscriminate massacre of christians, men, women, and children?—Why?—because he enjoyed this very favour at the price of giving them up to the butcher—at the price of refusing admission on board the English vessels in the Archipelago, to those christian Greeks that fled from the Mussulman tyrant, who had issued a declaration that their existence could no longer be tolerated—and from the very first, siding with Mussulman executioners against christian victims; and the issuing of a declaration, prohibiting the Ionians, who are under English protection, from assisting their countrymen upon pain of death—at the price of giving an English escort to Turkish ships, loaded with men and stores, for the purpose of bringing a christian people to the sabre and the bowstring of an infidel oppressor—in short, at the price of abandoning all the obligations of justice, humanity, and religion.

Why did not Lord Strangford, at this auspicious moment, when the existence of the Ottoman power depended on the diversion made by England and Austria, stipulate with the

Turk for the abolition of the trade in human flesh, which is carried on in all parts of his empire, and under which thousands of WHITE CHRISTIAN SLAVES are every day sold in the markets of every Turkish city? A glorious opportunity offered itself to establish the reputation of British humanity beyond all question, by a stipulation in favour of white christian slaves, similar to that in behalf of black pagan ones. The interests of humanity would be better served by the former than by the latter. I have no particular disposition to question the motives of Mr. Wilberforce, in his long and persevering efforts to procure the abolition of the African slave trade; but whatever were his motives, I cannot but be of opinion, that by making slaves more valuable in the colonies than they were before, he has offered temptations of profit, more than equivalent to the difficulties thrown in the way of the trade. But the best men are apt to overlook obvious consequences in their headlong zeal to benefit mankind. Good intentions are common enough; but the wisdom to direct them to practical good is seldom their companion.

The better sort of members, such as Mr. Brougham, Mr. Wilberforce, Sir James Mackintosh, and others, are exceedingly worthy, useful, and able men. They discuss some questions with a sagacity and extent of research, highly honourable to themselves and to the country, reminding me not unfrequently of Mr. ————, Mr. ————, Mr. ————, and others of the late members of our congress. But shall I venture upon the heresy? Shall I dare, in the face of old habits, prejudices, and opinions fostered by education, strengthened by books, and the example of all around you, to assert, that these men are not equal to the orators just named? And yet this is as true as that you are alive. With the exception of Mr. Canning, there is scarcely the shadow of an orator in the house of commons; and the house of lords is, beyond all doubt, the most sleepy place in England, except the Italian opera and Mr. Campbell's lectures.

Mr. Brougham is a laborious speaker. To me there appears something somewhat grotesque in his attempts at impassioned oratory, wherein he occasionally displays his zeal and warmth in contortions of face and figure nearly approaching to the ludicrous. He has an iron face and an iron figure, both equally divested of grace or majesty, nor does his action or expression make amends for these deficiencies of face and person. Yet his habits of laborious investigation and research, his extensive range of memory, and his capacity for intellectual arrangement, make him, on the whole, a useful man of business, and a powerful pleader; for his eloquence is little more than spe-

cial pleading. As the leader of a party in the house of commons, he is at most, however, but second rate. He is much better in subjects where mere labour and investigation are required, and is pre-eminent on school committees and parliamentary inquiries, where he listens with the patience of a judge, and sifts the evidence with the indefatigable sagacity of a thorough-bred lawyer. But I have heard him occasionally on subjects of foreign policy, wherein the talents of a statesman are put to the test, and was surprised at his crudeness, as well as want of extent of idea and accuracy of information. I certainly have heard a member from our woods talk more sensibly, and display more statesman-like views of the relation of European nations with each other, and with the United States. This lameness, however, in the discussion of great political questions, seems common to almost all the great men here, either because those of the opposition do not know the state of their relations with foreign powers, and those of the cabinet do not choose to tell ; or from a want of that enlargement of intellect which is the peculiar characteristic of a great statesman. I will do the opposition the justice to say, that they cannot, as they do in our congress, get whatever information they ask from the executive, and are therefore often obliged to grope in the dark. But Lord Londonderry certainly is in all the secrets, as foreign secretary, and he talks like a rebus, seemingly employing the whole force of his understanding in withholding, rather than communicating information. It is quite laughable to hear the Corinthian members cry, "hear, hear!" when he says any thing beyond the comprehension of mortal man. I certainly never saw a more laborious speaker ; but his labour seems most preposterously employed, not in enlightening his hearers, but in perplexing their understandings in an equal degree with his own, by which means alone he seems to expect to carry his point. His logic is the logic of a perplexed, rather than a profound understanding, and his rhetoric is highly worthy of his logic. There is a story told here of a gentleman, who, after listening to his lordship for a long time, started up at length in great haste, and on being questioned where he was going, replied "to the house of peers, to know from Lord Liverpool what Lord Castlereagh means." His action is that of a pump-handle when in brisk motion, as you may have learned from Moore's epigram.

Sir James Mackintosh is, I think, a much better writer than speaker, although a very powerful orator on the whole. He is fluent and animated, but too florid and studied to appear natural. I can hardly tell what he wants to make him a fine speaker, except it be nature, or that art which supplies its

place in some degree. To read the papers and daily productions which record passing events, and confer a nine days immortality, one would suppose Sir James and his compeers were giants of the race of those who warred against the gods, with mountains and torrents of intellectual force and eloquence. But I must again caution you to beware of the deceptions practised upon us at home, by the monstrous and inflated style, which it is now fashionable to use in speaking of every thing rising above mediocrity. The system of puffing is at its most alarming height in this country, and it is quite impossible for the mere reader to judge of the merits of any public man. They must be every thing, or nothing—superlatively great or superlatively mean—the perfection of nature and intellect, or the extreme of littleness and folly.

It is thus that such writers, as the author of “*Peter’s Letters to his Kinsfolk*,” and hundreds of similar delineators of character, will speak of Edinburgh reviewers, and Ettrick shepherds, as if the former were of that order of men, of whom it is interesting to know, whether they wear short jackets or long coats in the country, and the latter were a Burns, the high priest of nature and simplicity, instead of the coarse and vulgar humourist of *Blackwood’s Magazine*. It is thus, too, that every person and every thing, which fashion or party-spirit idolizes for the moment, is wrought into the lineaments of sublimity and greatness, while the real and genuine candidates for immortality, like Sir James Mackintosh, are caricatured by the coarse eulogists, who affect to know what is really intellectual greatness, and have the consummate audacity to pronounce sentence of immortality with a degree of indiscriminate profligacy, that is quite sufficient to ruin a tolerable reputation.

Mr. Canning, for wit, grace, fluency, and satire, is excellent; but he only skirmishes, for the most part, with an argument, and is satisfied to raise a laugh rather than produce conviction. He is, however, the only man in the house who can keep the rotten borough-dandies awake during a speech, with the exception of Lord Londonderry, to whom they are bound in gratitude, or in hope, to listen, under the penalty of not getting a good place or pension.

If Mr. Wilberforce was not a pious and good man, I should say that he cants a little too much, and votes a little too often with ministers. There is, however, a reason for all things. Mr. Wilberforce is the political head and oracle of the methodists, who are now a body of very considerable weight and influence in parliament. I am of opinion there is a deal of underhand courtship going on between the ministry and metho-

dist leaders, the effects of which are seen in leaving out the queen's name from their liturgy, and the particular attention paid by Lord Londonderry to Mr. Wilberforce's opinions on all occasions. The established church begins to be not a little jealous of this pious intrigue; and it is a fact well known here, that Mr. Brougham's great national education bill was smothered in these mutual fears and antipathies. The dissenters and methodists, on one side, were afraid that it would throw into the hands of the established church too great opportunities of instilling their doctrines into the minds of the young people; and the established church was dissatisfied, that the act did not give it a more complete control over the religious opinions of those who were to be educated under the bill. All felt and acknowledged the want of education among the poorer class; all professed a sincere desire that this want should be supplied; but religious bigotry, or religious zeal, as it is politely called, stepped in, and thus condemned the children of the poor to ignorance, until they can reconcile these conflicting interests.

In the mean time the methodists are gathering strength every day. Their admirable system of worldly wisdom; their apparent zeal and sanctity; their watchful industry, not only in propagating their doctrines, but in stigmatizing those of other sects, together with the aid which a spirit of fanaticism always administers in the progress of a new religion, all combined, have contributed vastly to the increase of their numbers and influence. If I am not mistaken, the time is not far distant, when they will either force an union with the established church, or leave it in a minority. The methodists, and the methodistical church of England people, are now strong in parliament, and their force is daily increasing; for you will recollect, that they have ever refused to be considered as dissenters from the church of England, and that there is nothing in the tests, to which an orthodox methodist may not conscientiously accommodate himself.

I feel perfectly satisfied, that the weak, unsteady, and apparently unpurposed opposition, is rather detrimental than otherwise to the progress of reform in this country. The people rely upon men who have neither the power, nor, I firmly believe, the will, to breast the exigencies of the time, but who are a knot of peddling, tinkering politicians, that talk big, bluster finely, but are much more afraid of the Tower and the attorney-general, than of arbitrary power and parliamentary corruption. They are like your big fish, which are ever the greatest cowards. Estimating their own importance most highly, they are the first to run away; while the lesser fry,

confiding in their insignificance, remain behind, are caught, and cooked for want of higher fare. These men will never bring about a reform, such as is wanting to the prosperity of the people of this country. Those who undertake this glorious object, must not mind fine, pillory, or loss of ears. Nay, they must, like the noble patriots of our revolution, take the step that devotes them to death if they fail, to immortality if they succeed. Even if they fail, from the blood and the ashes of these unsuccessful victims, arises a host to consummate what they but began.

Nothing can equal the pretty exchange of complimentary eulogy, which occurs between the ministers and the opposition, whenever the question of enlightening foreign nations, teaching poor children to read, instead of giving their parents a chance of paying by their labours for their education, and such like excellent plans, come up. The noble Lord Londonderry cordially co-operates with the honourable member; while the honourable member seems infinitely delighted at the opportunity of voting for once on the side of ministers, and extols their humanity to negroes, instead of boldly and promptly exposing their hypocrisy, by placing their conduct to the people of England, Europe, Asia, and America, in contrast with this simulated humanity, assumed only for the purpose of deceiving mankind, and cheating the public opinion. Indeed, the opposition snatches with such avidity at every opportunity to be on good terms, and exchange civil speeches, that one cannot help suspecting they would be happy to consummate a permanent union, by surrendering the virgin purity of their patriotism into the arms of ministerial piety and benevolence. I may mistake, but in my poor opinion, the good people here stand but a bad chance for a reform in parliament, or any other branch of the government, if they depend upon the present opposition.

Since the time that Mr. Fox led the opposition, there has been no efficient one in the house of commons, any more than there have been any true patriots since the days of Russell, Hampden, and Sidney, who were willing to sacrifice life, liberty, and a good name, in behalf of the principles of freedom. It would seem, that almost all the stern, inflexible supporters of human rights came over to our country, and there planted the tree of liberty, which would not take root in England. You may form some idea of Sir James Mackintosh's notions of liberty, when I tell you that in this very debate, to which I referred in the early part of this letter, he took an opportunity to class the United States and Great Britain together, as "two nations mutually sharing the same freedom."

The art of raising the greatest possible quantity of money out of the people, comprehends the whole mystery of the English government. As I observed before, they are all very indifferent speakers, with the exception of Mr. Canning, and with the same exception, among the dullest persons in a society over which the genius of dulness presides. I am aware that there are two sorts of great men—those who talk wisely, and those who act wisely. The former are only theoretically or abstractedly wise; the latter practically so. It is difficult, indeed, to tell a man by his talk. I have frequently met with men who reversed Rochester's epitaph, and who never said a good thing in their whole lives, yet always acted with the most provoking wisdom, and always got the better of the great talkers. Still, it is pretty certain, that no one who talks well can be a great blockhead; and it is equally clear, I think, that many a great blockhead has chanced to stumble, or be driven into a system of policy, the accidental success of which has caused him to pass for a sage. The present ministers have kept their places, and lived to see the downfall of Napoleon: but they certainly were particularly indebted to an early Russian frost, and a weak opposition in parliament, for their triumphs.

Men of great and splendid talents are quite unnecessary in the ministry, except when any invasion of the ancient privileges of the people is meditated. Then Mr. Canning is put in requisition, to ridicule his opponents and gloss over the measure. At other times, Mr. Vansittart, or Lord Londonderry, is just as good as a Madison, or a Hamilton. On occasions of emergency, they send to France for Mr. Canning, to get Lord Liverpool, or Lord Londonderry out of a scrape. Feeling, as it would appear, his own consequence among these dull lords, Mr. Canning sometimes takes the liberty, as in the case of the Queen, to retire from the support of a ministerial measure. He also keeps up a familiar intercourse in France with Anacreon Moore, the writer of "Lascivious Lyrics," as Mr. Adams aptly calls him; though Moore is not only a public defaulter, but has likewise made his present majesty quite as ridiculous, as Peter Pindar did his revered father, George the Third—for whose memory I have a great respect, ever since his acquittal, as set forth in the laureat's immortal poem of "Judgment." The taking all these freedoms, shows, that both Mr. Canning and the ministers feel that they cannot do without him at a pinch. He is, indeed, now that poor Sheridan is gone, a first-rate wit, a star in Bœotia; excellent at a jest, delightful at a dinner table, but not very happy at alliteration, witness the unlucky one of "the revered and ruptured Ogden."

The ministerial wise-acres begin to suspect, that in putting

dow a Napoleon Bonaparte, that mighty schoolmaster of an old worn out world, they have fallen out of the frying-pan into the fire. The best politicians of the last hundred years, have always pointed the jealousies of Europe towards the Russian empire. But present fears and pressing interests caused the cabinets of Europe and England to lose sight of future dangers; and there is not one of these powers, that does not look with trembling solicitude towards every movement of the emperor Alexander. The poor pageant, who occupies the throne of France, has been, for some time, vacillating between a desire to dissent from the policy of the Holy Alliance, and a fear of the consequences. I have reason to be persuaded, that the omission of King George to pay a visit to Paris originated in a demur on the part of Louis, to a proposition of the British cabinet in relation to the affairs of Greece and Turkey. Much difficulty exists in the French cabinet on this head; and I have but little doubt, that it will lead to a change of ministers, if not of measures, in France.

The emperor of Austria, what between his fears of Russia, and of books bound in Russian leather, has no heart, just now, to attend to his favourite amusement of making sealing-wax. It is rumoured in the ———— circle, that he fainted not long ago at the smell of a book in Russian binding. The king of Prussia is so busy in warring against the four-and-twenty letters, and prosecuting authors for telling him the truth, that he has no time to attend to any thing else. But he is said to have very uneasy dreams. In fact, I assure you, there never was a set of poor people in such desperate perplexity, between a desire to restrain the projects of Russia, and a fear of the almost inevitable consequences of a war—bankruptcy and revolution.

In the mean time, the Russian government has been at the same moment negotiating a peace, and making preparations for war. The Russian armies are at present more numerous and efficient than those of all Europe besides, and are stationed on the frontiers of Turkey in such a way, as that Constantinople might be taken before the news of hostilities could reach London. Well may the British ministry tremble if a war take place. They have nothing left for it, but to swear there is no danger until the danger arrives, and then set the *Courier* and *Quarterly Review* abusing Alexander like a pickpocket. So soon as I see this, I shall be sure there is difficulty with Russia; for it is always the signal for some refractory movements on the part of a foreign power. The first indication I had of the probable assertion of its independence by the French government, was from the abusive article in the *Quarterly*, which I

mentioned in a former letter. It is a bull-dog, which is always set at obnoxious people, before the masters come to blows.

LETTER XVIII.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

THIS country has, beyond doubt, a greater proportion of people without the necessaries of life, or the means of honestly acquiring them, than any other I have ever visited. I do not know that they are more positively poor, but they certainly are so comparatively. A large portion of the labouring class here possess more actual property, than the same class of people in Italy, Spain, and Portugal; but they require more, because their taxes are far greater and their habits are different. In the south of Europe, the people live on grapes, chestnuts, olives, and other fruits that are plenty and cheap; at night they can sleep under a tree, or under the canopy of heaven; they neither want thick clothing nor constant fires in winter; nor is it necessary they should have a warm and weather-tight house over their heads. But the labouring Englishman, until of late years, was accustomed to meat sometimes, and always to bread, cheese, and beer, in a reasonable quantity. Now, it is otherwise with him. He inhabits too a climate humid at all times, and cold in winter, and cannot sleep in the air, or in an open hovel, without the risk, if not the certainty, of ruining his health. It is these and other considerations, that make his actual situation far worse than the peasant or the labourer in the south of Europe, although his actual comforts may appear superior to theirs. Indeed, it cannot be denied, and it is certainly not in triumph, but sorrow, that I am compelled to state, that the poor of this country are now, at this moment, more wretched, and more numerous, than any where on the continent of Europe—I believe I may say in the whole world. It is not uncommon to see in the country towns, thirty, forty, and fifty people, consisting of stout, hearty labourers, their wives and children, applying at one time for admission into the parish poor-houses. It is neither laziness nor improvidence, that has brought them to this; but the want of employment, and the exactions of the government and the clergy, which actually drive them into the poor-house for a refuge. If there ever were a noble nation sacrificed to the abuses of power; the extravagance of its rulers; and the patchwork system of ex-

pedients, invented by prodigality in the last stage of fatuity and desperation, it is this nation of Englishmen, who, in the course of their history, have equalled the Romans in patriotism, the Greeks in literature, and the Americans in defending their rights against the encroachments of power. But poverty and dependence, the offspring of financial swindling and misapplied resources, have undermined the noble foundation of the national character, and the superstructure seems crumbling and corroding fast away.

This abject poverty is the secret of almost all their mobs, crimes, and apparently ridiculous inconsistencies, that go near to deprive them of our sympathy. That they murmur at the government is because they want bread; that they rise in mobs, is not that the spirit of Radicalism, but the spirit of suffering, impels them to violence. That their crimes every day multiply, and the restraints of a severe penal code become more and more insufficient to prevent their transgressions, is, in a great measure, owing to their miserable situation, which makes a prison no longer terrible; transportation an object of hope rather than fear; and death itself an alternative hardly to be dreaded. The other day, a fellow, being sentenced to fourteen years' transportation, cried out, "God bless your honour, it's just what I wanted."

It is indeed impossible to conceive the capricious unheard of extravagance of the rich, which actually seems to keep pace with the increasing miseries of the poor. Every where, except among a very few of the old-fashioned nobility and gentry, I see the most wasteful follies, the most unbounded love, nay, passion, for expensive pageantry and vulgar ostentation. If a lady of fashion give a party, nothing will satisfy her, unless fruits equally tasteless and expensive are served up with a profusion equally senseless and absurd; and she would be miserable for life, if the number and the cost of each were not advertised in all the fashionable newspapers. The particulars of her dress, the quantity of diamonds, and the net value of the lady as she stood in her shoes, must also be published, in the style of a vender of quack-medicines, while every thing, which real good breeding and well constituted gentility would avoid and despise, is said and done, to make her equals envy, her inferiors despair, and the hungry multitude become more fully aware of their misery by comparison. It often makes me smile even in the bitterness of my feelings, to hear the lady of the gala simpering out, "Two guineas a-piece," when asked the price of such peaches as the pigs run away from in New England.

This extravagance is held by the adepts in political economy

to be a great national blessing. If, for instance, Madame Catalani receive a few thousand guineas for singing "God *shave* the king," as she always pronounces it, at gals and concerts, it is all for the good of the people of England, because she goes and spends the money in France or Italy, or invests it in the English funds, where the people have the pleasure of paying the interest. The great sums in fact, thus squandered away by the extravagance of the court and nobility, never return to the tenantry, from whom they are originally derived. That portion which does return is so long in coming, that poverty too often gets the start of it. But the greatest part goes to foreigners, without circulating at all among the community. Flatterers, dancers, singers, pimps — and a thousand useless, or worse than useless, people, share the spoil of prodigality, and carry the greatest part out of the country. It is only those immediately about the court, or who can gain the patronage of some court sycophant, that partake of this expenditure, or receive any benefit from it, either directly or indirectly. England at this moment, and most especially London, exhibits a striking proof, how little the boundless prodigality of a court and nobility can contribute to the real comfort of the community at large. There is more extravagance and more misery in London, than in any other city of the world.

In every country, which has been settled long enough to exhibit the invariable course of all earthly communities from rudeness to order, from order to refinement, from refinement to luxury, and from luxury to ruin, it has always happened, that the example has been first set among the higher orders. To them we may trace elegance and refinement, and from them is derived that example of profligate, luxurious sensuality, which corrupts the lower orders, and at length ends in the downfall of states and empires. When therefore the *Quarterly Review*, and the other stern advocates of despotism, talk of the ignorance, corruption, and wickedness of the lower orders, instead of deriving all this from Paine's works, Cobbett's tracts, and Carhile's and Hone's pamphlets, they should tell the honest truth, that it is the example of the higher orders, that has descended to a people, already fitted by their poverty to adopt the worst models. To a people prepared by education and example, precept and habit, to look up to princes and nobles; the fashion which is set them by these is more powerful and efficacious, than the best moral codes, and the most orthodox exhortations, enforced by abundance of societies for the bettering of mankind.

I do not think it is refining too much, to state, as one of the

causes of petty crime in this country, the mode in which so many of these cases are presented to the public in the newspapers. Almost every one of these has a column, and sometimes two, of reports of cases at the police-offices, for the gratification of their readers. If, as is very frequently the case, there be any thing odd or ridiculous in the culprit, or the offence, or the mode of examination, it never fails to be made still more so by the witty reporter, who involves the whole affair, magistrate and all, in fun and frolic. A crime is thus presented to the reader as a mere joke, an excellent subject for the wit of the justice, and the amusement of the public. It is divested of all its turpitude and atrocity, and instead of a serious offence to society, appears as a subject for jest and laughter. It is to be remembered, that the principal reading of the lower orders is confined to newspapers, and that the most interesting subjects of vulgar curiosity are the records of crimes and punishments. Now, if courts of justice and culprits are thus made to furnish subjects of merriment, and crimes become the objects of joke and ribaldry, it is very easy to be conceived, that those whose morality is not well fortified, will very likely yield to the seduction of such pleasant recreation.

If my preceding observations be correct, you will perceive, that it is scarcely possible there should not be a more than ordinary degree of turpitude, a greater portion of crime here, than is to be found among contemporary nations. In France, where the people are comparatively comfortable, and where the king and nobility have before them an awful example of the consequences of despising the just resentment of millions of human beings, crimes are diminishing every day. In this country, on the contrary, where the king and nobility seem to have forgotten that they only escaped a similar lesson by the breadth of a hair, crimes are every day increasing. They are gradually ascending into the more respectable classes, and descending to the meridian of childhood. In my occasional attendance at the Old Bailey, Hatton Garden, Bow Street, Guildhall, and other places where the police officers hold their state, I have frequently been shocked to see men and women, evidently well educated, and whose manners bore testimony to their former respectability, arraigned for crimes, not the effect of sudden passion or instantaneous impulse, but of reflection and plan; during the organization of which the crime and its probable consequences must have been looked steadily in the face. Such instances are not, however, frequent; but occurring even rarely, they point to a state of morals verging towards the last stage of corruption, or to a state of society, in which the

temptations of poverty are ascending to a higher class than usual.

My principal object in writing this long letter was to point out to you the inevitable consequences of a vast disproportion of wealth, and enormous public burthens, that press the people down to the dust; of those artificial distinctions of rank, which, being hereditary, require neither moral nor intellectual superiority to preserve them, and become in the end a warrant for the indulgence of every wanton and capricious impulse of folly or vice. This inequality of wealth, and these hereditary distinctions of rank, enable the possessors to despise the suffrages of mankind; to insult their poverty with a display of wasteful extravagance; and to corrupt their morals by examples of vicious indulgence. These enormous public burthens, the inattention of the well-beneficed clergy to almost every thing but the collection of tithes, together with the profligate extravagance of the rich and nobility, have, all combined, gone near to ruin one of the finest and noblest nations under the sun. That they are not thoroughly corrupted and debased is a proof of the excellent materials of which the national character was composed. At the time, or perhaps just before, our ancestors came to Plymouth, England might have challenged the world for inflexible integrity, diffused intelligence, and noble patriotism; nor was there a country in existence where the principles of civil liberty were more cherished or better understood.

Every day, and every country I visit, add to my affection for my home, and my attachment to a republican form of government. I am more and more convinced of its intrinsic superiority over all others, in diffusing a general and equal happiness over all; in preventing the permanent and lasting accumulation of wealth, which enables one class of men to tread on the necks of another from generation to generation; and in destroying that hereditary and low-lived feeling of inferiority, which debases the mass of the people, and crows the master spirit of manhood. It is not those who are best paid, or who wear the most diamonds, that are the greatest men. My Lord Londonderry, with his thousands and tens of thousands a year, will never be put on a level with Franklin, in his plain snuff-coloured coat; nor will Prince Esterhazy, whose diamonds made Sir Walter Scott's mouth water, ever reach the level of the simple majesty of Washington, in his black velvet suit. The very admiration which is bestowed upon such idle pageantry, not only by the people, but by the most exalted statesmen, and warriors, and divines; the manner in which it is puffed, not only in newspapers, but in productions that affect to be literary, all together furnish the most unequivocal proof

of the superior manliness and dignity of the simple republican character. So far, therefore, from being ashamed that our government and its officers cannot afford this effeminate trumpery, we should be proud of it, as a proof that the people are well governed, since their earnings are not wasted in boundless extravagance and childish parade.

LETTER XIX.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

IN running the parallel between our government and that of England, the House of Lords having been, most unaptly as I think, compared to the Senate of the United States, it may be neither uninteresting, nor without amusement, to inquire into the respective points of their resemblance.

To begin with the first that naturally presents itself. The Senate of the United States is an elective body, the members of which are chosen for six years. The House of Lords is composed of members who sit there for life, and their eldest sons after them, by the right of hereditary succession. The members of our Senate are all equal; there is neither distinction of rank nor precedence, nor seniority, but what is freely awarded to merit or talents. In the House of Lords there is, on the contrary, an endless diversity of rank and pretension, which must obviously tend to destroy, or at least diminish, the feeling of equality, even where a man is said to be among his peers. In fact, it is this nice and almost imperceptible gradation of ranks, the strictness with which it is every where enforced, and the submission every where paid to it, that constitutes, in my opinion, the cement of every monarchical government.

This system of gradation in the ladder of life is here brought to great perfection, and its parts adjusted with the nicest exactness. Thus a duke precedes a marquis, in entering a room, going to dinner, or marching in procession. Besides this, his mantle has "*four guards*," and his coronet has only leaves without pearls! But even dukes have their degrees; and a duke of yesterday is entitled to turn his back upon one of to-day, on all occasions of etiquette.

A marquis, although "most noble," carries the badge of inferiority in his mantle of only "three doublings and a half," and his coronet of pearls and strawberry leaves, all of a height. An earl is only right honourable; his mantle has only three doublings, and his coronet has the pearls raised upon points, with the leaves low between. A viscount, although right ho-

honourable too; has only two doublings and a half to his mantle, and his coronet is only "pearled with a row of pearls close to the chaplet." A baron is right honourable as well as the viscount; but his inferiority is demonstrated by a mantle with only two doublings, and a coronet with only six pearls.

You will perceive, by this detail, how the spirit of personal independence and the noble self-consciousness, which alone give dignity to man, must be repressed by these outward and palpable insignia of inferiority, which derive an importance from habit and custom. Servility to superiors, and supercilious airs of superiority towards inferiors, together with a miserable subserviency to those who can bestow on them the privilege of a cloth of state, or of turning their backs upon those who before turned their backs upon them, must naturally result from such a system of nicely graduated importance. No one, that ever mixes in titled society, can fail to perceive the relative importance accorded to these different ranks, and, more especially, the airs of superiority assumed by a lady of the old nobility over an upstart titled dame of yesterday. In fact, the lord or the lady who marches first of their grade at a coronation, has all the superiority over those that march at the other end, that the leader of a herd of buffaloes has over the rest of the rabble in the rear.

But the privileges of carrying a cloth of state, marching first in a procession, and having their trains borne by barons', knights', or esquires' ladies, are not the only ones enjoyed by the nobility. They possess certain rights and exemptions, which, it will be perceived, give them a decided advantage over other subjects of this realm. Their persons are at all times privileged from arrests, except for contempt of the king, felony, breach of the peace, or treason. No *capias* can be sued out against them for trespass or debt; nor can *assize* lie against a peer of the realm. In civil causes they are not to be impanneled upon juries; and in case a peer be returned upon a jury, there is a special writ for his discharge. They cannot be bound over to keep the peace, any further than pledging their honour for that purpose. Contrary to the custom of the lower house of parliament, they can constitute a proxy to vote for them during their absence. A peer is not subject to outlawry in any civil action, nor can any attachment lie against him. In calling out the *posse comitatus* for the suppression of riots, peers are exempted from obeying the commands of the sheriff. The statute of *Scandalum Magnatum* makes it a crime to raise injurious reports against them, such as in the case of a commoner could not be punished by law. In many cases the houses of peers cannot be entered by the officers of justice, ex-

cept on the authority of a warrant under the king's own hand, and countersigned by six privy councillors, four of whom must be peers of the realm. Every peer has what is called the privilege of *qualifying* a certain number of chaplains, who, on receiving a dispensation from their metropolitan, ratified under the great seal, may hold a *plurality* of benefices. A duke may qualify six chaplains; a marquis and earl five each; a viscount four; and a baron three. It is by the exercise of this privilege of "qualifying," that the law with respect to a plurality of benefices may be evaded by every priest who can secure the patronage of a peer.

You will readily perceive by the foregoing, which is a mere sketch of the privileges and exemptions of the members of the House of Peers, that it is constituted upon principles essentially different from our Senate, the members of which are appointed for only six years, by the representatives of the several states, and enjoy no other privilege but that which is held in common with every other representative of the people, and is essential to the discharge of their public duties, the privilege of exemption from arrest during the session of congress, and in going and returning therefrom. A peer being, it is true, an hereditary legislator, the general freedom he enjoys from arrest naturally arises from his being always held to be employed in that capacity. But this, among other features, exhibits more distinctly the wide dissimilarity of the two bodies.

That the Senate of the United States stands in a situation, with regard to the executive and House of Representatives, analogous to that of the House of Peers in relation to the king and the House of Commons, is most undoubtedly true. Its legislative powers, as well as its judicial functions, are, in many important cases the same. But so long as they are constituted upon principles so totally distinct and irreconcilable—so long as the one is hereditary, the other elective—so long as one is the creation of the king, the other the creature of the people, it seems undeniable, that nothing but error and mischief can result from drawing precedents, in matters of principle or politics, from a British House of Peers, for the imitation of the Senate of the United States.

There are a few other points which occur to me, as rendering this separation of the two bodies still wider. When a senator of the United States accepts an office from the executive, he forfeits his seat, and remains ineligible so long as he retains the office. Hence, although the patronage of the executive may tempt him to a desertion of his principles *before* he receives his reward, he remains ever afterwards incapable of betraying the people in the capacity of their representative.

But it is otherwise in the British House of Peers, where a man may hold a dozen places at the pleasure of the king, without forfeiting his seat. In the present House of Peers, there are somewhere (for I took the trouble to count them) about one hundred and eighty placemen, who enjoy offices either of profit, or honour, or both. In the United States, a senator, when he receives the price of his sacrifice of principle, becomes of no value to the purchaser.

LETTER XX.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

YOU may form some notion of the resemblance, in point of substantial reality, between the House of Commons here, and our House of Representatives, which, in running the parallel between the two systems of government, have been compared to each other, by the fact, that fifteen thousand voters return a majority in the former body. There is one nobleman who sends twelve members, and there are at Birmingham and Manchester, containing between them upwards of two hundred thousand inhabitants, that send none. Counties, containing from one to three or four hundred thousand inhabitants, have no more weight in the House of Commons, than a borough in which there are some half-a-dozen voters, who return two members. Nay, the members from the rotten boroughs are actually of more consequence in the house, from being notoriously articles of sale, and at the command of the highest bidder; whereas, those from the counties, being sometimes men of independence and principle, are listened to quietly and indifferently, and suffered to take their own way, from a conviction that there is no use in tampering with them.

The representatives of the boroughs, on the contrary, are either, for the most part, the proprietors of the boroughs themselves, their sons, brothers, &c. or they are mere creatures of the proprietor; or they are persons who can afford to bribe high, because they mean to be bribed high in turn; or lastly, they are persons of political talents, who can get into parliament only through the patronage of some borough-holder, who is either a partisan of the minister, and wishes to furnish him an able supporter, or who expects to make himself of consequence by setting his great mastiff to bark at him. The opportunity thus afforded, of getting men of talents into the House, who would otherwise perhaps not attain a seat, has been made one great ground of defence to the borough-system.

There is nothing approaching to, or resembling an equality

in the exercise of the right of suffrage ; there is nothing which approaches to an apportionment of the number of representatives to the number of freeholders ; there is nothing, in short, in the system, adapted to those changes which time and circumstances produce in every nation, and according to which its government ought to be modified. Boroughs without trade or importance, and almost without inhabitants, return members to parliament, because they possessed all these some centuries ago ; while vast cities, which have grown up into wealth, importance, and numbers, are denied the privilege of representation, because some centuries ago they were not in existence. No government, and, least of all, any system of representation can be applicable to the situation of a people, where changes of this kind are totally disregarded.

There have been vast and learned dissertations, of late, as to the question of who voted, and who did not vote, for members of parliament in the reign of Henry the Third. The advocates of a general distribution of the right of suffrage lay great stress upon certain equivocal authorities, on which they found the doctrine of universal suffrage, as respected the freeman of England. But then, who were the freemen of England at that time ? As nothing is settled here according to the enlarged principles of human rights, or in accordance with those changes which time inevitably produces in men and things, resort is always had to ancient precedents, many of them entirely inapplicable to the present state of England, and to laws and customs questionable in their existence, or, if not questionable, no longer founded in reason or expediency. A jury of antiquaries now decide on the rights of Englishmen. Hence, it is considered of infinite importance to ascertain the fact, whether the first parliament of England was originally the delegated representative of all the freeholders of England. That this was actually the case appears, both from the very origin of that assembly, as well as from various other authorities. The peers represent themselves ; but as it would be manifestly impossible for the people to sit collectively and legislate for themselves, they delegated their powers to their representatives. Hence, the common language of the early writers on the constitution is the unqualified assertion, that every Englishman is present, either by himself or his representative, in the English parliament. If this does not mean, that every English freeholder has a voice in the election of his representative, it means nothing but mockery and nonsense.

The Wittenagemot, the Saxon parliament, and the original of the English one, was unquestionably an assembly modelled on those free principles common at that time, and from the

earliest ages, to the northern nations, who, according to Tacitus, were all governed by their own consent alone—*De minoribus rebus principes consultant, de majoribus omnes*. Xephiline also, speaking of the Britons, tells us, *apud hos, populus magno ex parte principatum tenet*. It is true, the feudal system, which succeeded, subverted the ancient freedom of British and Saxon institutions, yet this does not impeach the validity of the people's claim to a fair representation in parliament, especially in a country where antiquity supersedes every thing; since the freedom, spoken of by Tacitus and Xephiline, was far more ancient than the feudal system, which was established by force and fraud upon its ruins.

What is called *radicalism* here, consists principally in advocating, not exactly universal suffrage, but in giving the right of voting for members of parliament to all "resident householders," paying taxes, as they generally do, to an amount which one would think fairly entitles them to a vote for those who enact them. This, you will perceive, is little more than putting the right of voting for members of parliament on the same footing with the right of voting for a member of congress, in most of the states, at least in very many of them. The great objection to this, even with those who think parliamentary reform indispensably necessary to the security of the government, is, that it will make the House of Commons a democratic body. It appears to me, that if that house is not the representative of the commons, or the people, or the democracy of England, it is worse than nothing; for it was originally, beyond doubt, essentially the democratic branch of the government. Be this as it may, the cry of radical, or democrat, will set even the most liberal of these patriots legislating against the people with all his might.

I happened to be present, not long since, when Lord John Russell made his motion for extending the right of representation in parliament, to certain of the great towns, and taking it away, or buying it, of some of the most contemptible of the boroughs. He stated various instances of corruption in the elections for boroughs, alluding to them by name, and explicitly maintained, that, in the present state of things, where, in a vast many cases, some twenty, ten, or perhaps fewer electors, "little better than paupers," were to return one or two members, it was next to impossible to prevent these beggarly voters from selling, and some rich purchaser from buying, a seat. All the acts of parliament, he said, for preventing this system of corruption, were evaded by dexterous dealers in boroughs; and the practice of selling votes was now as common as that of selling wool, or cheese, or any marketable com-

modity. It was in this manner, or by the influence of borough proprietors, who either represented them in person, or bargained for them with the minister, that about three hundred members were returned to the house.

Lord John called upon the Marquis of Londonderry to deny these facts, and challenged denial from any member. His lordship did not deny them, for it is not many years since a case of this kind was brought home to himself. Nobody denied them; and, in fact, it seemed as if it were a matter of too little consequence to call for denial. He might just as well have complained of a notorious strumpet for selling her favours, to the young members who were lounging about, yawning most piteously at such *stuff*, or nodding in their seats, half asleep, till roused by the noble marquis, whose profound, or rather perplexed, eloquence, every now and then waked them up, and caused them to cry "hear! hear!" with vast vociferation.

You will perceive, from the foregoing details, that there is nothing more than a mere outside resemblance, between the House of Commons here, and the House of Representatives at home. The latter really represents the people of the United States; the former represents the mere paper money and patronage of the government. A large proportion of the members of parliament only represent a few paupers, whose votes they have purchased, and the numbers of these representatives actually counterbalance, and outvote, the representatives of the merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists combined. The price of a borough, which returns two members, is enhanced sometimes four, six, ten, twenty fold, by that privilege—can we wonder, then, if the purchaser is anxious to make the most of such an expensive bauble? So, when a man buys the votes of a borough at a high price, is it not to be expected he will sell his own to the highest bidder? The whole system is fraught with corruption. It leads men into temptation precisely where there is the greatest danger of falling, and where a fall is accompanied with the most extensive evils.

LETTER XXI.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

IN my last two or three letters, I attempted to give you some idea of the real nature and spirit of this government, not by vague declamations, borrowed from their own writers, or the partial ignorance of foreigners, but by sketching some of those

features, which, although they do not strike at first sight, finally, on a closer examination, are found to give a character to the whole composition. Much has been said and written of this government which it never deserved ; and much which, if it ever merited, it merits no longer. But it is difficult to shake a long established belief, or to weaken our confidence in a good character, sustained for a considerable length of time. It is right it should be so, or else the fruits of a whole age of virtuous actions might be blasted in a moment by a breath of calumny.

As all things are however good by comparison, and as it is the custom of most Englishmen to insist upon some mysterious, occult, invisible, and indefinable superiority of their government over all others, and most especially over our republic, it may be worth while to institute a short comparison between the two. Declamation is a good prop to error ; but facts are the best support of truth.

The independence of an English jury, of the present day, has been greatly overrated, because, in a few instances, state prosecutions have failed in the City of London. This fact only proves what I have just urged, that an independence of the king, or at least, a partial dependence on the people, is essential to the security of the subject. The sheriff of London is chosen by the livery of London, which is essentially a democratic body. It is therefore highly probable, that in a cause where the rights of the people are opposed to the pretensions of the king, he will not summon a jury biassed in favour of the latter.

In all the counties of Great Britain, with perhaps one or two exceptions, where the right is vested in some nobleman, the sheriffs are appointed by the king. That his majesty and his council will select the most loyal supporters of the prerogative, is at least naturally to be expected, and most especially at the present crisis, when the people and the king are perpetually in conflict. In the large cities, the appointment of the sheriff is sometimes in the corporation or in the guilds ; and in proportion as these are popular, or the creatures of some courtier, which last is generally the case, the independence of juries may be inferred. Out of London, we hear of no acquittals of radicals, nor any condemnation of soldiers for riding over and shooting unarmed citizens, men, women, and children.

But even admitting the trial by jury, and habeas corpus, to subsist in this country in all their purity, still they are partially suspended, of late almost every year, under some pretence of public danger ; that is, whenever the public sentiment,

the servility of sheriffs, and the subserviency of juries, cannot be sufficiently calculated upon for the purposes of oppression.

Again : the security of a person is at the mercy of a press-gang, from whose lawless fangs no man with a ragged coat is exempt. Instances are continually occurring, where the sons of the country people, in roaming about London, and elsewhere, at the naval stations, are kidnapped by the press-gangs, and carried on board of ships, where it rests with the caprice, or the necessities of the officers, either to let him go or to take him to sea, where he is not heard of by his friends for years. On the other hand, the security of property, at least of the produce of landed property, is, I may say, destroyed, by being subjected to taxation by a parliament, in which the far greater proportion of those who pay them have no representatives.

But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the two countries are on a par, with respect to the two great ends of government, security of person and property ; I would then put their excellence to the test, by inquiring, which attains these great objects at the least sacrifice of property and independence ? The comparison is perfectly simple, as respects the first. There are twenty millions of people in Great Britain, and ten in the United States. Of the former, one-seventh are paupers, not taxable ; of the latter, about the same proportion are negroes, also not taxable ; at least their owners pay their taxes. We will put the negroes against the paupers, and the proportion will still remain the same ; that is, about double the number of taxable persons in this country, that there is in the United States. We will put the whole of the expenditures of the latter at twenty millions of dollars per annum, which is a very large allowance for the present year, I am sure, and contrast it with the 53,289,754*l.* sterling yearly expenditure of this government, including interest on the public debt. The mere annual expence of the British government, exclusive of the interest of the public debt, amounts to upwards of twenty-two millions of pounds sterling ; that is to say, at the rate of about twenty-two shillings sterling a head for every man, woman, and child in Great Britain. Add to this the interest on the public debt, the tithes, poor-rates, &c. and it will amount to between two or three times as much more, making an average of about fourteen dollars a head for every soul in Great Britain. In the United States the average is less than two dollars, or about one-seventh. It will appear, therefore, that the people of the United States pay only one-seventh of the sum per annum for the security of person and property, that the people of this country do for the attainment of similar blessings.

Of the state of religion, morals, and manners, I have given

you some sketches in my former letters. Where crimes are most frequent, and violations of decency most public and most common, it is but empty boasting to make pretensions to superior piety, morality, or refinement. There may be pious, virtuous, and refined individuals, but the nation can possess no extraordinary share of either. If we take this criterion, I apprehend it will be found, that England has little to boast of in these particulars. Certain it is, however, that in no city have I heard of so many crimes, and so many violations of public decency, as occur in London. If there be, in reality, any extraordinary degree of evangelical piety, or orthodox religion here, it does not appear to be of that species which hold the reins of human passions, and places the curb in the hard mouth of wilful wickedness. It seems to vent itself in strange and abstract doctrines of mysterious subtlety—in Bible and Missionary Societies, whose remote objects appear to attract almost exclusive attention, while the corruptions, that walk at noonday, and stink in our very nostrils, are either neglected, or become indifferent, by being so common. It would seem to consist in the doctrine of old fanaticism, or still older hypocrisy, of making the conversion of one Pagan an equivalent for the loss of a hundred Christian souls; of purchasing pardon for the habitual breach of moral laws and social duties, by an infuriated zeal in converting people who inhabit the uttermost parts of the earth. That such a perversion of the true ends of religion, and such principles of action, should lead to an era of multiplied crimes, and endless offences against human laws, is not any subject of surprise, since all human experience goes to prove, that the separation of morality and religion is in the end fatal to both.

LETTER XXII.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

KINGS would, at all times, I believe, if left to their choice, rather govern by opinion than by force, by love than by fear. An army of pensioned writers, when it will suffice to support the king's popularity, will, in most cases, be preferred to an army of soldiers to maintain his authority, for at least two special reasons. The former method is by far the cheaper; since a few pensions, a paltry title, a ring, a picture, or a letter written by his majesty's own hand, will very generally neutralize, if not correct, the most stubborn literary patriot, and so completely alter his perception of things, that a country, which

only yesterday was the most oppressed and miserable, becomes to-morrow the happiest in the world. For instance, Thomas Campbell, whose noble and affecting strains on the subject of Polish freedom and Irish oppression are remembered by every American reader, has dwindled into the nominal editor of a tory magazine, and gone over from the oppressed to the oppressor. I do not say this change was wrought by a pension, of two or three hundred pounds a year; but when a man changes his sentiments very suddenly, and receives a pension immediately afterwards, it is difficult to resist the conviction that there is some connexion between the two.

The laureat, Southey, was seduced from the arms of Wat Tyler, by the irresistible attractions of sack and sugar. A hundred a year, and a butt of sack, did his business. They so wrought upon his conscience, that from a downright patriot, he became first a flatterer of kings, and next a fanatical advocate of every species of pious fraud and kingly pretension. I verily believe the poor man is sincere now; for hypocrisy is too wary and worldly-minded to give in to such fantastic fooleries as the laureat has lately committed. It is often the case, that men are inducted into a great devotion for principles, to which they were at first but little attached, by the aid of a sound drubbing or two, which operates like persecution upon new modes of faith, making what was before perhaps little better than hypocrisy, a confirmed and obstinate conviction. Few persons have been more persecuted in this way than the unfortunate laureat. When he was a patriot, he was terribly persecuted by the Anti-jacobin, which parodied his Sapphics, and, what every body thought impossible, made them even more ridiculous than they were originally. After he was converted to loyalty by sack and sugar, and a hundred a year, his old friends, whom he had abandoned, attacked him with every weapon of ridicule and severity; while his new allies, feeling rather ashamed of their new convert, left him to the poor consolation of praising himself, which he does now at every convenient opportunity. As he was drubbed into a perfect conviction of the truth of his newly adopted principles, so in like manner has he been convinced of his own great merit and talents by the ridicule and incredulity of the world. In attempting to make head against these, he was so often obliged to bear testimony in favour of himself, that he at length became a sincere convert to his own absurdities, and grew to believe in himself, as a man comes to believe in a story of his own invention, by dint of eternal repetition. What the laureat does with his butt of sack is a profound secret in the republic of letters. He cannot drink it, certainly, or else Jack Falstaff

was even a greater liar than he has credit for being. If, as he affirms, "a good sherris sack hath a two-fold operation"—if "it ascends me to the brain, and there dries the vapours," the laureat had better set about drinking it, for "by 'r Lady," brother, another birth-day poem will finish honest Bob Southey, unless he disperse the aforesaid vapours. He begins to reverse all the rules of composition of late; for it may lawfully be said of him, that he writes prose like a madman, and poetry like a fool. I am sorry for him; for, notwithstanding his overbearing self-sufficiency; his desertion of the cause of freedom; his virulent invectives against his opponents; his rampant conceit, and his utter want of all literary courtesy; I am assured that his character in private life is amiable and exemplary.

An army of authors is a much cheaper support of royalty than an army of soldiers, and has this special recommendation besides, that it not only can uphold the king's authority while living, but give him a good name after death.

But the trade of a king is not near so good as it used to be. At this time, when there seems to be a general rebellion of the human understanding against the abuses and exactions of antiquated tyranny, it has become indispensable for royalty to turn its attentions more particularly to the people. For this purpose, it is considered equally essential to laud the characters and manners of kings; to maintain the superiority of that system of government of which they are the heads; and to denounce, on all occasions, those principles of freedom, which are as much, and as surely, the product of intellectual advancement, as the blossom is of the sun.

The whole tide of corruption has consequently turned into these channels; and in order to render the means of depressing mankind more effectual, it has become more than ever necessary, that the press should be either corrupted or enslaved. You perhaps have not remarked it, but it is becoming every day more and more evident, that republicanism and republicans must be either rendered odious and detestable in the eyes of nations, by reiterated falsehoods and misrepresentations, or there will be shortly little security for many thrones of Europe. One or other, the old or the new world, must change its governments. A plan has therefore been devised, and is now in most promising progress, in Europe, for controuling the freedom of the press, on the one hand by fines, prosecutions, and censorships; and on the other to render it subservient to the purposes of antiquated oppressions, ignorance, and superstition, by means of pensions, patronage, sinecures, and paltry titles, that sink the man of genius into a mere courtier.

In the progress of this deep laid plot against the human understanding, we have seen, that only those republican writers whose efforts were not the most dangerous, either from want of talents or of a popular mode of addressing the multitude, are tolerated. The moment a popular writer becomes dangerous by his power of addressing the public feelings, himself and his writings are singled out for the lash of the law or the church. Under some pretence of blasphemy, if they can find no other, the author is prosecuted, fined, and ruined; and his book, if not entirely suppressed, becomes an object for all the hirelings to bark at, from the *Quarterly Review* to *Blackwood's Magazine*.

But in a government in which the whole wealth of the state can be employed almost at will in the wages of corruption, the means of influencing and controuling the press are not confined to mere oppression and punishment. If, for instance, a writer possess too much courage to be frightened, or too much honesty to be bribed into a sacrifice of his principles, they set the *Quarterly Review* upon him. That excellent, conscientious, and disinterested publication, begins by charging him with radicalism and infidelity. The *Literary Gazette* repeats the tale to the *New Monthly* and the *John Bull*; the *New Monthly* to the *Beacon* and *Blackwood's Magazine*; and thus the cry is sounded from the London Monument to Edinburgh Cross. This never fails to alarm the rich and privileged orders; in fact, all those whose opinions have great influence in society, and to whom an author looks up, not only for reputation, but patronage, at least so far as to the purchase of his book. Few men, however great may be their civil courage, can resist a combined and successful attack upon their purse and character at the same time. It therefore happens, in a vast many instances, that, unless the *Edinburgh Review* and its followers take up the cudgels, on the other side, the poor man recants in his next publication, accommodates himself to the views of our ministerial critic, and sacrifices his principles to save the remnant of his good name, and find purchasers for his book.

Others, however, who, like Mr. Southey and Mr. Gifford, are naturally inclined to become pensioners and parasites, have their virgin purity assailed and speedily overcome by the seductive applications of certain agreeable sinecures, that are generally found to be quite irresistible. One of these, it is well known, caused Mr. Southey to abjure his *Joan of Arc* and *Wat Tyler*, and fairly converted him from *Dom Daniels*, jacobin epics, and republican sapphics, into a loving coadjutor of Messrs. Gifford and Canning, who, erewhile, had set the whole universe laughing at him and his sapphics in the *Anti-jacobin*. That arch enemy of our country, Mr. William Gifford, is clerk

to the honourable band of pensioners; an excellent place, with a good salary, nothing to do, and twelve hundred buttons to his coronation coat. This is as it should be. There is a fitness of things in a pensioned writer being clerk to a band of pensioners.

Thomas Campbell, alack for genius! is also a pensioner of the king, and has been placed at the head of the *New Monthly Magazine*, with the well known object of putting down, or superseding the *Monthly*; for you must know it is common here, not only with tavern-keepers, who let out their houses to the public, but also with authors, who let out their consciences to the best paymaster, to juggle each other out of his custom, by putting up a similar sign; that is to say, christening their new bantling by the name of some well known and popular establishment. There is something exceedingly contemptible in this; but really, the arts of literature, as practised here now, graze very closely upon the skirts of the noble art of swindling. This setting up a spurious magazine, with the same title which is borne by one already popular and well known, to my mind, is very little better than getting into society, and borrowing money, under the name and on the credit of some respectable person. The mere tagging of the epithet "*New*" to it, is nothing, since the generality of people will suppose it nothing more than a new series of the same work.

The *New Monthly* is, in every respect, a complete contrast to the *Monthly Magazine*—every way inferior in talent, in principle, instruction, and amusement. The *Monthly Magazine*, has, for many years past been conducted with much ability; and is, at this moment, in my opinion, the best publication in Great Britain of the kind. The *New Monthly*, on the contrary, is a mere collection of frivolous articles, principally composed of notices of second hand German literature; letters from Grimus Short; abortive attempts at the pathetic, and still more abortive attempts at wit and satire.

The *Monthly Magazine* has always displayed a most liberal disposition towards our country, and dealt with us in the spirit of friendly intercourse. It has, on all occasions, been the advocate of rational freedom, and maintained, with equal zeal and ability, those sober doctrines of political right, which are as free from the license of anarchy, as they are from the chains of despotism. It has always spoken with a just discrimination of our character, manners, and literature; neither elevating us above the scale of human excellence, nor debasing us to the level of profligate boors. In short, if we are to depend upon foreign periodical literature, the *Monthly Maga-*

nine is, beyond doubt, in every point of view, entitled to the first selection, since it neither pampers our vanity, nor outrages our just feelings of pride and patriotism.

Besides Messrs. Gifford, Southey, Campbell, and others, there are hundreds of inferior note, at least that are not so well known on our side of the water, who are in the enjoyment of places, pensions, and patronage, of some sort or other. I will not trouble you with any more of these. It is sufficient for me to assure you, that very little independence is to be looked for, either in the reviews or Magazines, with few exceptions. Almost every one of these was either originally established for certain religious or political objects, or has been seduced by bribery and patronage to become a hot partisan. The government having the heaviest purse, and the most extensive patronage, is, of course, the best paymaster, and consequently retains by far the greater proportion of authors, either as apologists of itself, or calumniators of others. Hence it is, that we see them industriously employing all their learning and talents in propping up old abuses, and recommending new ones; mingling the praises of religion with the grossest flattery of those whose whole conduct belies its precepts; covering the indulgence of the bitterest, most malignant passions, with the thin pretext of orthodox piety; making a parade of their faith in ribald farce and impious tragedies; spicing the keenest conflicts of interest and ambition with an ample sprinkling of pure ministerial orthodoxy; and joining their voices to the full chorus of cant, which, under the auspices of the Holy Alliance, now echoes through half the world. It is in this way they either repay the bounty of the ministry, or insinuate themselves into the lap of new rewards, by means of new services.

When a writer once consents to receive a benefit, be it what it may, the tenure of which is, that he shall not write any thing not palatable to the patron, he sells his birth-right for a mess of pottage; the wings of his genius are clipped by the sword of power, and his intellectual faculties become cramped in their exercise. When old Faustus, according to the story, sold himself to Satan, he gained by his bargain, at least, an enlargement of his powers, both of mind and body; his genius expanded, and he was enabled to comprehend what was before beyond the reach of his mind. But when Messrs. Southey and Campbell sold themselves, they seem to have lost the talent they before possessed; and, like the traitor Arnold, carried with them nothing but their disgrace. The indifferent poetry of the patriot Southey, has become ten times more so since he became a pensioner; and the genius of

Thomas Campbell seems to have deserted him, the moment he entered within the magic circle of ministerial patronage.

In an age of ignorance and superstition, it may be, that literature will find it necessary to appeal to an enlightened monarch, or his minister, for that support which the indifference of the public denies him; or for that protection which the bigotry of ecclesiastical power renders necessary. But at this time, when the taste and liberality of the people are amply sufficient to remunerate the highest efforts of genius, it is not necessary that it should grovel at the foot of power for protection, nor prostitute its independence for bread. It is now but seldom that talent appeals in vain to the patronage of nations, when it comes recommended by independent principles and honest patriotism. A people that wish to be free, must take the exclusive controul of literature out of the hands of their governments.

LETTER XXIII.

DEAR BROTHER,

London.

MUCH of the lighter kind of literature here, such as poetry, novels, and the like, having no bearing on politics, is dependant on the patronage of the booksellers, between whom, and the authors, there is a good deal of bye-play and management. A combination of booksellers can easily produce a gale of popularity, that will frequently waft a book through half a dozen editions. When they find a poet somewhat better at a rant than his fellows, or a novel writer gifted with a more than ordinary talent for caricaturing human nature, they commonly unite to give him a *run*, as it is called, for a season at least, because it is indispensable to the profits of their business, that there should be some few authors, whose names alone will ensure the sale of their works.

You are to understand, that there is abundance of second and third rate reviews and magazines, in one way or other partially under the influence of booksellers, and who will, at any time, say a good word for a book, if the author or publisher will only send them a copy, with a polite note, complimenting their taste, and calling their review or magazine, "your valuable publication." These are set to work to inflate the reputation of the fortunate authors, selected by the trade for a run for the season. The impulse given by these means in London, soon extends to all the provincial towns. Edition after edition is put forth with inconceivable rapidity, and the author be-

comes famous for at least nine days, while the booksellers laugh, it may be, in their sleeves, and pocket the money. Here, in London, the people of real taste, who are not led away by this whiff of popularity, laugh at all this mummery. The provincial towns, however, oftener yawn than laugh over the book, without daring to dissent from the unquestionable award of the London Literary Gazette, or the anonymous testimony of some newspaper critic. In a little while they wake up, and after rubbing their eyes and yawning some twenty times, begin to suspect that they want taste, rather than that the author lacks talents, or the reviewer judgment. As no man, however, can permanently cherish the idea of being a block-head, without becoming either a sage or a madman, these doubts settle gradually into a conviction that the book is deficient in merit, rather than the reader in taste. The delusion is then over—the bard or the novelist walks quietly into oblivion—the booksellers jingle their money, and prepare to start another of these overgrown yearlings. Thus runs the race of this species of literature, and thus are honest England and simple America played with by reviewers and booksellers. There was, a few months ago, a genius called the Rev. Mr. Croly, that always wrote upon the hot crust of a volcano, who was patted on the back, until he actually stood beside some of the great poets without blushing. On the contrary, he determined to make hay while the sun shone, in the true spirit of a modern bard. He wrote poetry faster than the “great unknown;” and, by means of divers blasts of the reviewers’ trumpets, actually made a little fortune, before the town discovered he had asses’ ears, and was a most just brayer.

Literature, like almost every other trade in this country, is not only overstocked with workmen, but with a vast many very indifferent ones, and it is with their books as with other manufactures—if they did not find an extensive market in our country, one half of the artists would starve. It is inconceivable what a vast literary taste there is in England; that is to say, a taste for literary scandal, tittle-tattle, reviewing, and magazing. The number of these publications are as the leaves of the trees, the sands of the sea; and their contents of such a nature, that to look into them is like looking for a grain of wheat in a hundred bushels of chaff. Opinions of books that the critics never read, and of things they cannot comprehend; trumpery provincial antiquities; puffings of quack authors, quack politicians, quack philanthropists, and quack doctors—new revivals of old absurdities, or new discoveries of exploded and forgotten things—anecdotes familiar to every general reader—together

with the fashions, lists of promotions, marriages and deaths, murders and executions—these constitute the great mass, among which, however, will occasionally be found an able scientific article, a well written essay, and a capital engraving. Indeed, it may with great truth be said, that these publications owe their greatest beauties to the engravers. The horses, dogs, fiddlers, players, and great men, are beautifully done.

It may possibly be news in your retired village to tell you that the editor of Blackwood's ferocious and bouncing magazine, is the son-in-law of Sir Walter Scott, and that he exceeds all living creatures in puffing his worthy father-in-law. It was he that christened him the "Great Unknown," if I do not mistake, and on all occasions he is foremost in his offerings of incense at the shrine of his idol. One might suppose that a sense of decorum would restrain him from this unblushing adulation; but they don't mind these things here, where it is almost as common for an author to puff his own book in the magazines, as for a quack doctor to be his own trumpeter in the newspapers. It is related to me, by persons whose opportunities of information are unquestionable, that if you could trace the approbation or censures of these magazines and reviews to their true source, they would, nine times in ten, be found to originate in personal, political, and religious antipathies or attachments, or in some holy alliance for mutual defence and mutual praises. In fact, such is the notorious prostitution of these reviews, that the real admirers of literature, who are not wedded to some political party or other, pay no sort of attention to their decisions, from a conviction that they originate in impure motives.

A great many books, which were barked at by the whole pack, have attained an extensive circulation, in spite of the hue and cry of canting hypocrisy, and canting criticism. Such has been the case with Lady Morgan's late works, even in spite of that fantastic affectation of style for which her ladyship is so notorious. On the other hand, a vast many books, which they have attempted, with all their might, to impose upon the patronage of the public, have already sunk into the bottomless pit of oblivion. It begins to be understood that this reviewing is a trade, and that their conductors must not fail to please their customers at all hazards. Hence, when any obnoxious opinions come abroad, and especially any that smack of republicanism, if the book be written with the pen of an angel, it stands no more chance of receiving quarter here, than a heretic among so many monks of the twelfth century. The author will be served by these literary judges like poor Naboth; he will be accused of blasphemy, and lose at least his reputation, if not, the harvest of this little vineyard. On

the contrary, if he should happen to be the greatest blockhead in the world, he may be sure of a good word, if he will only calumniate the whole mass of mankind, except the rich and noble, by calling them "deluded wretches," and placing their exertions to obtain bread to the account of an unprincipled disregard of all human obligations. It is in this way that writers attain to honours and rewards in England, just now, without the display of a single talent, except the talent of glossing over the corruptions of the higher, and insulting the distresses of the lower, orders.

Sir W. S. owes much of his success, and still more of his knighthood, to his politics, which are high tory. A curious affair came to light the other day, which lets us into the secret of Sir W.'s merits in the sight of my lord the king. People in America think he was knighted for his genius. It seems a paper was not long ago set up in Edinburgh, called the *Beacon*, which turned out even more libellous than *Blackwood's Magazine*, and exceeded that excellent production in its praises of Sir W. Almost every person of note, obnoxious on the score of his opposition to the court politics, was libelled in the grossest manner. Among these was a Mr. Stuart, who, in the course of his inquiries as to the persons responsible for the attack, discovered that the paper was patronised by an association of loyal persons, each of whom had signed a bond to contribute a hundred guineas to its support in case of necessity. Among these munificent patrons of literature were Sir W. S., and the lord advocate, each of whom had subscribed his hundred guineas. Upon this discovery, Stuart opened a correspondence with the lord advocate, which resulted in his lordship's discovering the libels on Mr. Stuart. The association for the encouragement of literature, hereupon finding the affair was likely to turn out rather serious, cancelled the bond, and dissolved partnership. The sole object of the *Beacon* was to single out persons, obnoxious from their opposition to the court, as objects for personal defamation. It attempted also a contest with the *Scotsman*, the most powerful and ably conducted newspaper in the three kingdoms. As was to be expected, it sunk under the struggle, and confined itself altogether to libels afterwards.

I have seen it stated in print, and not contradicted, to my knowledge, that Sir W. is actually co-proprietor and co-editor of *Blackwood's Magazine*, which praises him so lustily. I merely give you the fact, without vouching for any thing. Thus much is certain, however, that this magazine is considered as the most virulent partisan of principles entirely at war with the happiness and prosperity of our people; that it

has been convicted of at least a dozen libels upon the characters of private individuals; and that it is noted particularly for its offensive articles concerning our country. In a late number of this work, is a tale, called "the Floridian Pirate," grossly libelling and calumniating the people of the southern and western States, and in which it is boldly insinuated, that to tie a planter to a tree, set fire to his house, and commence a piratical warfare against white men, are not only justifiable, but meritorious acts of heroism.

Of a similar character and principles, is the *New Monthly Magazine*. It is not so open and offensive in its hostility, but still there is scarcely a number appears, that does not squint ill-naturedly towards our country and its institutions. Ridicule of the peculiar habits of the people, their sanguine anticipations of the future, and other little peculiarities, are fair exercises of ingenuity and wit enough. This is what all nations indulge in towards each other. But when this satire degenerates into malignity, and proceeds, under the cover of various disguises, to undermine the respect of foreigners for our government and its institutions; to give distorted and offensive sketches of persons and things, calculated to degrade and disgrace a whole people, it passes the bounds of authorized ridicule, and becomes a distorter of truth and a mis-stater of facts. It becomes unworthy of our toleration, much more of our patronage.

I regret to see Mr. Campbell lending his name to such a publication as this. Though it may, perhaps, be for his immediate interest to implant in our country, a rooted antipathy for his name, and a lasting contempt for his principles, it might be worth his while to recollect, that the affectionate admiration of a new world is not to be lightly forfeited by one who values his immortal fame. To be read, admired, and cherished by growing millions, as the author of "Gertrude of Wyoming," the "Pleasures of Hope," and "Erin go Bragh," is something better in the end, than to be remembered hereafter, by perhaps thrice as many human beings as Britain now holds, as the petty editor of petty squibs and sarcasms, contemptible, indeed, in themselves, but deriving point and consequence from peculiar causes, that will possibly preserve them from merited oblivion. Men like Mr. Campbell would do well to bear in mind, that the time is not far distant, when they must look across the Atlantic for by far the greater proportion of their admirers, or enemies; and that the people of the United States are among those, of all others, the least likely to select, as objects of respect and veneration, writers who ridicule their institutions, or calumniate their country.

Next to the trade of magazineing and reviewing, I find the biographers of the middling sort of great men in the greatest profusion here, and every day reminds me of Cowper's admirable epigram :—

- “ O ! fond attempt to give a deathless lot
To names ignoble, born to be forgot.”
“ So when a child, as playful children use,
Has burnt to tinder a stale worn out News,
The flame extinct, he views the roving fire,
There goes my lady, and there goes the 'squire ;
There goes the parson, most illustrious spark,
And there, scarce less illustrious, goes the clerk !”

The particulars of these biographical budgets also call to mind a passage in an old author, where “ Memory” complains thus :—

“ I remember, in the age of Assaracus and Ninus, and about the wars of Thebes, and the siege of Troy, there were few things committed to my care but those that were well worth preserving ; but now, every trifle must be wrapt up in the volume of eternity. A rich pudding wife, or a cobbler, can't die, but I must immortalize them in an epitaph. A dog cannot commit in a nobleman's shoe, but it must be sprinkled in the chronicles ; so that I never could remember my treasury so full, or so empty, of honourable and truly heroic actions.”

One might be almost tempted to believe the writer of the foregoing passage had anticipated the present taste of the English public. If a clergyman, through the patronage of some great man, rises to the distinction of a stall ; if a doctor practises physic with tolerable success ; or a country squire owns a famous racer, or hunts a pack of staunch hounds, he is, in good time, pretty sure of a biography either in the magazine, or in quarto. Indeed, any man can have a place in the former, if he would only find his own likeness.

It is amazing to see with what facility a great book is here compiled concerning a little man. The incidents of his life ; his good or evil actions ; his importance, or his want of importance, are of no sort of consequence. These biographers are like French cooks, or Spanish inn-keepers, who can make an excellent dish out of a tom-cat, or a cow's heel. If the little man had any great men for his contemporaries, or was contemporary with any great events ; if he was at Oxford, Cambridge, Eton, or Harrow, with any body of distinguished rank, or who afterwards distinguished himself, and dropped him a letter now and then ; or if he was a member of some half-a-score of learned societies, provincial or foreign ; either of these fortunate coincidences is sufficient for a quarto royal. If he was

cotemporary with great men, a book can be made out of them ; if with great events, the author can pounce upon the history of the times ; if a member of learned societies, all the learned persons belonging to them may be made to contribute to the dignity of the hero ; but if he corresponded with illustrious men—the letters—the letters, my dear brother, are treasures of biography. If they were written in confidence, so much the better ; the little tittle tattle, the free opinions, domestic disclosures, and private scandal, are inestimable treasures, as furnishing irresistible attractions to the present literary taste.

Another characteristic feature of the present school of English literature is, the incredible appetite for black letter books, and old trash of every sort, which derives its sole value from its scarcity. More than one nobleman here, owe all the eclat they enjoy, independently of their rank and fortune, to their munificence in patronising old authors and printers, who have been dead for centuries. The worse a book is printed, and the more ridiculously quaint its title, the more they will give for the treasure. If they meet with a book, for instance, entitled and called “The dolefulle Tragedye and delectable pleasaunte and merrie Comedye of Goodye Twooe Shooes,” or some such trumpery, printed with wooden blocks, they will give a couple of hundred guineas for it, provided it be the only copy in the world. But if there should chance to be another extant, its value is diminished a hundred fold. I happened, not long ago, to be present at the sale of the Duke of Roxburgh’s library, where Locke, Newton, Milton, Shakspeare, and others, went off for little or nothing, while a copy of “Most righte, rare, and truly dyvertynge Ballads,” such as the beggars were wont to sing of Yore about Tower Hill, was purchased by a Mæcenæ for a few hundred guineas, and a most valuable series of old play-bills brought still more. I must not omit to mention, that the fortunate purchasers not only had the pleasure of gaining the valuable acquisitions, but also got complimented in all the periodicals and diurnals, for their munificence in the encouragement of literature.

At this sale there was a most laughable contest between his grace of ——— and the right honourable earl ———, for no less a treasure than a black letter copy of the history of the Three Wise Men of Gotham, printed by Wynkyn de Worde, in his worst manner. These noblemen were just beginning to nibble at the treasure, and the auctioneer, as well as the heirs of his grace of Roxburgh, were in expectation of a great windfall, when Sir ———, a famous physician, who is a sort of black letter oracle, observed, with an appearance of great indifference, that he had seen a copy at Lackington’s,

and another at a stall in Grub-street. The name of Grub-street was a death-blow to the "Three Wise Men," who were forthwith knocked down to some obscure person for little more than twenty times their real value. Since then it has been ascertained, that neither Lackington nor Grub-street can boast a copy, and it is shrewdly suspected Sir ——— raised the report with a view of purchasing the book himself, had he not been called off at the moment to attend the lap-dog of lady D——.

Let us now talk of little Walter Scott, who, though a tory creature, is one of the most pleasant, unaffected specimens of the *Genus Irritabile* in the world. By the way, he is a little lame, a circumstance that may account for the halting irregularity of his verse. Lord Byron, too, labours under a similar impediment in his walk; and, as his verse partakes of the like infirmity, it might be a curious speculation to inquire into the occult connexion between a lame leg and a lame couplet. But I must leave this matter to the dabblers in cause and effect. I believe there is no doubt of Sir Walter Scott being the person, who, in the bombastic phrase of the critics, is called the "Great Unknown." It is a fact tolerably well known, and if there were any doubt, the extravagant adulation of Blackwood's Magazine would resolve it. His reasons for preserving this affectation of the incognito, are quite clear to me. He wrote himself down in poetry before he began with prose, and that in a good measure by prematurely disclosing his name, and thus depriving his readers of the pleasure of wondering, than which nothing communicates a higher zest to a book. The benefits of invisibility are invaluable to authors, who can neither be hit by the critic, nor wounded by personal attacks, so long as they remain unseen. Besides, authors are a sort of divinity, very apt to turn out an Egyptian stork, or arrant mumbo jumbo, if you approach them too near. They should always keep out of the way, that the public may see nothing but the beauties of their minds. Like the famous chess-playing automaton, lately detected, genius loses half the admiration of the vulgar, so soon as they find there is a man in it.

Do not imagine, from these observations, that I am not a potent admirer of the "Great Unknown," alias, Sir Walter Scott. I have received too much pleasure from his prose writings not to feel grateful. Many an hour of ennui in this land of blue devils hath he whiled away—and many a lonely day of sickly confinement hath he made tolerable to me by the exertions, or, as it would seem, the relaxations of his genius. Shall not the sick man be grateful to him who administers to the mind, as well as to him that administers to the body? Besides, every

soul that ever knew him bears testimony to the worth of his private character, notwithstanding his being somewhat obnoxious on the score of his toryism. His pleasant, unaffected, unpretending manners are exemplary in a man—but, in a successful author, they are little less than miraculous. His heart, I am assured, is free from a single spark of that jealous irritability which divides men of genius, and prevents them from governing the republic of letters more despotically than a senate of Venice.

But for all this, I cannot allow him to be equal either to a Fielding or an Edgeworth, whatever may be the fashionable verdict of the day. In this opinion I am supported by the authority of those judges of the secret tribunal I spoke of, whose approbation, after all, is essentially necessary to the permanent fame of every living author. I will give you an abstract of their opinions, mixed up with some of my own, which last I desire you will hold in especial reverence. No doubt my fair cousin * * *, who, as you inform me, not long ago set the bed-curtains on fire at two o'clock in the morning, by falling asleep over the Abbot, will be greatly affronted at seeing the Great Unknown so sacrilegiously undervalued.

The author of the *Waverley* novels has pursued a path, which saved him, in a great measure, the trouble of invention. The principal characters, as well as events, are historical; and where he has filled up the chasm with incidents of his own, I appeal to the judgment of reflecting persons, if he has not deviated into the wild impossibilities of romance? Where the characters are not absolutely historical, they are derived from old plays and ballads, which also furnish models of language for the actors. Indeed, it may be observed here, that not only the Great Unknown, but a vast number of the present race of poets, have poached pretty liberally in the old plays of Queen Elizabeth and James the First. These, after lying in oblivion, except in the care of these industrious poachers, for two centuries, have at length begun to excite attention, and will probably before long be sufficiently known to ensure the detection of modern plagiarists. Without descending to particularize these borrowings of the Great Unknown, it cannot but strike every reader, who takes the trouble to reflect on the incidents of the tale of *Kemilworth*, for instance, that they are principally taken from Miss Aikin's *Court of Elizabeth*, where they are purely historical; and that where the author has attempted to sketch from his own resources, he has almost invariably deviated into common place or caricature. Indeed, to me it appears, that through the whole of the work there is an air of reckless extravagance, a daring disregard to probability, that takes from the characters

every feature of historical likeness, and gives to historical facts every characteristic of improbability.

With the exception of Sir Hugh Robsart and Tressilian, there is almost a total absence of interesting characters. Queen Elizabeth is nothing but a coarse virago; Leicester a miserable dupe of a clumsy astrologer; and Sussex, Blount, Antony Foster, and the rest, very common persons. The originals of Lambourne, Giles Gosling, and Demetrius, may be found in a dozen of the old plays; but where to find Wayland Smith, the mysterious blacksmith, and Dicky Sledge, is more than I know; not within the limits of nature, certainly. I cannot tell how it is, but Dicky seems the identical Gilpin Horner of the Lay of the Last Minstrel, merely divested of his supernatural features. Raleigh is a fine personage in history; but apparently rather of too high an aim for our author, since the only incident of any consequence, illustrative of his character, introduced into the work, is that of the cloak, familiar to every school-boy. Raleigh is, of all the personages in the piece, the one of whom the author ought to have made the most, and he has made nothing.

The Pirate has just come out, and has shaken the popularity of the author so sensibly, that it begins to be rumoured, he will shortly proceed to give us a third edition of the old beauties of his mind, in the shape of a series of plays. This is certainly making the most of one's wealth, and reminds me of a cunning fellow of the beau monde, who lately passed the same quantity of silver through two editions, once in the shape of a service of plate, and once as a beautiful tea set, after which he coined it into money, dashed away in a curricule to the admiration of every body, and died game at last.

But Julia Mannering, Mr. Pleydell, and every character in the whole of this series of novels, which appertains to the class of real, actually existing beings, such as we live and move amongst at present, are destitute of all claim to vigour or originality. It is only necessary to place them beside those of Miss Edgeworth, to perceive at once, how much more easy it is to draw materials from history and tradition than from actual observation of life and manners. So with those incidents and events which can be referred to beings like ourselves, and to which we can apply the test of our own experience and observation. Nearly the same deplorable tameness and common-place characterize them all; and it is only when the author envelopes himself in the mists of time, and the obscurity of provincial tradition, that he attains to a new species of fiction, compounded of improbabilities stretched on the rack, and characters not altogether human, nor yet quite supernatural, such as abound in the records of popular superstition.

Hence the apparently wonderful facility with which the author compiles these novels. The experience of a whole life furnished Fielding with the characters and incidents of *Tom Jones*; but traditions and ballads of old times supply the "Great Unknown" with ample materials for this kind of writing. The very notes to Walter Scott's different poems, contain a mass of border lore, amply sufficient for half-a-dozen novels like "*Guy Mannering*" and "*Rob Roy*." If there be any exception to these remarks, it is in "*The Heart of Mid Lothian*," which presents to us two characters that belong to all times, and are perfect in their kind: I mean old Davie Deanes and his daughter Jeanie. They are sufficient to redeem all the old half-bred witches, and half-bred wizards, in the whole series, and possess an interest derived from the purest springs of nature and probability, far more intense and legitimate than all the rest of these extravagant creations of ignorance and superstition.

But with all these drawbacks, if such they be in the eyes of the present age, the *Great Unknown* is still a pearl among swine. He and Miss Edgeworth are the twin stars of *Bœotia*, and not only shine by their own light, but by the reflection of surrounding darkness. The one, as a painter of life as it is, the other of life as it was, is without a rival in the present times. The author of *Waverley* is a great second-hand artist; a capital pencil in copying old pictures, and colouring them afresh. What I particularly commend him for is, that though a friend to the government, he does not think it necessary to *cant*. There is a glow of vigorous freshness about him, so different from the faded, sickly, green and yellow tribes of cotemporary novelists, that to read one of his tales, is like contemplating a rich landscape, with the flowers of the spring, and the dews of the clear mellow morning, blooming and glittering upon it, and the pure and fragrant breeze playing in our faces.

But I cannot help thinking it is placing him where he ought not to be, to put him on a level with Fielding, Smollett, Goldsmith and Miss Edgeworth. He belongs, I imagine, to a different class of beings; to a class of authors, who, when the charm of novelty expires, and curiosity is satisfied in the developement of the story, will never be much relished or sought after for other and more lasting beauties.

5

TRAVELS

IN

THE COUNTRIES

BETWEEN

ALEXANDRIA AND PARÆTONIUM,

The Libyan Desert,

SIWA, EGYPT, PALESTINE, AND SYRIA,

IN 1821.

BY DR. JOHN MARTIN AUGUSTUS SCHOLZ,

Professor of Divinity in the University of Bonn.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE resolution to undertake a journey to the East, was the most prompt and the most fortunate that I ever took. Knowing that a party of learned travellers intended to visit Cyrene, Abyssinia, Arabia, Chaldea, and Assyria; and that Baron Niebuhr, Privy Counsellor of State, and especially General Baron Von Minutoli, would provide the necessary means, I did not hesitate a moment to join them. What could in fact be more alluring, than the hope of seeing countries renowned in ancient times for their active, ingenious, and enlightened inhabitants; to explore their remaining monuments, the view of which instructs us in their works and their character; to investigate the state of the country and of the present inhabitants, the knowledge of which, is of such importance in the study of antiquity? I was, indeed, destitute of the necessary resources; but hope winged my steps, and fortune, which had attended me in my travels in southern Germany, Switzerland, France, England, and Italy, smiled also on my present undertaking. The liberality of his Royal Highness Prince Henry, and that of the Consul General Bertoldi, supplied my pecuniary wants, and obliging individuals in the East, afforded me literary assistance.

TRAVELS

IN THE COUNTRIES BETWEEN

ALEXANDRIA AND PARÆTONIUM,

THE LYBIAN DESERT, &c.

IN 1821.

IN the beginning of August we sailed in an Austrian brigantine from Trieste for Alexandria. The country of Istria, which is seen from the sea, is among the finest in Europe; and the beautiful towns and villages with which the hills and valleys are covered, indicate a high degree of prosperity. Most of the captains of the Austrian ships, now about 1,500 in number, and their crews, are from that country, Dalmatia, Ragusa, and Cataro. The islands, between which we sailed for several days, are very well cultivated. The language of their inhabitants is the Illyrian; but each has some peculiarity in their manners, customs and dress. The inhabitants of the neighbouring continent have nearly lost these, and their language is much disfigured by a mixture of the Italian, which is very generally spoken and written in all the districts. In Trieste they for the most part speak Italian, but in the environs a dialect which seems to be between the Italian and Illyrian. The farther you go from Trieste into the interior, the purer is the language, and in Bosnia and Ragusa the best Illyrian is spoken. In Ragusa they praise the times of the republic, when they merely sent an annual present to the Sultan, their patron, and for this, carried on with five or six hundred merchantmen, under the Turkish flag, the most considerable trade in the Mediterranean; as the Venetians in the bays on this coast, where there were no duties to pay, and where a fleet stationed in them diffused life and activity, had a profitable share in the monopoly enjoyed by some cities in the Mediterranean. The dissatisfaction of the inhabitants of the Schis-

matic Greek church, to which three-fourths of them belong, with their present condition, is increased by the interference of the government in the pay of their bishop, who lives at Sebeniko; and who is therefore considered as dependent on it, and hence suspected. The present bishop is from Bosnia, appointed by Marshal Marmont, who is immediately under the patriarch of Constantinople, and nominates to the parishes and other benefices, either pupils educated at the seminary at Sebeniko, or monks from the Basilian convents at Castel Nuovo, Zara, and Venice. The hatred of all the diocesans, i. e. Dalmatians and Bocchese, towards the excellent bishop Kalewietz, is manifested not only in their contempt of him on his visitation of the churches, but even by an attempt on his life some years ago, on the road from Zara to Sebeniko, when his carriage was fired into, and some persons in it killed. During our twelve days' stay we made several excursions. The Catholics have, as well at Castel Nuovo as at Cataro, a Franciscan and Capuchin convent, besides the cathedral in Cataro, and the parish churches in this capital, Perasto, Dobrota, and Castel Nuovo, and when the bishopric of Cataro is vacant, they are under the Bishop of Zara.

The right of retaliation is often exercised in the most cruel manner by the offended family against the offender or his relations, as it is in the Bannat, Bosnia, Albania, Moldavia, Wallachia, and in the East. They wear the national Sclavonian dress, are generally armed, but without endangering the public safety, as the plundering Montenegrines do, and custom has preserved what originated in necessity. They are obstinate, addicted to spirituous liquors, fond of liberty, and attached to religious prejudices: the Greeks are constantly at variance with the Catholics, and all live chiefly by commerce.

After sailing from this place the wind was constantly favourable, and we saw at a distance the coast of Albania, the Ionian Islands, and the Morea, which I visited on my return. In 36 deg. 12 min. N. latitude, about thirty leagues from the coast of the Morea, on the twenty-ninth of August, at half-past one P. M. while we were all standing on deck, we felt a trembling motion of the ship, which seemed to be caused by an earthquake, and lasted about half a minute. We had a slight north wind, but the sea was high, the sky clear, and the thermometer at 25 deg. in the sun. The captain of a ship from Trieste, whom I met with at Alexandria, told me, that he had observed similar phenomena three times in the summer, always near the coast of Sicily, but in a much greater degree, so that wine glasses were overturned. Except some optical illusions we saw nothing remarkable. The north-west wind predominated, and the night dew was very heavy. We saw but few fish, birds very rarely, and insects only when the

wind blew from the shore. We were frequently impatient at the delay, proceeding from the custom of the captains on these coasts, of stopping, sometimes for a month together, with their relations; but it gave us an opportunity of becoming acquainted with a nation whose manners and customs resemble those of the East more than of the West. On the 15th of August a great festival was celebrated at Madonna della Neve, and Catholics, Greeks, and Turks flocked from the Bays of Ragusa, from Bosnia, and Albania, to the miraculous image, on an island near Perasto. The inhabitants of these bays once formed a number of small republics, which depended on the Emperors of Byzantium. The dominion of the Spaniards is recalled to mind by the Castel Spagnolo, on the highest point, near Castel Nuovo; that of the Knights of Malta, by several buildings erected by them; that of the Turks, by the city walls, and some Arabic inscriptions; that of the Venetians, by the fortifications above the town of Cataro, and the visit of the Russians, English, Montenegrines, and French, by the remains of houses which were burned by them to no purpose, and the ruined prosperity of the whole country.

On the 3d of September we arrived at Alexandria. The first question we put to the two pilots who came to steer us into the port, was, whether the plague was in Alexandria? They assured us that there had been no death for a month past, and the city is generally free from July to October inclusive. There were about three hundred ships in the old harbour, the greater part Turkish, about fifty Austrian, ten Sardinian, and a few French, English, Swedish, Danish, and Neapolitan. In the dangerous new harbour, to which all the vessels of the Franks were formerly compelled to repair, there were only sixteen Turkish ships. As we were going on shore we met several seamen in boats, who saluted us, and bellowed out their monotonous Arabic songs. At the custom-house the Arabs fought together for our things, every one desiring to earn something by carrying them. The entrance into the African town is highly interesting to a stranger, from the novelty it presents to him. The crowd of Arabs, one dressed in rags, another in a long Oriental dress, all with beards and dark brown complexions, most of them extremely miserable, the great number of hollow-eyed half-naked children, running all day long about the streets, and calling out *Jaallah*, the pale, yellow, bloated women, with their eyes sunk in their heads, their faces covered with rags, in a detestable dress, and creeping about like ghosts, are but melancholy objects. We saw burying grounds with an infinite number of tablets with inscriptions, women lamenting over the graves of their friends, and an army of dogs, which furiously attacked us, and pursued us till we were out of their district. We went to the quarter of the Franks, where we

were received in the most friendly manner. We made ourselves acquainted with the city and its environs, with the manners and customs of the East, and prepared for our intended expedition into the Cyrenaica.

A company of well prepared travellers could not certainly have selected a more interesting excursion for their first attempt, than into the territory of Cyrene. This country was almost forgotten. The captains of vessels, who sometimes went to Derna and Bengasi, to fetch the produce, heard of an ancient desolate city on the heights, commanding the whole country, but paid no attention to it, or to the engraved stones found there, which the Bedouins offered them for trifles. Physicians, who accompanied the Dey of Tripoli in his campaigns against the Bedouins of that district, and the inhabitants of Fezzan, spoke of it, but only in general terms; and Della Cella was the first who noticed the importance of researches in this country, to the arts, history, and philology. The desolate country between Derna and Bengasi, offered to the captains of vessels, that came in the Summer from Malta, Alexandria, and Candia, abundance of horned cattle, sheep, and fruits; and their wool is thought equal to the best in Barbary. What treasures may the gardens of the Hesperides, the beautiful meadows of Ericab, the populous Pentapolis, and above all, Cyrene, have contained? Many celebrated nations of the interior resorted hither, and Phoenicians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Carthaginians, brought immense riches to this spot, to purchase its productions, its engraved stones, and, above all, the juice prepared from the sylphium; and Cyrene, as a Phoenician, Athenian, Egyptian, and Roman colony, rivalled the parent cities in the splendor of its works of art, and in luxury. How many monuments and inscriptions of those various periods may there be in Cyrene; what treasures of this description in the ruins of Berenice, Teuchira, Ptolemais, Barca, and Apollonia? The way we had resolved to take through the district of Mareotis, by Apis and Parætonium, and the return by the Oases of Augela, and Siwa, is highly interesting to the antiquarian, and those places are not so well known as they deserve to be. As it seemed hazardous to begin our travels in the East with so expensive an expedition, without a previous sufficient knowledge of the language and manners of the country, and without carefully weighing all the circumstances, well meaning friends advised us to initiate ourselves at a smaller expence. This country is besides known to be one of the most dangerous, on account of the attacks of the Bedouins, so that scarcely a month passes in which caravans are not plundered and murdered. At Siwa we saw the remains of an unfortunate caravan of eighteen persons, who, with forty camels, were going from Siwa to Bengasi, but were

attacked four days journey beyond Siwa, and after the danger was past had fled back to Siwa. The inconceivable sufferings and hardships, especially on their return, had deprived them of their understanding, and they were hardly able to speak. Success cannot be obtained without profound knowledge of the inhabitants, rare sagacity, and indefatigable efforts. Lastly, care in the choice of the season of the year is requisite. The great loss of time caused by the heavy and continual rains in the winter months is not to be compared with the inconveniences of the heat in the other part of the year; and the antiquarian, and still more the naturalist, will best commence his researches, when we, according to our calculation, should long since have ended them: but the hope of being useful to science, and of showing our gratitude to our patrons, made us overlook every difficulty. The company consisted of General Baron Minutoli, M. Liemann, Professor of Architecture, Messrs. Ehrenberg and Hemprich, Doctors of Physic and Naturalists, and Doctor and Professor Aug. Scholz. There were besides three assistants of the General, an assistant of the Naturalists', two Dragomans, and some Arab servants.

We set out on the 5th of October, proceeding westwards, at the distance of a quarter of a league to three leagues from the sea coast, and arrived on the 25th at the well of Chaur. Part of our caravan, viz. the General and his attendants, the first Dragoman, and the Sheik, or chief of our Bedouins, left us here, and returned to Cairo, while the other part advanced to the Tripolitan territory, where it waited from the 28th of October to the 14th of November for permission to continue the journey, and an escort, from the Bey of Bengasi. The caravan seemed to be judiciously arranged under the protection of Mehemet Ali Pacha, and the direction of experienced men, and to encourage the fondest hopes. Hadsch Hendawi Abu Daheb, a considerable Sheik of the horde Dschimeat, and twenty-five armed Bedouins, with thirty-six camels, were hired to defend the company, and convey their provisions, clothes, and books, and were answerable for their safety. The good understanding between Mehemet Ali and the Pacha of Tripoli, and his relationship with the Bey of Bengasi, were well calculated to inspire them with confidence in his pressing recommendations, and to quiet their apprehensions of the excesses of the Bedouins, who dread his powerful arm: under these circumstances we overlooked the disputes with the Bedouins before we left Alexandria, not considering that they might be the prelude of more serious ones in the desert. Promises were extorted from them, which the Bedouin readily makes in hopes of gain, but interprets at his pleasure, and breaks without scruple. They promised to take fodder for the camels with them, to travel

the more quickly, but let them graze when opportunity offered, in spite of all our remonstrances. We paid for three camels to carry water, but they generally went without, because they would bring us to wells, the situation of which they did not know, which contained salt water, or perhaps did not exist at all. The Sheik not only did as he pleased in this respect, but left the caravan at will, to visit his friends in the neighbourhood. The licentiousness of the Bedouins then knew no bounds; and on one occasion they caused us no small embarrassment. Some of them stole a goat, and the owners pursued them. Every one prepared to defend himself, in expectation of an attack, which we feared would be seconded by some horsemen at a distance; our apprehensions were however groundless, but the Bedouins availed themselves of this opportunity to provoke and vex us. Our camels, which otherwise ran dispersed, were driven together; the Bedouins marched in battle array, and fired with ball in every direction. They engaged to take us the right way; but confessed they wanted a guide, whom the company should pay. But nothing was more disagreeable than the slow progress of our caravan in a desolate country. Our Dragomans too were not qualified for their task, and often caused us much trouble. Nothing was more unpleasant than to have to converse with the Bedouins through them, convinced that we should but half attain our object, or perhaps not at all; and the complaints made in the East of the insolence, stupidity, and malicious impositions of this class of men, are as just as they are general. The most abominable acts of injustice are practised by them, especially at Constantinople, where they are ranked with fire and the plague, as one of the three greatest punishments which afflict the capital of the Turkish empire. I endeavoured to fill up the time by excursions on foot in all directions, especially towards the sea coast, though there was some danger of straying from the caravan, and losing my way in the desert. The weather was favourable; the sky generally serene and the horizon clear: when this was not the case, the groups of clouds, especially at sun-rise or sun-set, presented a most beautiful and sublime sight. The night dews were more or less considerable, according to the violence of the wind, but always injurious to the naked eye. We had rain on four days only, and on the 2d of November, in the afternoon, a thunder storm, that came up from the east, but without rain. The air at this season is pure and healthy, though damp. The temperature varied from 10 deg. to 25 deg. of heat at noon: the nights were generally cool, the north and north-west winds predominated, which increased the coolness of the nights.

On the 26th, 27th, 28th, and 30th of October, and the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 5th of November, the violent *chamise* (west wind) gave

us all head-aches and oppression on the chest, and its gusts threatened destruction to the eyes. It announced its coming by a very fiery red the evening before, was stormy, whirled up the sand, and piled immense masses of clouds towards the north. In November meteors in the north-east were frequent, which, like the aurora borealis, illumed the gloomy nights for hours together. The tides are almost imperceptible along the whole coast; but when the wind is high, the waves wet the sand to the distance of several hundred paces, so that it is thus bleached beautifully white, and forms a singular contrast with that at a distance. As it rains only in three months, and for the rest of the year the sun scorches the plain, which has no protection from its beams, nature may be said to live only in these three months. In them the plants shoot, blossom, and fade; the animals copulate and increase; and after they are passed, most of them hasten to the sleep of death.

It was easy to perceive that the division of the company would ruin the whole enterprise. The letters of recommendation, &c. were calculated for one chief person, who, as the friend of the Pacha, gave consistency and unity to the caravan, and could promote its objects by large presents. If he withdrew, success was very doubtful, even with the greatest sacrifices of money and labour, and we might fail even under the most favourable circumstances. The company, however, resolved not to neglect the faint hope that remained, and to wait twenty days, for the answer to the letters which had been sent by sea and land, to ask permission, and an escort for the journey. It may seem strange, that after such great sacrifices we had not the courage to follow the advice of the Arabs, to advance without permission, and atone by presents for the violation of Oriental etiquette; or that we entrusted the most important concerns to the Bedouins, who deceived us, and every day, after holding council, tormented us with vexatious proposals, sometimes desiring to return for want of provisions, sometimes to advance over the frontiers, hourly announcing new dangers, and trying to make our abode in a very critical situation still more painful. At length, after long waiting to no purpose, we resolved, on the 1st of November, to hasten southward to Siwa, where we arrived on the 18th. This journey through the desert was fatiguing in the extreme; for having but little water we rode for three days, twenty hours together, at a rapid pace, the camels making from eighty-five to ninety steps in a minute, whereas in general they take only seventy. At Siwa we were ill received by the barbarous inhabitants, treated like prisoners, and travelled on the 23d as far as Ainelaggab, two leagues eastward from Siwa Kebir, near the great lake which incloses the fertile Oasis of Ofen, without having seen the principal curiosities of the Oasis. On the 25th and 26th we

were at Kara, sixteen leagues from Siwa, the 29th and 30th at Vadi Heische, twelve leagues from Kara, the 4th of December at Vadi Libbeck, seventeen leagues from Heische, the 6th and 7th at Hamam, seventeen leagues from Libbeck, and the 9th at Alexandria, sixteen leagues from Hamam. We suffered severely on this journey. The want of water and provisions obliged us to make very long stages, while the heavy rains at the beginning of December, cold north winds almost daily at the end of November and beginning of December, damp chilly nights, swarms of vermin in our linen, and a hundred other hardships, filled up the measure of our sufferings.

The death of one person of our company two days before our arrival in Alexandria, the dangerous illness of another, who likewise died soon afterwards, and the bad health of the remainder, caused the first plan to be abandoned, and it was agreed to follow the example already set by the chief person in the company, so that every one should act independently in the pursuit of his own peculiar object. M. Lieman, Professor of Architecture in the Academy of Berlin, died on the 11th of December, at ten o'clock, of a debility, caused by violent diarrhoea and fever. He was buried at half-past-three o'clock the same day, in the Greek monastery.

As I should have been losing time by staying at Alexandria, where I had previously passed a month, I embarked on the Nile for Cairo. My situation made it impossible for me to undertake immediately, at this season, the journey to Upper Egypt; and I also thought it too hazardous to venture on my favourite project of a visit to Nubia and Abyssinia, before the expences were sufficiently provided for, though the Coptic Patriarch and other considerable persons at Cairo took great interest in it. A very favourable opportunity, however, offered to visit Syria and Palestine, countries which I above all desired to become acquainted with, the Bishop of Babylon having invited me to accompany him thither. This worthy prelate, a Frenchman of La Vendée, named Pierre Couperi, was going to Bagdad, which the Propaganda had assigned him for his residence, as Bishop of the Catholics of the Latin Church in the whole of the ancient Chaldea and Assyria. This see was founded by a French lady one hundred and fifty years ago, with the annexed condition that it should always be filled by a Frenchman. The Christians of the Latin rite are not above three thousand in this great diocese. The very numerous Catholics of the Chaldean rite have their patriarchs and bishops; those of the Syrian and Armenian church, and the Maronites, have also their bishops. Having viewed the curiosities of Cairo and its environs, especially the pyramids, we commenced our journey on the 5th of January. The weather was in general

favourable. At Bilbeisch we were joined by a company of English; at Saalhigeh by thirty-one Coptic, Syrian, and other merchants, with twelve negro slaves, and an Indian dervise, with an attendant. He was once a rich man, who had sold his property to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and Jerusalem, and had been travelling about for four years; but having been robbed at Mecca, he now subsists upon alms. Many travellers from Bilbeisch and Gaza also joined us, so that our caravan consisted of about eighty persons, with one hundred and forty camels, and thirty asses. Beyond Arisch, where there was more security, and no want of water, they divided into several parties, some travelled all night, and all of them quicker than we did. The company was very agreeable and instructive. I learned to appreciate the good nature of the Orientals, and when the day's journey was concluded, which usually began at five in the morning, and ended at four in the afternoon, I lived among them, sitting on the ground, happier than in the tedious conversaziones of Italy. The Bedouins, whom we met on our first unfortunate expedition to the Cyrenaica, daily vexed us with forms which characterize them as Mahometans, but are odious to Christians. These merchants, though chiefly Mahometans, never ventured to touch on this point, and neglected no opportunity to make the journey agreeable, and to do us every kindness in their power; so that travelling in the East, of which my first expedition had given me so bad a specimen, became daily more interesting and useful to me. In choosing the resting place for the night, valleys are preferred, as being sheltered from the winds. We alone had tents. The Arabs, each party by itself, took their stations very irregularly, at intervals of six or eight paces, spreading their carpets on the ground; and placing the baggage in a semicircle, which served as a back for the divan, they slept in the open air, covered with their upper garments. Each party made a fire to warm themselves, and dress their repast. Most were contented with cold provisions, dates, and barley bread; some drank coffee. The camels and asses were immediately fed, generally with beans. In the evening they conversed, and went to sleep about ten o'clock. In caravans, with which I afterwards travelled, religious hymns were sung at half-past three in the morning, but by such rude voices and in such monotonous notes, that I was glad to go away sooner. This never happened here. The negro slaves danced sometimes at our request, but they were not skilful: they were well treated, and always cheerful. I travelled from Gaza to Jerusalem, thence made excursions, first along the coast into Kesserwan, then into the interior of Palestine, and returned at Easter to Jerusalem, in hopes of finding news from home. After returning from the Jordan, the pilgrims thought of their departure, contented and

happy in the heavenly pleasure which they had enjoyed. I also prepared to depart, but whither? I had had my books and letters sent from Masr to Aleppo. My first wish was to reach Damascus, near to which I had been before; but the accounts of disturbances in European Turkey, of which we had already some report in April, became daily more positive and alarming, and the fears excited by them more general, till official information and orders were received in May. All the Christians were disarmed, and they dreaded the recurrence of the scenes of horror which had accompanied the French invasion. At that time they lost their property, and many hundreds their lives, and they now trembled for the fate of all the Christians in Palestine. I hesitated about visiting Damascus, and hastened to Jaffa. Still greater consternation prevailed there. The Franks had suffered here also by the arrogance of the Turks: English travellers were disarmed at Rama, the Russian consul expelled from his house and plundered. This was no inviting prospect for me. I was affected the most by news from Acre, stating that all the poor had been expelled from the town, the Russian and Austrian flags on the consuls' houses, cut down, and Katafalko, the consul, murdered in prison.

I here wrote on the 8th of May a letter to my uncle, from which the following is an extract: "You have learned by preceding letters the cause and the manner of my coming to Palestine. In February I accompanied the Bishop of Babylon from Jerusalem to Acre. On my way thither I examined the beautiful plain of Saron, Cesarea, Tantora, and Atlid, and made excursions from Acre to Mount Carmel and all Galilee. On my return through Galilee, to be at Jerusalem at Easter, I became acquainted with Samaria, but with imminent danger of my life. With some English travellers I rode along the Jordan at the time when pilgrims visit it, to Richa on the Dead Sea, and Mount Karantan. I had previously visited Saba, Bethania, and the other remarkable places in Judea; I now wished to go through Samaria and the Decapolis, to Damascus and Mount Lebanon. But this journey must be made either in a large company, or in the disguise of a poor Bedouin. The former is not to be had, and the latter seemed dangerous at this period; for what is more likely to excite suspicion than taking down detailed notes of any place and its curiosities. Exaggerated reports of the troubles in Greece and Turkey came to Jerusalem, and nothing less was talked of than war between Austria and Russia and the Sultan. I therefore hastened to Jaffa, to convey my manuscripts, ancient coins, antiquities, and books, to Cyprus, and thence send them to Trieste. Jaffa is now full of pilgrims, the roofs are crowded with them. The songs of the Arnauts, the discord of which is lost in

the roaring of the sea, dispels my melancholy ; but the arrogance of the Turks is intolerable. Formerly I was fond of entering into conversation with them ; now I cannot bear to look at them. I am grieved when I see them brandish their pistols round the heads of the poor Christians, and terrify them till they are ready to sink into the earth. But the day of deliverance for me and for many thousands is at hand. Twenty large vessels and thirty-five smaller ones are ready to receive the pilgrims.—I have not yet any good news from home : you see therefore that a prolongation of the two years leave of absence is not to be thought of. I must have returned before, had I not been fortunate in meeting with such good company to travel with, &c.”

I wrote the following letter to my mother :

“ Thus then I have ended my pilgrimage in the Holy Land. I have followed the steps of the holy family from the birth of our Lord in Bethlehem, to his circumcision, on their flight to Egypt, and in their domestic life in Galilee. I have traced our Saviour’s public life in Samaria and Judea; frequently visited in particular the scene of the last events of his life ; added my tears to those of his disciples and friends, as millions of pilgrims have done, who before me had sought consolation and comfort on the spot where the Saviour suffered death on the cross for the human race. My happiness was above all earthly feeling, when I was absolved from past transgressions, where the Saviour of the world himself promised forgiveness of sins, and partook of the body of the Lord, where he himself instituted the holy sacrament. How often did I place myself in the situation of his mother, when she saw her beloved son, here die the most cruel death, there glorified in transcendant majesty as the Saviour of mankind. The fancy here draws a living picture which becomes for ever her property, because we are most deeply sensible what life is, when we behold in spirit so great an example before us, when we boldly look into futurity to which the Man-God himself opened us the way, and in the joyful triumph of confidence and hope, exclaim with the apostle, ‘ O Death, where is thy sting ! O Grave, where is thy victory ! ’ ”

The reasons above stated decided my departure from Syria in the middle of May ; for to continue my travels was impossible. Travelling in the East is troublesome even in time of peace ; in company this is not so much felt, but if you are alone, you are at the mercy of the mule driver. If he is a Mahometan you must not reply to his abuse, and can never threaten him without danger. If he is a Christian you are the more exposed to the insults of the Mahometans. The traveller often suffers by their conventions with each other, or their customs. Thus, on the way from Jerusalem to Acre, we had scarcely gone a league, when a

troop of Arabs suddenly came forward, threw the burdens from the mules, and stoned and beat the owners. We asked the cause, but no one answered. We were going to turn back, when the *Abrigos* and the Vice-Procurator of the Latin council, the first going to Jerusalem, the second to Jaffa, came up, and decided in favour of our Arabs, the assailants, as we now learned, having claimed the profit to be made by this journey. On some occasions they broke the most solemn engagements for the hire of mules, exacting more than was stipulated, demanding payment for services never performed, or for articles never supplied; and one of them, whose unjust demands had been resisted, run after me in the streets of Acre, and related to all the Mahometans, with tears in his eyes, how unjustly an infidel had treated him.

At Nazareth I agreed with a Greek to conduct me through Samaria to Jerusalem for thirty-five piastres. At Dschenin he heard there was danger, and refused to proceed on the journey. All dissuaded me, but I persisted, and was forced to engage a Sheik to go with me, for a large sum, who could give and return the Mahometan salutation, "Salam Alaikum." But these and similar unpleasant scenes are not to be compared with what the Franks have lately experienced. A Piedmontese Count paid five hundred piastres for the journey from Nazareth to Dscheras, (a journey of two days and a half), and was plundered notwithstanding. A company of English wished to go from Damascus to Tadmor. They paid the Sheik half of his reward (five hundred piastres) before hand, and made him large presents; when they had travelled some days, a messenger came to meet them, with the news, that it was dangerous to proceed, the Bedouins being in insurrection. The Sheik declared he could not answer for their lives, but would do his utmost to serve them. They were obliged to give up their expedition, and to lose their seven or eight hundred piastres. Some other Englishmen had hired camels for two months, and paid beforehand, for a journey to Upper Egypt. On the way the driver became ill, the camels would not go on, and they were happy to return by another opportunity. At Naplous, the face of an Englishman was cleft in two, in the court-yard of the Motsallem, because in a dispute with his conductor he had abused a soldier. An Englishman returning from Richa, was plundered and left naked, and a cripple. His conductor had run away.—These mule drivers generally ask ten times as much of the Franks as of natives. The terms are fixed by the Dragomans, who are liberal at other people's expense, even when they get nothing by it. Rich Englishmen have done much injury to other travellers: they come with some thousands of pounds sterling, and he who does not pay like them, is pitied as a poor devil not worth attending to. The fathers in

the Holy Land are accused, but wrongfully, of favouring these extortions: but the servants in the convents are uncommonly insolent. Thus I have seen them wait whole days at the door of a traveller, for a large *douceur*, (*Bakschisch*,) because they have put him in mind of a festival in the church. This selfish character, this intolerable importunity, is become contagious. The Armenian and Greek monks have a genteel mode of indemnifying themselves for services performed. They do not fail to give the stranger somebody as a guide, who soon gains his confidence, and knows the tax to be paid, for benefits received, to the church; for, according to the customary polite way of speaking, the church, and not the clergy receives it. If he is rich, this tax often amounts with the Armenians to one thousand piastres for a few dinners and nights' lodging. The Greeks ask less, but the oftener. The poor pilgrims on the other hand receive kind treatment from them. They give them little, but that little as long as they need it. The Latins maintain them very well for a month; but when that is expired they must go away. In the observance of this, otherwise good rule, they have often laid aside all Christian charity, and committed cruelties which will be an eternal disgrace to the intercessors of the Catholics at the tomb of Christ, and may serve as an illustration of the history of the degenerate monastic spirit, for this was not the intention of St. Francis. They have cast poor half naked pilgrims into the street, given them nothing on which to lay their heads, and haughtily rejected their entreaties for a bit of bread. On such acts the blessing of God will never come.—In places where there is no monastery or hospital, strangers lodge in the house of a consul, or in a *khan*. These are inconvenient and dirty, and men and animals are often lodged together in one stable. Those who travel with Greeks generally lodge with the *Kuris*, (or Greek priests), whose dwellings are in general very wretched. In summer travellers are exposed to the burning heat of the sun, in winter to torrents of rain. From the want of regular roads they are often in danger of losing their way, or in bad weather of sinking in the mud. Thus on my first journey in Galilee, my horse sunk so deep into the mud, half a league from the lake of Tiberias, that I fell off several times, and had to wade in it up to my knees. In Samaria, in the valley before the village of Taniun, several camels sunk in the mud, and the drivers had to wade up to their hips to carry their heavy burdens on to the high dry ground, and help the animals out. My mule also sunk, and we had great difficulty in getting it out. No bridges are ever built over the rivers, and wading through them is often dangerous when the waters are high.

In the cultivated parts of Syria the best mode of travelling is

on mules; they carry great burdens, and go much faster than camels, which last are in general less fit for the hard rocks of Judea. They do not tread firm, and often sink under their load.

On the coast, on Mount Lebanon, and in Galilee, there is no fear of robbers; but in the other parts of Syria travelling is always dangerous. Three years ago a caravan, with more than one hundred camels, going from Damascus to Bagdad, was entirely plundered, and the people murdered. The caravans from Damascus to Aleppo are often attacked. The journey to Palmyra has become extremely dangerous for the Franks, since the Bedouins in that quarter were chastised by an army, by command of the Sultan, for the murder of an English traveller of distinction. The Nomades think themselves authorized to commit these cruelties, either because there is some person with the caravan upon whom they have to exercise the law of retaliation, or because no agreement has been made with them for the payment to which they claim a right. Frequently, however, they are impelled merely by lust of rapine and bloodshed.

Extract from another letter written from Zante to my uncle: "You have learned by my letter of the 6th of May, why I have given up my plan of going to Aleppo by way of Damascus and Lebanon. We left the roads of Jaffa sooner than I expected. As soon as the pilgrims received from the Motsallem permission to depart, and the price of the passage had been fixed by him, all hastened to the harbour. I chose an Austrian polacca, which was already hired for a part of the Russian pilgrims, eighty in number, and was to go by way of Cyprus to Constantinople. The Russian consul, who had been so ill used, was of the party, and his fear of the Turks induced the captain to cut the cable to escape without loss of time. Having a very favourable west wind, we were within forty-eight hours in sight of Cyprus. The landing there was desirable for the whole company, who in their great hurry had not been able to provide themselves with provisions; it was agreeable to the consul, who could here take measures for the better execution of his precipitate resolution; and it was most important to me, because the harbour being full of European ships I might find a conveyance to any port in the Turkish empire. At Larnaca too, the residence of some hundred Europeans and several consuls, I might hope for more protection than in Syria; and when I had attained my object in Cyprus, easily pass over to the Syrian coast, and then, if possible, undertake my journey by way of Aleppo, Mosul, Bagdad, and Arabia, to Abyssinia. But Providence had decreed otherwise. Just as we were going to land a storm drove us towards Rhodes. Various plans now occurred to me. Sometimes I thought of embarking

at Rhodes in a vessel for Cyprus; then I was for going to Smyrna, and joining a caravan for the interior of Asia; but I persisted in my resolution to hasten to Syria, to accomplish which I was ready to hazard my life. A conversation with some Greek pirates, who cruized in the channel of Rhodes, and lay in wait for Turkish ships, did not deter me, though the accounts they gave were by no means encouraging. According to them the Greeks were in possession of the whole of the Morea, all the Greeks on the islands and on the continent under arms, and a Russian and Austrian army about to pursue the Turks to Constantinople, where the European ministers were in the greatest danger. Some, they said, had been ill-treated, others had fled, and all had with difficulty escaped the most imminent danger; that an insurrection of the Greeks had become a war of the Christians against the Mahometans. They furnished us with provisions and wine, for which the Russian consul gave his receipt, but warned us against visiting the city of Rhodes, because there, as every where else on the continent of the Ottoman empire, the Turks and Jews had vowed death and destruction to the Christians. We fled from place to place, found every where anxious expectation, conflicting reports, no authentic information to guide our proceedings, and no opportunity of conveyance to any great sea-port.

In Patmos nothing was thought of but the equipment of ships; all were eager for the war with the Turks, no sacrifice was too great. The youth were already under arms; only old men and women were left at home. The Morea and most of the islands were in insurrection; combatants flocked from various parts of the Turkish empire; Ypsilanti tried to raise Moldavia and Wallachia; all breathed revenge. The great affair of the Greek nation now gradually unfolded itself before our eyes. The plan for throwing off the Turkish yoke had been six years in bringing to maturity. The secret was known only to a few, and on these few the whole edifice reposed. Several hundred ships were built, ammunition procured, and millions of money had been laid upon the altar of their country by the rich Greek merchants and captains. The events in the south-west of Europe quickly matured their plans. The movements among the nation drew attention, and the assembling of the people excited suspicion. The divan of Constantinople demanded an explanation, and received it. The circumstance appeared to it of no importance; it had long since been accustomed to treat such events with indifference. But now reports came from all quarters; Lord Strangford, the English Ambassador, communicated to it the whole plan of the conspiracy, as it had been discovered to him, from authentic sources, by the Lord High Commissioner of the Ionian Islands. There

were traitors among the Greeks themselves. The divan, in its anger, caused many Greeks of distinction to be beheaded. The Patriarch of Constantinople was one of the first victims. Many princes, archbishops, bishops, and priests shared a similar fate. Dreadful scenes now followed in Constantinople, Smyrna, and other parts of the Turkish empire. Each party tried to destroy the other. It was a war of extermination. The Turks were cruel; but the Greeks were still more so. Many thousands of innocent people first lost their limbs, and then their lives. They triumphed over the murder of three hundred Albanians, who had fallen into their hands before Naxos, and that of the crews of many Turkish ships, and of women, children, and old men, at the taking of Athens, and other places. I could fill whole sheets with the cruelties they have committed. In Hydra, the centre of the Greek marine, we found every thing in the greatest agitation. The old government of the island had been overthrown a few days before our arrival, and the members of it, who had fled, were murdered by the people. Fugitive families from Smyrna, Macedonia, and the Morea flocked hither. All were either in extacy or profound affliction. As long as the people were not distressed and alarmed by bad news, there were festivities without end; but what availed these to the numerous families who had been forced to abandon their property. I was glad to leave this scene of confusion. I found the Ionian Islands also full of fugitive Moreotes, who had taken refuge in them. Here, under the protection of the English government, every body could speak freely of the Greeks, and the least unfortunate joined in the enthusiasm of their countrymen for religion, liberty, and their country. But it was more and more evident to me, that this enterprize did not deserve the encomiums which hitherto had been bestowed on it; and that it was rather the work of some ambitious arrogant individuals, who prepared destruction for their nation. In these islands also it is difficult to find a conveyance, and all communication is obstructed. Every ship brings fresh and more terrible accounts from various parts of the Turkish empire; and as I cannot think of pursuing my journey in it, I shall soon embark for Trieste, and then hasten to return to you.

Topography of the Country between Alexandria and the Frontiers of Tripoli.

From Alexandria westwards you go for nine leagues on the small isthmus which is formed by the Mediterranean Sea and Lake Mareotis. It is from a quarter to half a league broad, and uneven. Along the lake there is a chain of hills of limestone, like a dam, which extends still farther to the tower of the Arabs

and Abousir. On the two shores is sand, in the middle sand or clay, and some salt plains. Near Marabut and Mikzan there are gardens, and here and there arable land. Behind Abousir there are several chains of hills, consisting either of clay or sandstone, which run westward, sometimes parallel, a quarter or half a league from each other, sometimes confounded together; they are either bare, or, like the plains and valleys, covered with clay or sand; there are likewise several groups of hills. Elgaibe, whose highest mountain, Dschebel Meriam, is about eight hundred feet, is undoubtedly the loftiest and most extensive of the whole coast. The further you go from the sea the more the land rises from the beach, till, at the distance of from ten to fifteen leagues an innumerable quantity of sand-hills, alternate with ridges of quartz, full of petrifications and limestones, with extensive plains, form here and there fertile valleys. In these, shelter from the scorching beams of the sun may generally be found under bushes, which cannot be had in an immense plain where there is neither house, nor tree, nor shrub; sometimes refreshment is afforded by a well or a cistern, with spring or rain water, and at times even in a straw hut, the dwelling of a numerous family, with their domestic animals.

From Abousir to two leagues behind Senetzerk, sandstone predominates, and then clay and limestone. Where there is sand the shore seems to gain more and more upon the sea; for at the distance of fifteen to twenty paces from the water, masts and planks of ships are found buried in the sand. Hence no trace is to be discerned of most of the harbours on this coast celebrated in ancient history. Near it there are salt plains, brackish springs and wells, the latter of which seem to contain much natron. I saw the most in the neighbourhood of Lamaïd, and two leagues from Agaba, and at the latter place a salt lake a league in length and a quarter of a league in breadth. This tract contains a great many cisterns, which are of the highest importance in a country where rain is to be expected only at the end of November, December, and January, and the beginning of February, and where springs are rare. At all times, especially under the Saracens, the making of such cisterns was considered as a meritorious work. Their size and construction are very various, round, angular, equilateral, roughly hewn in the stone, or carefully lined with a mixture of lime and sand. Some derive their names from those who erected them, others from their situation; for instance, *Dokan*, as lying in a spot encompassed by hills, and, like the wells, they have given their names to the places where they are situated. Most of them are ruined or neglected, and it is only near the wells that some inhabitants still dwell with their flocks; tracts of country, many square leagues in extent, full of fine vegetation, are desolate for

want of population. On the isthmus, the wells of Marabut on the sea-coast, two leagues from Kereir, and Mizan, on the sea-coast, seven leagues and a half from Alexandria, are the principal. Beyond Abousir, for the distance of eighty-two leagues, there are numerous wells, some filled with rain, and some with brackish water. Most of them are deep, but greatly dilapidated. Near them are stone troughs, and in the morning we often found them surrounded by flocks. They are mostly in low plains, and much vegetation near them.

Thus, on a tract of coast, eighty-four leagues in length, and from ten to fifteen leagues in breadth, we find neither mountain nor river, wood nor village; only hollows, low hills, and slopes occasionally intersect the wearisome plain, and when you have ascended one of these, another endless plain, with similar objects, opens to your view. The caravans, the flocks of sheep, and herds of camels, that now and then pass by, alone recall to mind the existence of men, or the barking of a dog announces the neighbourhood of an encampment: the same may be said of the almost equally extensive tract from Agaba to Derna.

The nature of the soil is not unfavourable to agriculture. To the distance of one-eighth, or a quarter of a league from the sea, it is sandy or rocky; thence to the distance of ten or fifteen leagues inland it is clayey, and rarely sand or stone. Yet it is only in a small part of it that barley is sown in December. They slightly turn up the ground with a small rake fastened to a camel, throw in the seed, and cover it. In three months they pluck off the ears, and thrash out the grain upon the field. They do not understand either agriculture or gardening. The vegetation affords excellent and abundant pasture to the herds of the frugal inhabitants. The shrubs grow in the long and narrow hollows which are here and there met with in all directions, and have been formed by torrents of water. The most beautiful green is often found in them, while around them every thing is scorched and withered, and Nature seems to be dead. Trees are very rare in this district. Though the country appears poor in insects in October,—(we saw none in great numbers except ants, flies, dragon flies, a few species of beetles, and moths, and particularly the *scarabæus sacer*), it is probably very rich in winter. The snails of the desert cling in some places to the earth and the plants, as sea-shells to the rocks and the coast. The great quantity of coral dust, shells, snails, and fungi, which are seen on the beach, of different sizes, forms, and colours, shew that the sea is full of inhabitants. Various kinds of lizards, adders, and serpents, of an ash grey colour, creep upon the earth; while birds of prey, such as eagles, vultures, and owls, marsh fowl, and singing birds, especially many ubaras, fill the air. The birds of prey

live in the clefts of the rocks. The Bedouins are very skilful in training a kind of falcon for the chase, not only of birds, but also of hares and gazelles, which they generally kill without lacerating them. For a well-trained bird of this kind they pay fifty Spanish piasters.

Rats, hares, gazelles, foxes, and wolves are the most common quadrupeds. The domestic animals of the inhabitants are camels, sheep, goats, asses, horses, cows, and dogs: the camel is indisputably the most useful. They employ these animals in agriculture, and in removing their tents and effects; they let them to caravans, and use their milk, flesh, and skin, without any expence for their maintenance, and moderate care protects them from diseases, which are seldom dangerous. They sell the wool of the sheep and the skins of the goats to great advantage, and their flesh is their favourite meat; but few horses are kept, because their food is so expensive. Only sheiks and owners of several tents and herds possess them, and employ them in their excursions and in war. I saw no cows beyond Vadi Senetzerk, but it is said that there are some in the camps of Medsched and Dscherar. Of their milk they make a thinnish butter, to which they give an agreeable flavour by mixing it with pounded dates and honey, and preserve it in leather bottles. Asses are every where but few in number, and not very serviceable. Dogs are more numerous and important for guarding the tents and herds: the former against the pilfering Arabs from the caravans that pass by, and the latter against the attacks of the wolves which hide by day in the clefts of the rocks.

Luxuries are not to be thought of among these children of Nature. Every thing is adapted to their situation, and their most pressing wants, simple and uniform, like the country they inhabit. Around their low black tents, which stand in groups, we see nothing but naked children and dogs, who furiously attack the passing stranger, while the women under the tents superintend the domestic concerns. The same plants occur every where, and most of them when slightly agitated fill the air with perfume. Many, formerly common, are perhaps become extinct for want of care, as well as many kinds of animals, though they are less exposed to the pursuit of their most dangerous enemy. It seems as if animals were inspired with greater fury against each other the less they are disturbed by their common foe; and from the little ant, which destroys beetles ten times its own size, to the vulture, eagle, and wolf, all animals of prey follow, without bounds, the instinct which leads them to spread death and destruction around.

Traces and Remains of the Ancient Inhabitants of this Country.

This whole district was once one of the most populous and cultivated in Africa. Alexandria extended nearly as far as Marabut, which is testified by the scattered fragments of marble and granite pillars, walls, and rubbish. The remains of the baths of Cleopatra give indeed a faint idea of its ancient splendour; but a better is supplied by the catacombs, which extend in all directions over a space of nearly half a German square mile, and in whose vicinity there are other tombs hewn in the limestone rock. Near Marabut, on the lake, there are traces of an opulent city, which extended to the plain now overflowed by the lake. On the dam, foundations of towns, formed of large hewn stones, and many cisterns, are to be seen at small intervals. The remains, a quarter of a league from Kareir, are distinguished by their extent; and the foundations on a mountain, four hundred paces from the tower of the Arabs, show that a castle once stood there. On the sea-shore numerous traces of large habitations are met with, among which those near Mizan are the most considerable; and how many may be buried in the Lake Mareotis.

Ruins of Abousir

But the most remarkable are the ruins of the city of Abousir, in the fertile plain and near the well of the same name, twelve leagues from Alexandria on the sea. Three hundred paces from it, situated on an eminence, is the half-ruined monument, called the Tower of the Arabs. The harbour appears to have been only one hundred and forty paces broad, and lies in such a direction, that ships were exposed both to the north and west winds. The same may be said of the other ancient harbours on the coast, between Parætonium and Jaffa, and confirms the observation of Diodorus Siculus, that there was no safe harbour on it except Alexandria. The maritime trade on it could, therefore, be then only carried on in summer. These, as well as the rest, such as Leucaspis, Phœnices, Lygis, and others, are now filled up by sand, and except a few traces entirely vanished. The greater part of the city lay on the southern side of the dam, and was half a league in circumference. Foundations and heaps of rubbish show us the situation of its houses. This rubbish contains pieces of earthen vessels, marble, mosaic, and bricks, the latter particularly of a conical form, of a very beautiful red, and great hardness. Upon the dam no ruins remain, except of the principal building, which I think was a temple. The front western part is nearly entire; of the other three sides only the top part

is destroyed. On the west side there are small chambers in three stories, one above the other, and on the same side, in the interior, is a flight of steps, leading into subterraneous apartments, now filled with rubbish. There is also a deep well, and every where substructions. The eastern and western walls are one hundred and thirty-five paces, the northern and southern one hundred and ten paces long. The bricks are fifteen inches long, and nine inches high. In the entrance gallery, sixty paces long and thirty broad, there are also fragments of columns. To the south-west there was a large enclosed space, the pillars of which are still standing, and which I take to have been a garden. It lay low, in a feeble clayey soil, and water was collected in the cisterns close by, against the dry season. Every where, especially on the south side of the mountain, many large and small, for the most part oblong, cisterns and burying places are hewn in the rock; the latter are either deep, with many divisions, or single, but all empty, or at the most with a few mouldered bones, that indicate their original destination. The principal one, under the Tower of the Arabs, appears to be of great extent, and to be connected with it. This tower is doubtless a monument erected in the time of the Ptolemies; octangular below, above round and smaller, constructed of large hewn stones, and the whole belonged to the temple, which was probably dedicated to Osiris. The ruins in this country, from Abousir to Agaba, may be ascribed to three different ages; some are of the times of the Ptolemies or Romans, others of that of the Saracens, and others of the later period of the Arabs. As criteria we may take the structure of the remaining walls, the letters on them, the solidity of the foundations, materials, coins found on the spot, and other circumstances, which are indeed less certain than the appearance of the buildings themselves, but yet, in general, characteristic. It is certain that the later Arabs left the materials in the roughest state, did not measure or cut them by the rule, and in no case prepared marble or bricks for them. The Saracens too seem not to have done the latter; but they were more accurate in fitting the stones, and did not, like the Arabs, content themselves with small stones, but built with large ones, and in a solid manner. The remains of places built in the times the Ptolemies and the Romans have a very different appearance. There we find beautiful red bricks, pieces of white marble, and regular foundations of fine free-stone. Lastly, the proof deduced from coins has some weight. I found a very interesting coin of Alexander the Great about half way between Kasr Dschedebye and Siwa, which was also the high road from Parætonium to that place. The coins found in the rubbish of old towns are worthy of attention. The more we meet with, the more do they confirm the criteria above laid down. We may add the testimony of the in-

habitants, who, though they care little about antiquity, often observed, when they saw a heap of ruins, "This is of the times of the Greeks, that of the Christians, and this again of the Arabs."

The first ruin we have to mention here is a mosque, called by the inhabitants *Limaïd*. It is on the sea, six leagues from Abousir, on the north foot of the chain of hills on which the village (now in ruins) was situated. Both were built by the Arabs. There is no trace of any more recent edifice. An inscription on the entrance contains some verses from the second Sura of the Koran; the shape of the letters and the nature of the building do not allow us to date it further back than the fifteenth century. *Abdermain*, four leagues to the west, and two leagues from the sea, is the ruin of a dwelling. There are many foundations of other buildings round it. The walls are full of Hebrew and Greek inscriptions of later times. The solidity and beauty of the structure induce us to refer it to the time of the Ptolemies. The ruins of *Kasr Schamaa Garbye*, a monument of the age of the Ptolemies, are two leagues to the west, and three from the sea. *Kasbau Sardsch Scharkye*, twelve leagues more to the west, and two from the sea, is a handsome monument of the times of the Ptolemies. The handsome and very solid structure, and the letters Ω Ψ Ξ irregularly carved, and dating from the remotest times, are decisive. An inscription in these and other strange letters, which are found here and there, would be highly interesting, but we could not discover any. It is hollow within, square, and about twelve feet high. The upper part is wanting, and it is difficult to assign what its destination may have been. *Kasbau Sardsch Garbie*, two leagues from the above, one league from the sea, and half a league from Senetzerk, is the remainder of a large building. Its age is decided by the Greek letters cut in many of the square stones. Near it, besides the substructions of the building belonging to this ruin, are many others. Fifteen paces south of the ruin is a catacomb, with the entrance on the west side; the interior is only five feet long by three feet and a half broad, with several receptacles for coffins. Near it is a well (but without water) and to the west a large palm bush. I think these four ruins last mentioned were on the high road to Parætonium. *Kasr Medsched* on the sea, near the well of the same name, in a picturesque country, are the remains of a large fortified building, which was destroyed only a few years ago by Mahomet Ali Pasha, and formerly served the Bedouins of these parts as a lurking place and corn magazine. There are very fruitful gardens near it, and a small harbour, in which there were formerly a few ships, that traded between this place and Alexandria and Derna. In ancient times there was probably a sea-port town here. *Kasr Rassa Belaba* was a large mis-shapen building on the sea, near the

well of the same name, built by the later Arabs, and probably used as a magazine. It has several divisions, and the walls are so high, that I think it was also used as a defence against the hordes that passed this way. Kasr Dschdebye, four leagues from the sea, eighty from Abousir, and four from Agaba, is the largest of all the ruins, but uninteresting as an architectural monument. It is a parallelogram, sixty-two paces from east to west, and seventy-two from north to south. There is a small cabinet in each corner. The structure, and some coins found in it, induce me to attribute it to the Saracens. Near it, especially on the west, there are numerous substructions. There are many sepulchres of Santous on the plain, and still more on the eminences. Great respect is paid to these monuments, and no infidel may enter the inner space. I was often desired to go to a distance from them. The other Mahometans think in the same manner; in many places I was pursued because I stopped in the burying-grounds. Once on my reading to an Arab servant the inscription on a sepulchre, he ran away with reverential awe, saying the deceased knew it.

But what is far more interesting than these shapeless masses of stones, are the foundations and other remains of ancient towns and villages, which I traced whenever circumstances would permit. The whole tract from Alexandria and Damanhour to the slope of Agaba, and from the sea-coast to the distance of eight or ten leagues, is strewn all over with them. The group of hills of Elgaibe was far more peopled and fertile than the southern and western plain. Many cisterns and foundations of villages of the times of the Greeks and the Arabs are scattered here. The nearer you approach the well of Maddar, the oftener you meet with traces of considerable places, and there certainly was a sea-port town near it. In the low plain between Maddar and Senetzerk, on the southern elevation, there were several villages, and the fruitful hollows to the north, between the above-mentioned four ancient ruins and the sea, were certainly well inhabited, as is testified by numerous well-built cisterns and fine substructions. To the north of Senetzerk, on a hill on the sea-shore, the solid foundations of a temple and other edifices, and innumerable pieces of marble and valuable stone, show that an opulent town must once have stood there. The further you go from the sea the less does the country seem to have been peopled; but even at the distance of ten leagues spots are found with the most luxuriant vegetation, and walls and foundations of buildings. All these remains indicate a high degree of prosperity, and it would be interesting on that account to determine the geographical situation of the most important places in the Mareotic district mentioned by Ptolemy. The intercourse which is still carried on between the Bedouins of this country and Siwa, was probably very considerable in

those ages when the population was so much more numerous. Perhaps in ages anterior to all history, the Lybiāns dwelt in these fertile tracts on the sea-coast, and kept up from hence a most intimate connexion with the inhabitants of the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, or partly dwelt there themselves, and whose descendants, Inachus, Phoroneus, Cecrops, and Danaus, made the Greeks acquainted with the worship of Jupiter Ammon, whom we find in such high honour among them. This, however, applies only to the Mareotic district. The other part is better calculated for shepherd tribes. Only on the sea, and on the great road leading by Parætonium into the Pentapolis, it is likely that more numerous tribes resided, in the later times of the Persians and the Ptolemies, to which some of the ruins we have mentioned may be referred.

Of the coins which I found in the ruins of these places, some are of the times of the Saracens, and sufficiently prove that they inhabited all the coasts of this country. But most of them are Greek, or even older, and in a very bad state of preservation. Arabic writers testify that Christians inhabited this tract. Their obstinate resistance against the Mahometans was perhaps the cause of the entire destruction of all the places in which they dwelt. The Sultans of Egypt also bore sway here, till the country became the scene of the wanderings of the Bedouins.

The present Inhabitants of this Country.

The present inhabitants are Bedouins. They live in camps, which they remove from time to time, from two to three hundred families together, under black tents of hair-cloth, which are very spacious, but low, and set up in several rows, each family having one or more, according to its ability. The women hardly ever dwell separately, but form throughout the day a circle apart, without mixing in that of the men. The chief of each camp is a Sheik. The most powerful in this district are Valedali, Dschimeat, and Garbi. They were formerly independent; but for these ten years they have paid to the Pacha of Egypt an annual tribute in kind; for instance, dates, which the Sheik pays for the rest, receiving an indemnity. Their occupation is as simple as their provisions. The women prepare their plain food, keep the tent and domestic economy in order, braid mats, and tend the domestic animals. The men guard the flocks, cultivate the ground, carry their produce for sale to Damanhour, the rendezvous of these Bedouins, Alexandria, or Masr, accompany the camels they have hired out, and, as soldiers born, defend the cause of the Pacha, as they formerly did their own against each other. The horde of Valedali furnishes above 800, Dschimeat 400, Garbi 250 men. Besides many small caravans, we saw one of above a thousand camels,

conducted by these Bedouins, conveying corn, beans, and manufactured goods from Egypt to Barbary, and others returning thither from Derna with wool and skins. This communication is the more frequent, as the nearer way by Siwa is more inconvenient, and the voyage by sea along the coast dangerous. Hence there is a continual traffic backwards and forwards at the three passages over the high Agaba, near the sea, where they centre. These Bedouins have lost much of their peculiar character since the Pacha subdued them, drew their chiefs to his court, and made them take Damanhour, instead of Meschid, for their rendezvous. Yet many of them still lead the simple patriarchal life which the poets have described in such pleasing colours. Their dress is very simple, and their diet plain, consisting of peas, beans, or barley flour, mixed with pieces of barley bread and boiled, or bread baked like flat cakes, and eaten with onions. Butter is in general use; only the children take milk; meat is seldom eaten. They are very fond of dates, which they buy very cheap at Siwa. They eat every thing from wooden platters, with the hollow hand, and sitting on the ground. In many camps the boys learn to read and write, and even the men employ much time in this manner. They grow up without education, and are generally very confined in their ideas. Their conversations are seldom instructive, and always very monotonous. I have often observed them to talk for hours together about single words that one of us had let fall, without doing any thing but repeat and wonder at them. They never fish, and seldom hunt, though game is so abundant. They often take gazelles alive, early in the morning, while they are asleep. They are bad marksmen with the gun, and find it more convenient to train falcons for the chase. Thefts never occur among them, except that the passing caravans often rob the flocks at pasture, for which reason they are kept at a distance from the usual track of the caravans, and one of the shepherds watches on an eminence to give warning of the approach of danger. They are little, lean, and sunburnt. Though these lords of the desert lead such a healthy and peaceful life, they seem to be subject to many cares, diseases, and even premature death. They often asked our advice and our medicine, but could never resolve to pay the two physicians any thing. Some promised to shew their gratitude, but not unless the medicine did them good. Some had cauterized the back of the neck, which is said to be a common mode of cure among the Arabs. Their inattention to time is so great, that few of them can tell their own age. Mohammed, Achmed, Achsin, Achfeidha, Aberkau, are common names among them. In their frequent conversations about us they always distinguished us by some epithet, as, the tall, the short, the rich, &c. I had taken the name of Ben Jacob. Their remembrance of

places is still more defective than that of names. Though I was often six leagues from the caravan, I always found it again by minding the direction; once I was less fortunate, having gone with two Bedouins and a Hadschi from Tunis to look at the ruins of Kasb Scharkije, which took us a considerable distance from the caravan, and when we attempted to overtake it, the Bedouins missed the way. We luckily met with some shepherds, who directed us to the camp of Medsched. The inhabitants received us well, and listened attentively to our account of the object of our journey. We supped and slept very comfortably on their carpets in the open air, and rejoined the caravan on the following day. They are zealous Mahometans, and, like their brethren, hate and despise infidels, and are inclined to superstition; believers in astrology and charms against diseases; on which subject I found several books among them, one of which had the title of *Ketab Matzahn*. There are few children, and still fewer grown up persons, who have not five or more amulets (or written charms) about their heads and necks. While we stayed at Kasr Idschdebie, they often came to our tent, and were fond of reading in my Arabic books. This was done aloud in a large circle of Bedouins. The reader made remarks on the text, and they all listened for hours together with an attention which surprised me, as the subject was very dry, *e. g.* the Nubian Geography. I became every day a greater favourite with them, and they wished to keep me for some months in their camp. A book written by a Christian, containing dialogues, sentences, and proverbs, interested them still more, and the Sheiks took particular delight in this book, which I unwillingly lent them, because it contained violent attacks on the Mahometans, and I was extremely embarrassed when they read these. Unfortunately our Dragoman came up on this occasion, and laughed, which so vexed the Sheik, that he pelted him with stones. I spoke very seriously, saying that the author was a Christian, and had spoken of them, as many of them do of us Christians. They were satisfied with this explanation, but the Sheik indulged in the most abusive language against the author and the Dragoman. They showed me their whole stock of MSS. One priest had fifteen, all on theological subjects. I obtained some for a copy of the Nubian Geography. They offered to sell me the Koran, and wished much to possess our Gospels. None of our Bedouins performed regularly the five daily prayers, most of them not at all, though many bore the honourable title of Hadschi, or Hadgi. In general I did not observe that the Bedouins were scrupulous in this respect. Only once, when a priest from a neighbouring camp was with us, I saw them all at Mogreb, regularly drawn up, and perform their prayers in the usual form.

Travellers have always spoken with enthusiasm of the hospitality of the Bedouins, and they sometimes certainly received us well, gave us, without interest, water and provisions, and answered for our safety and our property; but in general they made us pay a high price, not only for provisions, but for every little service; coveted every thing they saw; stole even our provisions, which they seemed to consider as common property; and when they meant to behave particularly well, gave us their camel's flesh and barley bread, for our biscuit, rice and mutton, which were ten times as valuable. The Bedouins of this country are, however, not so bad as they were represented to us. As the Sheik was answerable for our lives, we were never to go to a distance from the caravan without his knowledge, and without being accompanied by one of his soldiers. But sometimes the soldier would go his way, and I mine; sometimes he had no mind, and I generally went alone. I was often six leagues from the caravan, saw camps at a distance, had long conversations with Bedouins belonging to them, and nobody ever seemed disposed to do me any violence. On the contrary they gave me water and bread, and smiled at my embarrassment and distrust. On the 4th of November I went from Bir Dokan to the sea, in hopes of finding traces of Parætonium. I met with many who wished to approach me, but I always avoided them, and nobody pursued me. Late in the evening, as I was returning, I met a flock of sheep; the shepherd came towards me, seemingly surprised at my being so late in this solitude. As I avoided him, and walked faster, he called and ran after me; but when I ran as fast as I could he stood still. In our camp they thought I was lost, and sent two of our Bedouins after me, who missed me, and did not return till the next day. The caravans too that I met were very obliging to me, and their observations made me conjecture that the worst Bedouins of the country had been given to us. In the desert they consider themselves as masters, and fear neither the Pacha nor any other. If they were threatened, they threatened in return. If we began to negotiate, there was no coming to a conclusion, and if any thing was required of them, they made a thousand objections. They held together when one of them was offended, otherwise they were continually quarrelling with each other.

To our great sorrow we found that even the Bedouins trouble their heads with politics, and tell lies, as in Europe. Thus a caravan passing by, affirmed that the Pacha of Egypt would make war on the Franks, and was already preparing for that purpose. We did our utmost to contradict this report, so dangerous to our safety, and were aided by another piece of news from the neighbouring camps, that the Pacha was certainly preparing for war, not against the Christians, but against the Sultan. Political

motives were assigned to our journey to the Cyrenaica. The whole country from Bengasi to Abousir was soon full of the report that we were going, as emissaries of the Pacha of Egypt, into Tripoli, to prepare the way for him to conquer it; also that we were going to fetch treasures which had long been known to us, and for which, according to private accounts, the covetous Bey of Bengasi had resolved beforehand to make us pay dear. Some guessed that conquests were projected by the Franks, as a general was at the head of the caravan. The rapidity with which the report was spread in all directions was evident from the fact, that the Bedouins in Middle Egypt spoke to me on the subject. Even in Syria they talked of it. A report was spread among the Bedouins at the well Chamam, that our caravan had been plundered and murdered in the Tripolitan territory. Several Bedouins had told us already at Kasr Dschdebije that this was intended. Two distant hordes, notorious as robbers, had resolved to surprise us in the night, and only the exaggerated accounts of our double-barrelled guns, and our night watches, had hitherto deterred them. Our Bedouins were much afraid of them, and both on the first and second day after our departure from Siwa, we were obliged to be prepared for an attack. Thus was our caravan in considerable danger among these Bedouins, and it was high time for it to retire on account of the attention that it excited. When, therefore, Otman, the Sheik, who had been with our letters of recommendation to the Bey of Bengasi came back on the 10th of November, he was much displeased at our separation from the general; and when news came that the Bey of Bengasi had indeed received our letters of recommendation, but would first ask the advice of his superior, the Pacha of Tripoli, we were convinced that the expedition was ill arranged, and that the execution of it was impracticable. The answer and the escort, for which we waited, and without which we could not travel in the very dangerous territory of Tripoli, would perhaps never have reached us; a new messenger, if dispatched to Derna and Bengasi, would not have brought the final answer in less than sixty days; which was the shortest time the Bedouins allowed for it.

The language of these Bedouins is the Arabic, but rather corrupted in their pronunciation, like any other language in the mouths of the peasants. As their mode of writing is between that of Egypt and that of Barbary, so is their language also; it may therefore be difficult to find peculiar words among them, but more easily some that have acquired a peculiar signification.

The words of their songs are as indecent as their language; the grimaces and motions with which they accompany the song are as immodest as their conduct when they are alone, and even in company with the other sex. A single verse entertains them

for hours together. One sings while dancing; the others answer by clapping their hands; or he makes while singing all kinds of lascivious, angry or joyful motions, while those around him leap up, but without changing their place. Often he makes those movements with another, who acts the part of a girl, always in quick time, lively and even violent. They generally made a circle in the evening, when two sang and the others danced. Even when travelling they leaped behind, or on the side of the caravan, one sang, and the others answered in chorus. Their leaping most resembles the Cossack dances.

The Country between Agaba and Siwa.

As soon as you have ascended the rising ground of Agaba, you behold on all sides a boundless plain, rich in vegetation, which, like that already described, is inhabited towards the west, but towards the south is quite deserted. The vegetation is also more scanty to the southward, till at length we find only a few insulated verdant spots, after going twelve leagues, very rarely any plants; and then to Siwa hardly any thing but stony, clayey, or sandy plains and ridges of hills. The beaten track, into which we came on the 15th of November, eight leagues beyond Agaba to the south-east, is marked by many heaps of stones; every one of our Bedouins added something to the heaps: an excellent custom in a desert where the way is so seldom to be discovered. It is the great road, which in the remotest times led from these parts, especially from Parætonium to Siwa. A league further we came to a spot which has always been considered as highly dangerous. The roads from the sea side, Alexandria, Derna, Bengasi, and Augela, meet here. Many caravans are plundered and murdered at this place, and we saw many traces of such. We were obliged to have our guns ready, and the Bedouins, who always magnify the danger to enhance their own importance, kept up a continual firing.

The Oasis is recognized at the distance of four leagues by the great chain of mountains that surround it, and the sight of which excited the greatest joy. The nearer we approached, the more interesting was the prospect. Sometimes they are regularly formed like walls, sometimes pointed, then round, high or low, and quite bare. Lime-stone is predominant. Petrifications, sea-snails, muscles, oysters, wood, and many large pieces of gypsum, are found every where, all mingled together in the greatest confusion. After winding for half a league between these mountains, and admiring the fine echo, we came, continually descending, into the Oasis itself. These mountains present on the inner side a far more picturesque prospect, and it is surprising how these

masses of sand have been able so long to withstand the assaults of the winds and torrents of rain. In the desert between Agaba and Siwa, sandstone is predominant, then quartz and limestone, and the surface is in many places strewn with carnelian and flintstone. This may be said of the whole Lybian desert. The component parts of the boundless plains, chains of hills, or insulated eminences, are sometimes sand, more rarely clay, and sometimes entirely masses of stone. The vegetation is less varied than on the sea-side, and it is singular that we found here in the desert, plants that were quite green, while on the sea-side they were entirely withered.

The race of animals diminishes in the same proportion as the plants. Locusts swarm in the spots where plants are found; and there was also abundance of flies, moths, and lizards. A water-hen, probably from Siwa, had strayed eight leagues south of Agaba. Ravens and other fowls of prey are likewise seen in the neighbourhood. Fifteen leagues further to the south there are probably only ostriches, and hyenas, and these in small numbers.

This desert never was inhabited, on account of the want of water and the barrenness of the soil. In the remotest ages it was crossed from Alexandria, twelve days journey from Siwa, or from the very populous tract on the sea-coast, to fetch the productions of Siwa and Augela, or to proceed thence into the interior of Africa.

Siwa.

The particularly fertile part of the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon, is, according to the inhabitants, one day's journey in circumference, about four leagues long, and from half to three-quarters of a league broad. From east to west it lies very low. On the north side there are many bare mountains, which for about five leagues inclose the hollow, but gradually diminish, and become similar to the high uneven bank which is on the south side of the Oasis. The soil of the plain is throughout sandy, mixed with salt; the sand is on the surface, and the salt a foot deep in great abundance. I did not observe that the earth is covered with salt after rain, though I examined it on the 23d of November, when we had some pretty heavy showers. The mountains, which are from 200 to 500 feet high, consist of sand or limestone. The Oasis is strewn with the above-mentioned petrifications, especially near to the eminences on the south and north sides. Salt lakes are in the east part, another in the west part of the Oasis. Streams flow through it in all directions, and run into the little lakes. Twenty springs of fresh water, (among which is the fountain of the Sun near the Temple,) almost as many of brackish water,

and frequent rains in the two winter months, fertilize the soil. Meadows, bushes, palm-groves, gardens, and corn-fields, diversify the scene, and the most luxuriant vegetation delights the eye. The lakes are covered with water-fowl; in the gardens there are palms, olives, pomegranates, plums, vines, melons, &c. The dates, which are far better than those of Augela, and esteemed equal even to those of Tunis, are annually exported in great quantities to Alexandria and Cairo. The pomegranates are excellent, and remarkably large. Barley, rice, and beans, are cultivated in the fields.

In the animal world the varieties are as few as in the vegetable kingdom, but equally numerous. Worms, insects, (especially flies, lice, and fleas,) are found every where; and domestic animals, such as cows, asses, goats, sheep, dogs, cats, fowls, &c. are very numerous. Camels cannot live here, and in some years, many of those belonging to the caravans die from the effects of the plants, and the water of this country. It is necessary to feed them with dates, and to give them water very rarely. Even this does not save them at certain seasons of the year. The inhabitants are also very numerous, though uncivilized. The number of the men is said to be above 3000. Thus, in a small spot in the midst of the desert, where, for the distance of six to twelve days journey round scarcely a living being is to be seen, there reigns a degree of animation, such as may be sought in vain in the most fertile parts of Europe, and which fully confirms all that Diodorus, Arrian and Curtius, have said of the fertility of this Oasis.

Hence, it was always, and in the remotest ages, very well peopled, and we every where found traces of more flourishing times. The ruins of the temple of Jupiter Ammon (now called Haima Caida,) are the most important, and most renowned. M. Drovetti possesses a very accurate drawing of them. Of the three parts of which, according to Strabo, this temple consisted, only two can now be distinguished in the space where the ruins lie. The foundations of the third division are probably under the adjacent houses. The people told us of the remains of seven towns, and particularly of a Heathen and of a Christian city. The Catacombs on the mountain *El Messagaret*, which the inhabitants believe to be of the highest antiquity, and where accurate researches would probably lead to many interesting discoveries; those on Mount *Rakiye* and others, and the ruins of Busruf, Korascha, Otbeija, and Lawaw, on the eastern parts of the Oasis, bear testimony to this fact. These remains likewise inform us who were the earlier inhabitants. The architecture, the paintings and hieroglyphics, indicate the most remote antiquity, and their derivation from the Egyptians, whose usual works of art they surpass by

the superior correctness of their forms. It is unanimously asserted that several statues have been used in the foundations of houses, but they are sought in vain among the ruins. It is probable that the number of them was never considerable, on account of the distance of the materials. But we have more reason to be surprised that no ancient coins are now to be found on this spot, where such rich offerings were made to Jupiter Ammon, for a happy journey, by the caravans going into the interior of Africa. After repeated inquiries, and after search made by many of the inhabitants, one of them at length brought me a piece of small money coined at Malta in 1760, which he declared to be the oldest coin to be found in Siwa. Most of the other ruins are probably of later date. The earlier inhabitants, like the present, had doubtless some intercourse with those of the Mareotic territory, and with them adopted Christianity in the second century. Several bishops of this Oasis are mentioned in the history of the Patriarchs of Alexandria. Mahometanism spread there in the seventh century. After the depopulation of the Mareotic district, they attained an independence, in which, according to the testimony of Arabian writers, they have seldom been disturbed, and which they still endeavour to maintain, though they have been obliged, for these six years past, to pay tribute to the Pacha of Egypt.

The present inhabitants of Siwa live in four miserable villages, built in the Arabian manner, which are placed upon eminences, and surrounded with high walls to protect them from hostile attacks. Below Siwa Kebir (the principal place) there is towards the north, an enclosed space, which is generally occupied in winter by the caravans; with a small mosque in it, dedicated to Sheik Soleiman, and close to it three large date magazines, called by them Masdack, where they keep and expose to sale their whole stock. They sort the dates very carefully, and give each kind a different name. Their annual produce is so large that 500 camel loads are exported. We were allowed to eat as much as we pleased, without payment; the only proof of hospitality that we received during our stay. They carry on their trade by barter, exchanging their dates, olives, cattle, and handsome baskets made of palm leaves, for corn, tobacco, manufactured goods, especially linen, coffee, &c., which are brought by the Arabs from Alexandria, or by the Bedouins. They are much attached to the Mahometan law, and hate more or less all who are not of their religion. We experienced the effects of this hatred; none of their Sheiks visited us in our tents, and our interpreter was always obliged to wait at the door of the house, for the permission which we often asked, but in vain, to visit the curiosities of the Oasis.

There are several Sheiks, over whom a governor is placed by the Pacha. The majority of the inhabitants consist of natives; but there are likewise many negroes from the interior of Africa, sixty or eighty days' journey distant. This mixture had some influence on their manners and language. They live on very plain food, chiefly their own produce, and their distress differs but little from that of the inhabitants of Egypt. They have not a healthy look, and are said seldom to live to a great age. Almost every year many are carried off by a fever, caused by the water and unripe fruit, which is said to be often contagious. Their complexion is dark; their physiognomy between that of the Egyptians and the negroes, and of a middle stature. They are selfish, but yet good-natured, and the ill treatment and hindrances we experienced are not to be ascribed to them, but to their Sheiks and Imans, and our Bedouins, who lusted after our presents, which were intended for the principal people at Bengasi and Derna. Our Bedouins desired many of them to beat us: they replied we were under the special protection of the Pacha, to which the malicious Bedouins returned that the Pacha was at a distance; but they said we were good people and had not offended them; why then should they beat us?

Their language is different from the Arabic, which they, however, both speak and write, and in this manner they may have become assimilated. Their pronunciation is more guttural than that of the Arabs, and our Bedouins assured me that they had much difficulty in understanding them when they conversed among themselves. An accurate knowledge of all the words in this language, which are not Arabic, will prove that it is identical with the Schillah, which is spoken by many tribes of northern Africa; and contains many words from the Punic, from which it has probably been formed.

In giving these short notices, I must beg the reader to consider the painful situation of our party. I was always prepared to risk even my life, to converse freely with the inhabitants, and to visit their curiosities, but the danger to which I should thereby expose my companions, obliged me to do the first privately, and silently to refrain from the latter. It was only on our departure that I separated from them; without, however, obtaining much more than a general local knowledge, for we could not find the Temple, and the fountain of the Sun, and none of the inhabitants would show us the way. We ascended several eminences, and found the above statements of the inhabitants respecting the extent of the Oasis in general confirmed. Though this Oasis is separated from the tract on the sea-coast by an extensive desert, the climate is nearly the same, the numerous lakes, streams, and springs, having the same effect as the vicinity of the sea.

This Oasis was formerly notorious for the robberies committed on travellers. Our Bedouins, most of whom had been before, pointed out the places where the banditti lay in ambush, and we always had to put ourselves in a posture of defence in their neighbourhood. But the cannon of the Pacha of Egypt has spread terror among them, and they not only pay him a regular annual tribute in dates, but seldom attack caravans travelling under his protection. To me, however, the inhabitants appear less suspicious than the vagabonds who resort hither from all parts of northern Africa, and return home with their booty along with the caravans.

Description of the Country between Siwa and Kara.

The two chains running to the east, which enclose Siwa, go for eight leagues nearly parallel in this direction. Four leagues beyond the Oasis the ground is less salt, and the vegetation more scanty. Sometimes you see tufts of shrubs, and on the right, at a distance, a grove of palms. The mountains are in the greatest disorder, and the whole tract has the appearance of having been once the bed of a great salt lake, which was the deepest where Siwa now is, in which the slime collected with all kinds of fertilizing substances; it seems to have been from one to two and a half leagues in breadth, through an extent of seven and a half leagues from east to west, to have then divided into the south-western and north-eastern arms, to have contained several small islands, its being sandy and its banks of limestone. The bed of the south-eastern arm declines twenty leagues east of Siwa into another little Oasis, called Kara, and also *little Siwa*. The windings, which this hollow makes eight leagues beyond Siwa, oblige the caravans to leave it. We come into a boundless desert plain, where for eight leagues together we see nothing but some bare hills, and tracks of caravans. Then follow fresh strata of limestone, and hollows, furrowed and undermined by torrents of rain. The Arabs call this place *Regebel Bagle*. You cannot proceed a step here without meeting with petrifications. Petrified fungi were particularly numerous. Sand hills stand close to strata of limestone of manifold forms, striped with black, red, and yellow, the confirmation of which indicates some great revolution.

Kara extends three leagues in length from north-east to south-west, and is half a league in breadth. It has five springs of fresh water, of which that in the well of Kara, at the foot of the mountain on which the village stands, is remarkably good. The vegetation is not so luxuriant as in Siwa, the shrubs, trees, and animals, fewer, and the population very small, the men being only forty

in number. In religion, language, and manners, they resemble those of Siwa; they know nothing of any ruins of ancient edifices. They are very poor, live in half ruined houses, and pay little attention to the cultivation of their gardens, and their only crops are barley and dates. Since the visit of the Pacha many of the inhabitants have removed to Siwa or Masr.

Description of the Country between Kara and Libbuk.

As soon as we leave the hollow of Kara, we see to the right and left naked mountains, and to the left in particular, a chain extending from west to east to the vicinity of Terraneh, and connected with the above-mentioned hollow or dell. We proceeded either along the foot of them, or a quarter or half a league off, till one league from Libbuk. On this journey the most fertile spots were at Cheische, eleven leagues from Kara, and at Bomarsu, three leagues further, about half way between Kara and Libbuk. This last is a plain about two leagues long, and half a league broad, where the vegetation is very rich, with some palms, and a well, the water of which even the animals will not drink. The summit of the chain is from 200 to 400 feet above the supposed bed of the lake, which is connected with the Oasis. It goes sometimes to the north-east, and sometimes to the south-east, but seldom due east, yet we chiefly kept close along the chain of mountains where the track of the caravan is, because the Bedouins assured us that there were dangerous holes under the stratifications, which lie piled upon one another like immense flakes of ice. We saw every where the footsteps of hyenas and wolves, the holes of mice and insects, and a great number of snails. But even the fertile spots of Chiesche, Bomarsu, and Libbuk, seem never to have been the abode of man.

The above-mentioned petrifications, which are also spoken of by Strabo, (p. 49, 50. Edit. Casaub.) are met with in this whole tract; and behind Libbuk there are besides many pieces of petrified palm-trees, black and very solid, which are frequently used as marks to show the way; they are often very large, and their original form is but little altered. Fungi, testaceous limestone, sand, and clay, are the component parts of this whole country, which are observed mixed and confusedly thrown together by storms, but frequently, too, separated in large masses. They often stand alone in the form of a pyramid, and then the various component parts may be easily distinguished, especially the ferragenous parts, which alternating in black, yellow, brown, red, or variegated stripes, make an interesting appearance, but are so friable, that we cannot sufficiently wonder at their long preservation. This lake extended thus far, and perhaps even to the neigh-

bourhood of Terraneh; it varied in breadth and depth, and was inhabited by all kinds of marine animals. A hurricane, or some convulsion of nature, broke through the sandy bank, the greater part of the water of the lake flowed through the plain, which declines towards the sea, the rest settled in the deep places, where it fertilized the ground in an extraordinary degree, and made those beautiful valleys which we call Oases, or where palms and many trees grow together without needing the hand of man. It might now be difficult to fix the point where the waters broke through. I should guess two places, where I chiefly observed the gradual descent towards the sea. One is north of Siwa, the second north-east of Kara; the last of which turns to the east, and then to the north. There is no point between Libbuk and Terraneh, where the breach can be supposed to have taken place. Our supposition explains the whole nature of this country. Springs of fresh water, as at Siwa, Kara, Cheische, &c. are frequently observed in the sea, and in salt lakes. Whether the vegetation was first produced by the care of man, or what is most probable, the seeds were brought thither by the waters from Egypt, its luxuriance can be explained only by this hypothesis.

Alexandria.

Alexandria lies on a slip of land between the Mediterranean and Lake Mareotis, in an uncultivated plain, broken by hills only towards the south, on two large harbours, the old one towards the west, and the new one towards the north. Though the soil seems sandy and sterile, yet in the gardens, and even here and there in the open country, besides palms, sycamores, and other trees, many vegetables are cultivated. Sycamores are seldom seen here, except in gardens, and they would have become very scarce in Egypt, had not the present Pacha thought fit to encourage the cultivation of them, for the sake of the silk worms. In the Bey's garden there are two apple-trees, and in that of the English Consul one called Nibga, the fruit of which is the size of a walnut. Provisions of almost every kind are procured from the islands, and Egypt, except poultry, of which there is abundance. The flies and gnats are very troublesome here, as they are all over Egypt: but there is no instance of any persons being mortally wounded by a snake or scorpion. Many of the inhabitants know how to catch venomous serpents, and teach them to dance, &c., which is done by stunning them. All other accounts of the matter are groundless. The air is pure, and never too warm; the nights here and on the whole coast are the heaviest in June and July. About this time, and even in April and May,

the most clouds are seen, but they do not then, any more than in August and September, descend in rain. On the whole coast it rains only in October, November, December, and January, sometimes, but very seldom, in December and February, generally with a south-west wind, seldom with west or north, and never with east or south winds. Of late years there have been two earthquakes in Egypt; one in 1809, the other in 1818; both very violent; the last extended to the whole island of Candia, Lower Egypt, and even a part of Middle Egypt, but neither Alexandria nor Cairo suffered any injury. In general earthquakes were never so dangerous in Egypt as in Asia Minor, the Morea, Sicily, Portugal, and other countries.

Alexandria is full of rubbish of ancient buildings, among which are large pieces of beautiful marble and granite, and many foundations, vaults, and pieces of walls, which are carefully sought after by the Arabs, to be used in new buildings. It is probable that very interesting discoveries are often made, but very little attention is paid to them. Thus, I was told, about thirty-five years ago, many rolls of papyrus were found, but were immediately burned by order of the Bey. I attempted in several places to advise the Arabs who were digging, and direct them to certain objects, but they pelted me with stones. The eastern part of the Pharos, the ancient promontory of Lochius, are under water; the traces of the Circus and the Hippodrome are extremely insignificant; and those of the great palaces of the Ptolemies, their library and baths, have entirely disappeared. They lay on the new harbour, and their foundations might certainly be traced by digging. In the same manner, as the retiring of the sea shewed the halls of Cicero's villa, with their marble seats, at Mola, and as the remains of Regina Diocla have been observed in the water near Perasto, in the Bocche di Cattaro, so have splendid remains of the above-mentioned buildings been seen here under similar circumstances, and not a year passes but stones of inestimable value, and gold and silver coins, are found on the shore.

The baths of Cleopatra are generally known; the celebrated Scrapium lies to the south-west, near Pompey's Pillar, now out of the city walls. On ascending an eminence you can still plainly see, amidst the rubbish, the wall as it most probably stood; but it is impossible to distinguish the remarkable colonnade, nor is there any trace of the columns of red marble, of which there were sixteen on each of the longer, and sixty-seven on each of the shorter sides. The best proof that the Scrapium stood here, seems, however, to be the discovery made some years since, two hundred and fifty paces south of Pompey's Pillar, when the workmen employed in digging the new canal found several statues erected in honour

of the God of Health, and which are now in the inestimable collection of M. Drovetti.

The foundation of Pompey's Pillar is composed of large pieces of granite, now repaired with bricks, and cemented with lime. The pedestal is a single block of granite, the breadth of which is the same on all sides, namely, five feet eight inches. An ancient drawing, which is in the house of a Maronite Bishop, on Mount Lebanon, shews that there was once a statue of bronze on the pillar, which was coined into money under the Caliphate of Valid, son of Abdalmalich. A statue of colossal size stands on the summit; but the drawing is not of such a nature as to enable us to give any particulars, except that the position of the hands seem to indicate that they held something. It is not only among the rubbish that many marble and granite pillars are seen, but in most of the houses in the city, where they are used for the colonnades round the court-yards, for door-posts, &c. Many of the mosques were once handsome Christian churches, with three aisles, in a good style, but they are disfigured by changes and decorations in a bad taste. Of the great church of St. Athanasius only three fine granite columns now remain. It was converted into a mosque, which was entirely destroyed by the French at the end of the last century. The church of the Greeks is very old, on the scite of a prison, where Diocletian caused many Christians to be put to death. On the ruins of a prison St. Saba built a church, but the relics were preserved in the patriarchal church at Cairo. Like the city it has been several times destroyed, and is composed of all kinds of fragments. It has three aisles, is very small, in the usual Greek form, with bad paintings, and some statues. In the chapel of St. Catharine they preserve as a relic the stone with which martyrdom was inflicted on that saint. Only five monks live in the convent connected with it, and only sixty men of Alexandria, chiefly merchants, belong to that church. Near it is the wretched Coptic convent, with a small church, for the very inconsiderable Coptic congregation, which has been lately rebuilt, having been wholly destroyed during the French invasion. The Latins have the largest church, and the annexed convent, with two Franciscan monks from the Holy Land, has gained in extent and in internal solidity since the present pacha has governed Egypt. Their congregation generally exceeds two thousand. The Catholics of the Greek-Armenian persuasion, and also the Maronites, frequent this church, for want of one of their own; and they have usually two clergymen here, who are at the same time schoolmasters. The Latins have not yet established a school, and prefer sending their children to Europe for education. The majority of the Franks here never attend the church, and their morals, as in most of the commercial towns, are greatly corrupted.

The Franks of the Reformed Church baptize and bury in the Greek church. Within these few years both the Latin and Greek convents have hospitals attached to them, (that of the Latins for sixty persons), the object of which cannot be sufficiently commended in a country where the poor stranger is destitute of all assistance and medical advice, and is left to perish, like the natives, who are in general wholly neglected.

Both the interior and the exterior walls of the city were built by the present pacha, but they are not at all adapted to repel a hostile attack. I never saw soldiers on guard so careless as those in the three gates and in the fort. The streets are narrow, crooked, and unpaved; the houses mean, having, instead of windows, wooden lattices, which are often very ingeniously made. Most of the houses have a projection, which contains the apartments of the family. They are seldom painted; when they are it is with landscapes, in which camels are never omitted. In the hope of finding some inscriptions, I examined, but in vain, most of the cisterns in and near Alexandria. They differ little in their construction, but their size is very various. The walls of fifty that I saw were as fresh as if they had been built only a few years ago, and they were in such a rude Arabian style, that there was probably never any intention of adorning them with inscriptions. There is certainly not a single ancient one among them. In the month of September they were almost all without water. It is said there are one hundred of them in and near Alexandria.

The population of Alexandria amounts to 12,000 or 15,000 souls. The Franks live on very good terms with the Mahometans, both here and in the rest of Egypt, and disputes between them are speedily arranged to the satisfaction of both parties, by a commission appointed for the purpose. Trade here becomes active and convenient since the completion of the canal, and the building of the corn magazines. The Franks in Egypt and Syria generally make use of the Italian language, as they do of the French at Smyrna and Constantinople. Their European goods are very dear, for they generally require 400 per cent. profit. There are very few learned Hellenists to be met with here, and it is equally difficult to find among the Mahometans any who have a taste for literature. When I enquired for books, I was always referred to Cairo. The Franks are employed almost exclusively in trade. They live in a very insulated manner; and the dread of the plague confines them to their apartments for the greater part of the year.

Egypt under Mehemet Ali Pacha.

Mehemet Ali Pacha, the present viceroy of Egypt, by his successful expedition against the Wechabites, and another to Nubia, by the establishment of manufactories, by the construction of the canal from Alexandria to Fum el Machmudije, where it joins the Nile, and especially by his commercial connections in all the great maritime cities of Europe, his riches, his respectable military and naval force, and his good treatment of the Franks, has acquired a great and solid reputation. Many of his endeavours to civilize Egypt and to extend her manufactories have indeed failed, because the natives are not fit for such employment, and the Franks require such high wages that his goods cost twice as much as those brought from Europe; but still the endeavour is worthy of praise. The chief obstacle to the improvement of the country, under his government, is the despotism which characterises all his enterprises. He is unlimited master of the soil and all that it produces: nobody has any landed property, and nobody is rich except himself and some of his officers, as long as he permits them to be so. He has the monopoly of the produce of Egypt, and even of the East India goods that come through that country; he suffers no competitors except the few commercial houses whom he favours; and hitherto nobody has been able to resist this despotism. He fixes the prices, treats all merchants and captains of merchantmen at his pleasure, and sells only to his favourites, so that many vessels must leave Alexandria without cargoes, and many merchants have been without any business for some years. If there were not such conflicting interests, the consuls would long since have made complaints to their respective ministers at Constantinople, who would have claimed the execution of the existing commercial treaties. But single complaints make no impression, and the Divan too seems unable to protest with effect against the proceedings of the powerful Pacha. Hence the many merchants who in 1815 and 1816 were at the height of prosperity, but were ruined by misfortunes in 1817 and 1818, will be long involved in distress and never be able to pay the millions of debt to the Pacha. I am assured that within a short period twenty-seven have failed, seven are in imminent danger, and five must give up their business in a few years. In 1820 the Pacha commanded those who could not pay the third part of their debt to him to leave the country. He governs with unlimited power from the Mediterranean to Dongola; from Arish, the Deserts of Arabia, the Red Sea as far as Agaba, Siwah, the Natron territory, the great and little Oases, and even the princes of Sennaar and Darfour now tremble before his mighty arm.

The Bedouins of the Mareotic and Natron territory are his soldiers. The corps of Mamelukes is supplied with recruits from all parts of the Turkish empire, and what his troops want in discipline and skill, is made up by their courage, and the valour of their leaders, and the deficiency of his enemies in cannon and ammunition. About three millions of men are subject or tributary to him, and all Mahometans are answerable for the security of the caravans going in pilgrimage to Mecca. The form of government is well known, and the great influence of some intelligent Franks in the ameliorations that are attempted excite hopes of a real improvement in the state of Egypt. But the most judicious persons entertain doubts on this head, if the Pacha continues to exercise the same tyranny over agriculture and commerce, and the lives of his subjects. Egypt is, besides, deficient in population, which alone can save the Delta, once the most fertile country in the world, from being converted into a desert. The Rosetta mouth of the Nile is so choked up with sand that even small vessels often run aground. They cannot proceed without a strong favourable wind, for which they often have to wait for weeks together. What would become of the Paradise of Egypt; what would become of Rosetta, with its lofty pleasant houses, its fine gardens, its palm groves, and luxurious corn-fields, without the overflowing of the Nile? It is to be feared that the masses of sand pressing from east to west, which in the desert between Damietta and Rosetta cover or swallow up like floods of water, lofty pillars, houses, and even palm trees, will soon change into a desert this fine tract, watered by the western arm of the Nile, and the canals that are supplied from it, and will leave only one remaining of the seven arms of the Nile which once fertilized the Delta. Wo to the rulers who for above these thousand years, have contributed by their neglect to bring about so unhappy a result. The evil cannot be remedied except by a judicious direction of the water upon scientific principles; but numerous hands are requisite to such a work.

Mehemet Ali receives with kindness, fugitives from all parts of the world, and gives them land to cultivate; thus he was a considerable gainer in particular by the late persecutions of the Catholic Greeks in Damascus, and of the Catholic Armenians in Aleppo and Constantinople. The object of his late expedition to Nubia, was also, to obtain an encrease of population for Egypt. But what is gained by these means is lost again by the plague, dysentery, and mortality among children. The most destructive of all evils is the plague, which in the years 1820 and 1821, desolated Alexandria and Cairo, and even committed ravages on board the European vessels to an extent hitherto unknown. It is the more formidable, as both the causes and the

remedies against it are unknown. It is certain that it is propagated by contact, but why some persons are more or less susceptible than others of taking the infection, must remain a riddle till physiology is placed on a more steady foundation: it is certainly not a disease of the nerves. It is remarkable that the symptoms partly agree with those pointed out by Thucydides in his account of the contagion at Athens during the Peloponnesian war. The same evil which then afflicted Athens, and now depopulates the Turkish empire, probably raged among the Greeks before Troy. It is therefore old, perhaps as old as the Deluge. Suppose that the typhus had proceeded from the exhalation of the heaps of animal bodies, which must have been dissolved in corruption at that time, and under certain circumstances had been after a lapse of years again developed by contact? Certain periodical winds, such as the chamise in Egypt, and the mode of living among the Arabs, may have an influence, yet the main cause is contact; and therefore a medical police and strict quarantine ought to be introduced, and every thing not left to blind chance. I could adduce many instances of the unhappy consequences of their absurd notions in this respect. At Cairo, an Arab, attempting to save a fowl which had fallen into the river, swam too far from the shore and was carried away by the current. He might easily have been saved by throwing him a rope or an oar; but nothing was done; the Mahometans, of whom great numbers were on the banks and in the vessels, assured me he had been predestined from his birth to perish in this manner. At Alexandria they believe that the plague is brought thither by pilgrims from Barbary and afterwards from that city to Rosetta and Cairo. It generally appears in Alexandria in the month of December and continues, but generally with interruptions, till June. At Cairo it usually commences in March. This periodical recurrence seems to prove the influence of the chamise, which blows with the greatest violence about this time. Some years ago the Pacha wished to introduce a quarantine, but he was induced to renounce his intention, partly by his own commercial interest, and partly by remonstrances which were sent him from Constantinople.

Description of the Country between Alexandria and Cairo.

Ten minutes walk from the exterior south gate of Alexandria is the canal, on which labourers are still employed by command of the Pacha, and corn magazines building at the extreme end of it. Here is the place where all goods to and from Cairo are loaded and unloaded, and also the custom-house. The Arabs are here employed the whole day in loading and unloading the ships and camels. All the trade between Alexandria and Cairo is car-

ried on by this canal, and its importance is greatly enhanced by the increasing danger and difficulty of the navigation at the mouth of the Nile at Rosetta. It is about ten paces broad and twelve leagues long. The southern dam separates it, for the extent of four leagues, from Lake Mareotis, and thence from the fertile plain on which Damanhour lies; the northern dam divides it from the low plain which bounds the sea, and afterwards Lake Madie. In the vicinity of Alexandria there are only huts of the Bedouins on this neck of land, but five leagues distant are considerable villages, such as Elouak and Birket; thither the people of Alexandria often go to shoot quails and pigeons. There are but few plants on the two banks; but the nearer you approach to Fum el Machmudie, the more interesting does the country become, and in sailing up the Nile the prospect is beyond conception striking and delightful. Towns rapidly succeeding each other, the richest vegetation, groves of palms mingled with corn fields and gardens, where the wonderful productive power of nature makes up for the deficiency of human hands; where earth and water swarm with animal life, and the sky is frequently darkened by the immense flocks of pigeons. The navigation in the canals is less agreeable. Every moment you see the wheels that raise the water into the ditches; every where the painful labour of man is visible, and the less flourishing vegetation and smaller number of towns, render the scene more uniform. One of the most interesting parts, is that where the Nile divides into the two principal branches. Its course is there more rapid, its banks further from each other, and more diversified, and the pyramids are already visible at a distance. The Fellahs in the Delta are good tempered, but most zealous Mahometans. A Neapolitan lately beat one of them severely, because he and some others had been called by an opprobrious name, and thrown stones at some European ladies, whose necks and faces were uncovered. The others were immediately going to murder him, but on his giving money to him that he had beaten, and embracing him, all was made up. Crocodiles are very rarely seen in the Delta, it is only in years when the Nile is very high that one is sometimes seen at Raschid, at which place one of extraordinary size was observed three years ago.

Cairo, and the Christians in Egypt.

The entrance into the capital of Egypt, resembles that into an European city in which there is a much frequented fair. There is a constant throng of people going to and from the adjacent country; the streets are always crowded, and the Bazars, filled with goods of every description, present a very animated and interesting scene. Every moment you have to step aside to avoid

being galloped over by the horses or asses, or to force your way through a dense mass of people.

As soon as your effects are landed and inspected by the custom-house officers, a crowd of Arabs fight to get possession of them; each endeavours to load them on his ass, and you are happy to get out of the throng and agree with them at some distance, on the best terms you can.

The population of Cairo is composed of very different parts: Arabs, Turks, Mamelukes, Berbers, Negroes, Jews, Copts, Greeks, Armenians, and Franks, are mingled together, and the temporary residence of the Bedouins and strangers from the interior of Asia and Africa, contribute to diversify the scene. The number of the Franks is small in comparison with the others, and it is only within these few years that they have become so numerous as they now are. There are about fifteen hundred in Cairo, mostly Italian merchants and manufacturers. Most of them have lost their credit by unfortunate speculations, and their business by the tyranny of the pacha. They live in the quarter called Dschamea, enjoy unbounded liberty, and are more esteemed than in any other province of the Turkish empire. There are two Latin convents, each with an ill built and small church: the largest, *Di Terra Santa*, under the protection of the French, as well as those of Alexandria; and Rosetta is under the superior at Jerusalem, in union with those in Palestine, Syria, and Cyprus. The smaller one, of the propaganda, under Austrian protection, is immediately connected with the propaganda at Rome, as well as the convents of Achmin, Tachta, &c. in Upper Egypt. At Cairo there are two priests in each, in the others only one; and at Rosetta and Damietta, for want of Franciscans, their place is supplied by Maronites. In the church of the larger convent, the Maronites and catholic Syrians also celebrate divine worship, and in that of the smaller, the catholic Greeks, Armenians, and Copts. Each of these communities has a vicar-general, and the first has a bishop on Mount Lebanon. Some years ago, the Copts, at the intercession of the pious, wealthy, and very much esteemed Moallem Galli, minister of the pacha, endeavoured to have the worthy vicar-general, Matthias Raschit, consecrated bishop, and had paid large sums to obtain permission. But the malicious schismatics found means, by paying still larger sums to the pacha, to assert, as the predominant church, the right which had been insured to them for some centuries by the sultan, not to permit any catholic bishop, and when the pious old man was going to embark at Damietta to get himself consecrated on Mount Lebanon, they caused him to be so cruelly beaten, that he was ill for several months, became averse to society, and lost many of his admirable qualities. Moallem Galli, who was very ill-treated

on this occasion, has since recovered the pacha's favour; and when the bishop of Babylon, Pietro Couperi, on his way to Bagdad, visited Cairo, there wanted nothing but a worthy priest approved by Rome, for the pacha had now given his permission, out of respect for the presence of the French consul.

This community is the most numerous among the oriental catholics, though it was always the most persecuted by the schismatic Copts. Commercial interest and persecution in Syria have brought the others hither. The Armenians are merchants, and were never numerous. The Greeks in Cairo are about three thousand, Alexandria one hundred, Damietta and Rosetta eighty. The patriarch of Alexandria has his residence in a convent in the Greek street. I frequently saw the intelligent patriarch Theophilus, at Patmos, where he had lived in retirement for these three years.

Their largest and handsomest church is that of St. Nicholas. That of St. Catherine, in the convent of the monks of Mount Sinai, is small but rich, as well as the convent. The convent of St. George in Old Cairo, is remarkable as being erected upon a large handsome ancient building. The language of the church is the Greek, though many are unacquainted with it.

The original inhabitants of Egypt, the Copts, have been reduced by the cruel oppression of the several rulers of the country, and by the plague, to twenty thousand men, or eighty thousand souls in all; and their churches to one hundred, twenty-three of which, with six convents, are at Cairo. They dwell together in a quarter of Cairo near the patriarch, where there is a handsome new church. They constitute a great part of the population of Old Cairo, where they have several convents which, however, are poor, and inhabited by a very few persons.

Their manners and customs have become assimilated to those of their tyrannical oppressors, with whom they are every where intermixed. Three villages only, in Upper Egypt, have remained unmixed. We seek in vain, especially among the inhabitants of Lower and Middle Egypt, for peculiarities in their religious or domestic customs, their proverbs, way of life, and language. For several years past they have even ceased to celebrate their family festivals at New Year, Epiphany, Easter, and in September, when they dwelt in tents at a distance from their houses, in a temporary oblivion of domestic cares; when the heads of families treated their relations with the best that their stores could afford, made presents of sweetmeats to the children, especially at Epiphany, and indulged in harmless pleasures. Poverty has deprived them of the means, and tyranny of courage. Only they still celebrate, in social circles, the eighth day after a christening, and the marriage, to which the bride never brings any dowry.

They are remarkable for their good temper, and for a laudable complaisance in the ordinary intercourse of life. Their mode of salutation is very formal and long, always pressing the hand on the breast, then laying it on the hand of the other, and lastly on the head. Perhaps it would be difficult to find a Christian sect which is so degraded, or in which the moral dignity of man is so much effaced. To form an idea of it, we need but go into the churches, and see how the bishops, and still more, the priests, with the stick in their hands, strike the believers who press around like a flock of sheep, and who know of no duties at church but that of mechanically imitating some motion made by the priest.

According to the unanimous assurance of the Coptic patriarchs, and of many monks from Upper Egypt, they have, in their convents, none but new MSS. for the use of the churches, which they read fluently, but do not understand without the help of the Arabic translation opposite. Very few monks in Upper Egypt understand Coptic well, and the patriarch said he had known but one who spoke it. I do not believe that there are any ancient MSS. in the convents, or that the inscriptions in their churches are at all interesting, either to history or paleography. These latter are all new, or repaired, and contain nothing but doxologies in the Coptic language, sentences from scripture, and the names of the saints, who also are badly painted over them in the oriental style. Their patriarch Abga Petrus, shewed me, as the oldest and most valuable article in his little library, a Lectionarium, with the Arabic translation opposite, of the year 1161.

The Coptic literature has certainly to expect the most important acquisitions from the excavations, and from the collections already made, in particular that of the celebrated and excellent M. Drovetti, who possesses, among others, eight partly decayed MSS. containing the Bible in the Saitic dialect, and the Wisdom of Solomon in the Memphitic dialect, which are probably older than any in Europe. He has likewise a fine collection of historical inscriptions. It is only to be lamented that he who is at the expence of making excavations in Egypt, is disappointed by intrigues of the fruit of his researches. The Arabs are bribed, and generally carry off the most valuable of the articles that are found.

The Jews in Africa, the Slaves, and the Gypsies.

The Jews are as much strangers here as in other countries, where they ebb and flow according as commercial speculation, or favour shown them, may determine. The latter, however, seems never to have been the case in Egypt. What political catastrophes have destroyed here, was never restored; many vil-

lages which a few centuries ago belonged to them exclusively, are still desolate, many towns which formerly prospered through their industry, are now decayed, and the few remains of them in Cairo and Alexandria are poor, or new comers from the land of the Franks. Their ancient prosperity is attested by the ruins of many synagogues, particularly in Lower Egypt, and two of them are still held in great honour by all the Jews, on account of a legend, which affirms that one of them possesses a Hebrew copy of the Bible, written by Esdras himself, and the other one that was brought to it a thousand years ago in a supernatural manner, as the chapel of the Virgin at Loretto was borne through the air by angels. That the latter was honoured three hundred years ago, is proved by a signature, by which all persons who shall touch this book are excommunicated. What may be said of the Oriental Jews in general is applicable to those of Egypt. They are in the most degraded state, and their wretched condition has effaced every trace of antiquity. Only the hatred of the Talmudists to the Karaites has been inherited. Of the latter there are said to be two hundred here, one hundred and fifty in Jerusalem, eighty in Tiberias, two hundred in Damascus, and one thousand five hundred in Constantinople, and who for the same reason offer nothing worthy the attention of the enquirer, except the peculiar formation of their skull.

An accurate acquaintance with the Jews in Abyssinia, whose existence is confirmed by many authorities, would be important in other respects than the mere gratification of curiosity. An ambassador sent one hundred and fifty years ago from the Prince of Sana to the Emperor of Abyssinia, also saw them confined to the recesses in the mountains. They lead a wandering life, subsist by breeding cattle, have the Sabbath, circumcision eight days after the birth, and no religious book but the Pentateuch. According to the accounts given by the leaders of caravans, the Jews in the interior of Africa equally incline to Theism, and their Cohens are said to be as unacquainted with the Hebrew, as the Christian priests in the east are with Greek. Tradition tells of three great Jewish caravans that went to Abyssinia under the reign of King Solomon; the first with the natural son of Solomon and the Queen of Sheba; of an active commercial intercourse between the two kingdoms; of the conversion of Abyssinia to the Jewish religion; and of a sanguinary war between the Jews and Christians in the fifth century, in which the former were almost wholly exterminated in Abyssinia, only a few having escaped by flight, into the interior of Africa. Now whether they had previously been led by commerce to settle in the interior, or whether this did not take place till their expulsion from Abyssinia, their origin is the same, and they only become the more interesting in an historical point

of view. But it is to be feared that the contempt in which they are there held by the heathens and Mahometans, has reduced them to as deplorable a condition as in the east in general, or as that of their brethren in Caucasus, in the mountains of Taurus, and even in Yemen, with whom we are equally unacquainted, is represented.

A considerable number of men in the east still labour under the curse of being treated and sold like brute beasts. Most of them are exported from Egypt to all parts of the Turkish empire, being annually brought by a great caravan from Sennar and Darfour, and now that travelling is so secure, in several small caravans to the number of five or seven thousand every year. The princes of those countries make war on the neighbouring tribes, and the result generally is the taking of several thousand prisoners. Part of them are employed to cultivate the land and tend the camels in the country itself; the others are sold or bartered as slaves to the caravans, like ivory, gum, ostrich-feathers, rhinoceros horns, alum, &c.; the number of the prisoners is increased by those sold by their barbarian parents. On the journey these poor wretches are most dreadfully ill-treated, and as soon as they arrive at Cairo exposed to sale in the slave market, where from eighty to two hundred dollars are paid for them, according to their ability, age, strength and beauty. I observed that the women, who generally make above three-fourths of the number, endeavour to heighten their attractions, chiefly by braiding their hair in a very beautiful manner. They are employed as domestic servants, but it is difficult to teach them. Their lot is generally more tolerable under Turkish masters than under Franks, but very different from what it is in America. They are considered as servants of the house, and frequently when they conduct themselves well and give proofs of ability, as members and friends of the family. Among the Franks the possession of them is generally attended with loss, as they have more liberty, the females soon become pregnant, and the males good for nothing and thievish. They are likewise more susceptible of the plague than other persons, as is confirmed by many observations, and of seventy thousand persons who have been carried off by the plague, within a few years, fourteen thousand were slaves. It is difficult, and generally impossible, to obtain any information from them respecting their native country and language, as they have generally been brought away when very young, and have no recollection of it. As Volney and others have given very good accounts of the Mahometan tribes, I conclude this chapter with a remark upon the Gypsies. They are here called Tatar or Aghar. Their customs are the same as those which distinguish them among us. They bury their dead privately. Here too they employ themselves in fortune-telling, prophecyng, rope-dancing,

tumbling, &c. They are supposed to be Theists, and to have come originally from the interior of Asia.

Abyssinia.

Cairo and Jerusalem are frequented by people from various parts of Asia and Africa, from whom I have collected much information. Some particulars are omitted here, because they have been more perfectly related by preceding travellers. With respect to Abyssinia, which was always the favourite object of my plan, I heard many accounts both true and false. There is nothing more to be regretted than the premature death of the companion of the English consul-general, Mr. Salt, in his travels in Abyssinia.* He resided there eight years, and the situation in which he was placed gives us reason to suppose that his knowledge of the country must have been very extensive. There can be no doubt that the journey to Abyssinia from Egypt by land, is extremely fatiguing and difficult, and people always prefer going by sea. I got acquainted with some persons from Axum, who assured me that no Mahometan state had maintained itself there, and that the followers of Mahomet are very few, and even these live and dress like Christians. Shoa, Machedo and Noari are Christian states. The latter is five days journey from the Nile, and the inhabitants speak the Malhas language. There are many other Christian states, and I have a list of above thirty dialects, the people speaking which are all Christians.

The Libraries at Cairo. The Schools and Charitable Institutions. The Legacies to the Mosques. The Prayer of the two Beiram.

The library of Mahomet Ali Pacha, the present governor, will probably soon occupy a distinguished rank among those establishments at Cairo. To the fine collection of Arabic MSS. he exerts himself to add a number of Arabic translations of French and Italian works on mathematics and natural philosophy, and has some chosen Mamelukes educated in the European manner. The library of M. Asselin, a learned Frenchman living in Cairo, contains many rare MSS. But neither the two Latin nor the two Greek convent libraries (those of the Patriarch and of Mount Sinai,) contain any MSS. interesting in a literary view, because they have been always the most exposed to pillage. The most interesting acquisitions in Arabic literature might be made

* Mr. Pearce.

in the libraries of some of the Sheiks. Their treasures, and the facility with which copies may be procured, will always make Cairo important to the lovers of Arabic literature. The Darel-hekmet, now called Dschamea Elazhar, with a considerable library, which, according to Macrizi, was founded in the year 895, on the second Dschaumadi, is one of the greatest establishments for education in the Ottoman empire. It is a very large building, with several piazzas, in which the pupils, to the number of two thousand, sitting in above one hundred and fifty different divisions, receive instruction in reading, writing, grammar, the koran and the law. Not only the library, but even the school is inaccessible to Christians. I was twice threatened with the penalty of death for my curiosity by the Shieks, some of whom are very well informed and solved many of my doubts. They gave me the following information respecting legacies to the mosques. If a rich man dies, either with or without heirs, and has bequeathed any thing to a mosque for repairs, light, carpets, or other expences, he leaves the money to the care of some respectable person, a Sheik, Iman, or rich merchant, who secures it by laying it out in the purchase of houses, lands, &c. The present Pacha has deprived many mosques, that had been enriched by such legacies, of the greater part of their property, yet there are still in Cairo many that are very well endowed. They assured me that there never was any difference of opinion respecting the place where the prayer of the two Beirams shall be performed. It is only at Mecca that it must be performed in the open air on the Dschebel Araphat, otherwise always in the mosque. There is a board, consisting of twelve physicians, which is consulted on difficult cases. In the mad-house I saw fifteen poor wretches in chains, each confined to a narrow chamber. They appeared to be so neglected, that they must become mad in such an abode if they were not so already. The hospital connected with it is in a similar state. The orientals have no idea of a judicious management and regulation of philanthropical establishments; the patient is almost entirely left to himself.

So much has already been said of the principal mosques, the Hall of Saladin, built in a beautiful Saracenic style, on Memphis, the pyramids and antiquities of Egypt, that I pass over this subject, and reserve my remarks for another suitable opportunity.

The Country between Cairo and Gaza.

The most convenient mode of travelling from Cairo to Gaza is by water, going down the Nile from Cairo to Damietta, and thence to Jaffa. But as the opportunities of going by sea from Damietta to Jaffa are rare, people generally prefer going by land, either by way of Belbeys and El Arish, or by way of Suez. We

chose the more interesting route by Belbeys, Arish, and Gaza. Half a league from Cairo is Matarieh, where the celebrated sycamore stands, upon the spot in which the Holy Family is said to have reposed; and in the neighbourhood is the scite of the ancient Heliopolis, where there is an obelisk and several sarcophagi. We remarked here the contrast between the most fertile plains in the world and the desert. On the left are the finest clover and corn fields, groves of palms, and the most luxuriant vegetation; on the right nothing but chains of naked limestone hills, which run into innumerable branches. Halke, four leagues from Cairo, is a pretty large village, and between that and Belbeys are several others, in a very picturesque country. The road from Belbeys to Karein (Coraem?) runs almost constantly between gardens, and the villages stand very close together. The country is less populous four leagues beyond Karein, between Chatara and Salehieh, where fertile spots and even groves of palms, which, however, have a connexion with the plain, which is annually watered by the canals from the Nile, alternate with sterile deserts, bounded at a distance by a chain of naked mountains. The country beyond Salehieh is only occasionally visited by Bedouins. Two leagues farther is the valley of Kantara, with a salt soil, formed by two chains of hills, that sometimes run parallel, and in which there are some salt ponds and a well of good water. After leaving this valley, which is eight leagues in length, the soil is sandy, and almost entirely barren. Near Catieh there are many palm trees, and the ruins of a village, which the Arabs affirm to have belonged to the Jews. El Arish lies in a very fruitful country, and beyond it are the frontiers of Egypt and Syria. For the space of two leagues you see on all sides an uneven country, full of herds of cattle grazing, and here and there fine corn fields, in an extensive plain. After proceeding some leagues further you perceive the ruins of the town of Rafah, and a very large and deep cistern of the same name. The country becomes mountainous, and at the foot of the mountains is Chanus, (Khan Jouness) the ancient Jenysus, the first village in Syria. The country from Arish to Gaza is low and almost level, to the distance of four leagues from the sea. At a short distance there is a slope, the country becomes mountainous and more barren, and you are soon in a desert. We saw no quadrupeds except boars, hares, and jackalls, which the inhabitants say are very numerous. The soil is very fertile in this tract, but, especially between Arish and Gaza, only to the distance of six or eight leagues from the sea, where the desert begins.

Remains of the Ancient Inhabitants.—The Present Inhabitants.

This whole tract has little that interests the antiquarian. Almost every trace of the ancient inhabitants has been effaced by their barbarous successors. In the middle of the village, at Karein, there is a large isolated block of granite, with ancient Egyptian figures. The present state of the ruins near Bir Catieh does not enable me to judge whether they are ancient; but it is probable that the town of Cheres was near that place.

Of Rhinocorura, now Arish, not a trace remains. A league beyond Arish, and a league from the sea, upon an eminence, there was formerly, it is said, a great Arab village, called Matal, of which nothing remains but the ruins of an aqueduct. At Vadi Rafah, twelve leagues beyond Arish, there are to the left of the road two lofty columns of black granite still standing, and three hundred paces from them a large and deep cistern, which is repaired with pillars of marble and granite. These are the poor remains of that once handsome Christian city, whose former splendour is still recorded in the memory of the Arabs. In the same manner the barbarians have destroyed the remaining antiquities in Khan Jouness, and especially those in Dir Belach, which were very considerable. A league before you reach Gaza are the remains of a bridge, which was built very strong and high, and was probably a work of the Romans. It is over the Dschiser Gaza, which comes from the mountains, and falls into the sea about a league off, but is generally without water.

The present inhabitants of the desert tract from Cantara to Arish are Bedouins, who are tributary to the Pacha of Egypt, and differ but little from those of the Mareotic territory: they are very few in number, and I saw in the whole district only one camp, which was at Vadi Cantara. Arish has three hundred inhabitants, and Khan Jouness above a thousand. Both are fortified as a protection to the frontiers, and the first is celebrated on account of the battle fought near it during the French invasion. They prosper by the trade which they carry on between Egypt and Syria: the inhabitants are remarkably rich in camels; and both demand of the Christians and Jews who pass by, the tribute called Ghafar, which the Mahometan thinks himself authorized to demand of the infidels, especially at certain places.

The fruitful and cultivated tract between Arish and Khan Jouness is inhabited only by Bedouins, who seem, however, to be more prosperous, and to approach to the village life. Many sepulchres are seen in this district, which are as solidly built as those of the inhabitants of the towns. Though the inhabitants of Khan Jouness are much addicted to robbery, those of Dirbelach are

said to be very well disposed. They receive both Christians and Mahometans very hospitably, and give them at least some of their dates, of which they gather annually a large quantity, which is exported to Syria. Hence many caravans now proceed along the sea-coast, and this route is now more frequented than that through Khan Jouness.

The religion, both of the Bedouins and the inhabitants of the villages, is the Mahometan. Each village and each camp has at its head a Sheik, who conducts it, directed by the advice of the elders.

From Arish to Gaza the inhabitants are tributary to the Pacha of Acre, or to his Motsallem at Gaza, and those of Egypt, as far as Arish, to Mahomet Ali. Since the campaign to Mecca against the Wechabites, a part of the Bedouins on the east coast of the Red Sea, and in Arabia, are likewise tributary, and the bold hordes of banditti are succeeded by poor weak Bedouins.

Remarks on the Natural Peculiarities of Palestine and a Part of Syria.

The chain of mountains which traverses all Syria extends also in various branches and ramifications to Palestine. They enclose many deep valleys in all directions, and have the most diversified forms, directions and elevations. In Judea most of them are conical; in Samaria flat and elongated; there steep or oblique, lofty or low; here covered with earth, there entirely bare. Great and little Hermon and Tabor are here the highest. Mount Nuris, one league south of Little Hermon, is not so regularly formed as that mountain. In Galilee the valleys are broad and long, branch out in the same manner into manifold ramifications and are very fertile. Petrifications of plants, olives, and other fruits are found in Kesrouan and on Carmel in a space of half a square league extent, called the Garden of the Mother of God, but the quantity is diminished since they have been so much sought after. Near the grave of Rachel of Bethlehem, great numbers of small stones are found, which in size and appearance exactly resemble peas, and the place is hence called Dscherumel homes, the pea-field. The popular belief attaches great miracles to both these places, by which the holy family, to punish the avaricious inhabitants, transformed all the fruits in their gardens and fields into such stones.

On the dead sea, particularly on the south-west shore, asphaltum is found, which when rubbed emits a sulphureous smell, burns like pitch, and is manufactured by the inhabitants of Jerusalem into crosses, rosaries, &c.

The inhabitants have no idea of mines of metal, though, it is not improbable there may be some in Samaria and Galilee. Iron

is abundant in Antilibanus and Kesrouan. On the sea-shore there are many greenish stones that look like glass, covered with a rind, or grown together with limestone, and extremely solid. I saw a great quantity of them near the ruins of Apollonia; perhaps they gave occasion to the invention of glass. Palestine is very rich in saltpetre; I found the sides of the caves of Gethsemane and other places covered with it.

In the valley of the Jordan, and about the Dead Sea, there are still traces of volcanos. In the mountains near the Dead Sea we saw many yellow stones which contain sulphur, ashes also, at a very considerable distance, and pumice stone in the Dscheser (river) Ascalon. Half a league to the south of Tiberias and Hammi there are sulphureous springs. Near Tiberias water issues from the ground in four places, about five paces from each other: the water is so hot that one cannot bear to hold a finger in it more than a few seconds. Those of Hammi, three leagues more to the south, are not so warm, but they are more visited by rheumatic patients.

The soil is of very different qualities, but never so rich as with us; that of the mountains is rough and stony, that of the plains light and very fertile. In Judæa it is stony and not so warm as in other parts, and every thing is therefore less forward; but it is astonishing to see when the weather is favourable, how trees, shrubs and plants flourish in the seemingly poor soil, and even in the clefts of the rocks. They never think of improving the ground by manure, and dung is used by them for fuel.

Palestine, like all mountainous countries, abounds in water. The Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and other rivers, derive their waters from Lebanon. The other small rivers (Dscheser) are filled in rainy weather from the mountains, or from springs, the comparatively small number of which, made cisterns necessary even in the remotest ages. The most interesting of all the waters is the Dead Sea, called by the inhabitants Baher Ellut. Even in the most ancient times it attracted the attention of the observer, and so many fables were related of it, that it was difficult to distinguish the truth from fiction. It is eleven miles long and five broad.* Around it are bare mountains, which when surveyed from the eminences present a frightful prospect. Those on the east are steeper and higher, those on the west more numerous and gloomy. To the north is the plain, four leagues in breadth, which is traversed by the Jordan. On the banks is an ash-grey salt, adhesive slime, sand mixed with salt and nitre, or stones which are covered with a white salt crust. The same is

* The author means, we suppose, German miles, equal to four and a half English.

the case with the great heaps of stones, where lime, flint and bitumen lie one upon the other and hard by a large spot with plants growing on it, particularly the *Salsola* and *Salicornia*. Many trunks and branches of trees, which the Jordan has carried into the sea, and which have been cast up by its waves, are found to be corroded through and through, and partly converted into a black mass. Shells, snails, shrubs and other objects have been carried into the sea by the Jordan. Their distance from the water, which is as much as thirty paces, shews how violent the south-east winds are which agitate this sea. Various animals, chiefly locusts and birds, have perished in the sea, and likewise cover the shores. The inhabitants have collected heaps of salt on the salt plains about the sea. The water has such a salt and pungent taste, that drinking it takes away the breath and occasions sickness at the stomach. While I strolled along the shore, the south-east wind blew very strong, and I felt several times as if I were on the point of suffocation. I thought of the little animals that stray hither and go blindly to meet their death, flying forward till they become faint and dizzy and fall in. The few insects creeping on the shore were likewise so faint that it was evident they had not long to live: but large birds flew boldly round and over it. On the east shore there are bituminous and sulphureous springs, which are called by the inhabitants the baths of Moses, David and Solomon. When we consider all these phenomena, we cannot but acknowledge that this sea and the environs have many peculiarities which are simply and satisfactorily illustrated by the narrative of the sacred historian. In the midst of these bare limestone rocks there was an Oasis, with a salt soil and salt springs like Siwa, but far superior in fertility and salubrity on account of the fine water of the Jordan. There was a volcano, the subterraneous hollows of which undermined the Oasis. Bituminous and sulphureous springs issued from the south-east side of the Oasis, streams of lava from the western side, till the anger of God fell on this country; a tempest set fire to the subterraneous combustible substances, the surface sunk in, and the fruitful tract was changed into a lake, which is impregnated with all the above-mentioned substances, especially salt. The Jordan is about ten paces broad, flows very rapidly, and has its banks quite covered with trees. At the place where the pilgrims bathed it forms an island. There are many rivulets which have no water except in the winter, when they are at times so deep, that hardly a year passes without some persons being drowned in them.

Near most of the towns and villages there are springs, which being in the valleys, while the villages are on the hills, it is a chief occupation of the women to fetch the water into the village. Near the sea the water in the springs is often brackish. At Jaffa it

contains much nitre, and they are obliged either to bring better water from a distance by means of aqueducts, as at Acre, Sur, and Saida, or to collect the rain water in cisterns.

St. Mary's well in the valley of Jehosaphat (perhaps formerly called the spring of Siloah) is remarkable for having, at certain times, hardly any water in it, and soon after a large quantity. People bathe in it, because it is said to have a healing virtue, especially for the eyes. Above twenty steps lead down to it, and a subterraneous channel leads it into the pond of Siloah. Several flights of steps, above ten feet deep, lead down into this also. It is twenty feet broad, and twenty-five feet long.

Not far from it is the well of Nehemiah (now called Bir Ajub) which is above one hundred and thirty feet deep. It was probably imagined that by digging so deep they would reach a spring, but this has proved to be a mistake. A greater quantity of water is thus collected, but that does not hinder its being nearly exhausted when the season is very dry, though it sometimes overflows in very rainy winters.

What Volney says of two principal climates in Syria, is less applicable to Palestine, because the mountains are not so high. Yet the vicinity of Lebanon has considerable influence, and if the temperature of the summer is nearly the same on the sea coast and on the mountains, that of the winter is different. It is colder in the mountains, piercing winds and rain are more frequent, and snow sometimes falls. In 1820 it lay in Galilee only four hours. In 1818, at the end of January, it lay for five days, two feet deep; and in 1796 it lay also in Judæa several days, such a depth that it came into the doors of most of the houses. Hail is not uncommon in winter. While I was at Nazareth there were several showers of hail, and the stones were as large as pigeon's eggs. It is said to have been remarked that hail is most frequent in those years when it does not snow. The rainy months are from November to March, both inclusive. It seldom rains in October and April, and never in the other months. The rising of the water in the well of Nehemiah, furnishes in Judæa a standard for general meteorological observations. The water rose so as to overflow, in the years 1814, 1815, 1817, 1818, 1819, (three times) 1821, (twice) and in 1815 and 1821 in great abundance. These were wet but fruitful years. In 1816 and 1820 it could hardly be perceived that the water in the well had risen. The cisterns were exhausted, and famine, drought, and diseases ensued. In heavy rains large masses of clouds are observed, some floating in the air, some enveloping the mountains, which, after the rain, or when the atmosphere is only overcast, appear, from the light motion of the clouds, as if they smoked. In general, no clouds are seen throughout the summer; they do not appear till October, and

generally come from the north-west, north, or north-east. In those months the fog is often very thick in the morning and evening, and sometimes the whole day, and the night dews are heavy. The air on the mountains is light, pure, and dry, but in some valleys, for instance near the sea of Tiberias, and on the coast of the Mediterranean, it is damp, and in many places, as for example, near Ascalon, so unwholesome that the inhabitants were obliged to change their abode. In Antura also, and other parts of the Kesrouan, it is necessary in the summer months to retire into the mountains to escape the fever. Similar complaints were made at Beirout previously to the planting of the grove of pines, and are still made at Acre, where the exhalations from the neighbouring marshes may be the cause, and at Jaffa, where fevers prevail in some months of the year.

The winds are nearly as periodical in Palestine as in Egypt. In the winter months the north, north west, and north east winds, the harbingers of rain, predominate. In February and March they blew very violently almost every day, the atmosphere was overcast, the air cold and damp, and for twenty years or more there has not been so much rain as this year. The heat of the summer is generally mitigated by the west wind on the mountains.

There are never any thunder storms in summer, but frequently in the winter months. On the 5th of March, 1821, there were two near Acre, the wind being NE., on the 27th of February a very violent one, and another equally violent on the 15th of March at Naplous. At the end of January there were two at Jerusalem, and two at the beginning of March at Nazareth. They come from Lebanon with a north east wind, and seldom do any damage. The meteors called falling stars are as frequent here as they are in Egypt. Ali Bey says he saw at Jerusalem a meteor which shot from east to west. An old man at Nazareth told me that about forty years ago, a flame of fire was seen, which fell from the heavens on the ground, burst and caused great terror.

Earthquakes are extremely rare in Palestine. About twenty-five years ago, the shock of one was felt at Nazareth, which is said to have been of several seconds duration.

Palestine is very rich in vegetable productions; even the rude rocks of Judæa are full of them, and covered in winter with beautiful verdure. Numerous plants that grow wild are used for food. They almost all blossom from February to April. There is no want of trees. The pomegranate is common: it blossoms in July and the fruit ripens in October. Besides the species with sweet fruit, there is another, the fruit of which is sour, but there is no difference in the blossoms or the leaves. The olive blossoms in April, and the crop is gathered in September. The oil is not so

good as it might be, because they are obliged to gather the fruit before it is ripe to preserve it from the thieves. The most considerable palm-grove is near Derbelach; there are likewise several near Gaza, but in Rama, Acre and Jerusalem, they are less frequent. The principal forests are still in Lebanon, Antilebanon, and in the valley near Halil. It is not merely in the variety of their productions, but also in the luxuriance of their vegetation, that Syria and Palestine excel most of the provinces of the Ottoman empire, though no great labour is bestowed in the culture of the soil.

Cotton, tobacco, beans and lentils are sown in March, after the ground has been well broken with a plough or spade. The grains of cotton are first stirred for a time in wet ashes, or in red earth, to promote their rapid growth. They are sown in rows, the weeds carefully pulled up and the earth loosened with a spade. In July the pods are gathered and the haulm left on the field. Where the soil is moist they sow cotton every year, otherwise only every two or three years. As soon as they have peeled off the husk of the cotton, they separate it from the seeds by a machine, in which two cylinders, one made of wood, and large, the other of iron, are set in motion, in contrary directions, by means of a wheel. The wool winds through, the seeds remain behind, and are said to be very good for oxen. I remarked in some places, that corn, even when already in the ear, was used as fodder for horses; it is said to make them strong and fat. The vine blossoms in May and the grapes are ripe in August. They are usually dried, or a kind of decoction made of the must, for only the Christians make wine.

Of wild animals the most common are the *kanzes*, *gazal*, *arneb*, *chansier* and *Abuelchisani*. The wool of the sheep is coarse, and is manufactured in the towns; it is mixed with cotton and made into carpets or ordinary clothing. Oxen and cows are used in agriculture. Their hides are said not to be strong enough for use, nor do the people know the usual manner of preparing them. In the day time, the dogs are out of the towns, and often in the church-yards, and bark furiously at those who pass by. But in the night each goes to his own quarter of the city, which he will not suffer to be contested with him by any one. If a strange dog comes into it, the neighbours immediately come to the help of the one whose dominion has been trespassed on, and woe be to the stranger if he does not immediately take flight. The Arabs feed them, but carefully avoid touching them. In general they resemble our shepherd dogs. In Jericho they are large, lean, and like our greyhounds. Almost all kinds of birds that we have in Germany abound in Syria, especially birds of prey. Amphibious animals are less numerous, and the report that Tyberias

and Saffet were once uninhabitable on account of the number of snakes is not now confirmed. The inhabitants unanimously affirm that the Jordan, and still more the sea of Tiberias, abound in fish. The breeding of bees is carried on here with as great advantage as it is in Egypt. There they make more wax, here more honey. Very little care is bestowed on them, but they make a great deal of honey, and that of Bethlehem is celebrated for its whiteness and good flavour. The wax is far from sufficient for the consumption, and the pilgrims from Cardistan and Anatolia bring large quantities to Jerusalem. If they do not come, a high price must be paid for that of Egypt. The Arabs have no want of fleas and lice, and Acre and Saffet are said to be particularly well stocked with them. Caterpillars are innumerable. In February, March and April, they are seen on the ground in rainy weather, in clumps, under a web. Near Gaza the ticklouse is very common. It flies into people's faces, eats itself in, and immediately becomes giddy and dies. If it fastens on the foot or any other part of the body, it often lives two days, but still dies after boils have broken out on the body.

The locusts are a well known plague of Syria and Palestine. They generally come, after a warm winter, from the deserts of Arabia. Two years ago they consumed at Heifa, and last year at Nazareth, not only all the grass, but even the shoots of the trees and the pease and other leguminous vegetables in the bazar. Three years ago they thrice visited Jerusalem in great numbers. This year they arrived so early as the 6th of April, two days after a strong south wind. A single one lays one hundred eggs. To attempt their destruction by burning or burying is considered to be of no use. They are therefore left to take their course till they either fly to another place of their own accord, or are whirled away by the east wind, which is their most dangerous enemy. They are strung upon a thread and dried for food.

The great fertility of Palestine causes all kinds of provisions to be very cheap. In Samaria the prices are usually rather higher, and in Judæa the highest of all. Here too people complain of high prices and bad times. Several old persons gave me a comparative statement of the prices, which shewed that they had increased six-fold within fifty years. At Jerusalem this is ascribed to the increased number of the pilgrims: Formerly there came at Easter hardly five hundred, and now above four thousand.

Fertile as this country always was and still is, yet it resembles (in one part) a solitary desert. Whence, the reader may ask, is this phenomenon? About forty years ago the Pacha of Damascus, disguised as a dervise, and accompanied by one of his confidants, travelled through the country about Jericho. They were hospitably treated. The inhabitants set all kinds of provisions

before them, and gave them juice of the sugar-cane in a dish. A single stem was sufficient to fill a whole dish with juice. The Pacha inferred from the fertility of the country that the inhabitants must be rich, and loaded them with heavy taxes. He sent soldiers there every year to levy the tribute which he asked, who ill-treated the people and extorted thrice as much as was required.

The inhabitants, weary of this oppression and ill-usage, almost all fled with their property into the desert. After a lapse of many years, the Pacha again visited the country, and was astonished at finding it so desolate and barren. Instead of a single sugar-cane, ten were required to fill half a dish. He relieved the country from tribute, but the fugitives did not return, and thus one of the most beautiful parts of Palestine has become almost a desert. This is the history of all the provinces of the Turkish empire, and those which are not yet converted into a waste, may expect that this will be their fate.

Ruins in Palestine and on the Coast of Phœnicia.

There are few countries so abounding in traces of a former great population, but few also where they are so uninteresting as in Palestine. The finest buildings are destroyed to the very foundations, and it is only of ordinary houses, that some insulated walls remain standing. Most of them are of the times of the Romans, and so insignificant that they would not deserve notice, were not their names, though very much disfigured, of importance to ancient geography and history. The villages of Kawata, Zaka, Lebhem, marked on Danville's map, have long since wholly disappeared.

At Gaza there are but few remains. In the town and before it, are ancient vaults: in the burying ground of the Mahometans there are marble slabs with very ancient inscriptions. In Azot there are still many old walls: in Jebna the ruins of a church, afterwards converted into a mosque, but now forsaken and partly destroyed. In the valley westward there is an aqueduct, cisterns and bridges.

On the whole sea-coast the ruins of Ascalon and Cæsarea are the most considerable. Those of Ascalon, in their present state, do not carry us back to the times of the Romans. Two years ago Lady Stanhope employed workmen to dig, but the only fruit of her great expences, was some statues of the times of the Romans, and these she had broken, to remove a prejudice of the inhabitants, who thought that treasures were hidden in them. It is probable that a more satisfactory result might be obtained by digging in old Cæsarea. Here there are gigantic columns of granite and marble, prodigious walls half buried, which inspire

melancholy reflections on the vicissitudes of things. In this elevated spot, which is four hundred paces long and as many broad, the *Turris Stratonis* probably stood, which Herod, according to Josephus, adorned with a magnificent palace.

The extraordinary splendour of Cæsarea may be further inferred from the more considerable remains of New Cæsarea. Besides the lofty strong city walls and many buildings, there are columns by hundreds on the sea-shore one above another, or lying close together in the water. In every one of these remains, we see the magnificence of Old Cæsarea, the ruins of which furnished the materials. Great quantities of marble blocks and columns have since been carried to Acre and Jaffa to build the fortifications. There are also many remains of walls and of single houses, without the abovementioned walls, on the sea-coast to the north. The ruins of a convent at Der Asnid, a league north of Gaza, which lie scattered over a large field, deserve notice. Two leagues south of Jaffa are the ruins of the lofty bridge with two arches, under which the little river Rubin flows. The prodigious size of the stones, and the height of the arches, render it very remarkable and shew it to be of great antiquity. There are two chapels near it in which the Mahometans perform their prayers. Near Jaffa, on the way to Rama, are the considerable ruins of an ancient mosque called Hedra.

Three hundred paces to the west of the present town of Rama, are the ruins of a large building now called *Dschamea Elabidh*, and formerly the Church of the Forty Martyrs. This building, which is six hundred paces in length and breadth, was erected by the Knights Templars in the times of the crusades. We even still see the upper and the subterraneous church with nine pillars and two naves, the subterraneous dwellings, magazines and cisterns, the external walls and the cells.

In later times the Arabs made three mosques in it, as appears from the inscriptions, one on the north and two on the south side of the square edifice, and built in the middle two chapels for *Santons*. The upper wall of the lofty minaret, the ascent to which is by a hundred and twenty-five steps, is far inferior in solidity and beauty to the lower part built by the Christians. Some years ago, the Mostalem wished to use these large and handsome stones for building, but he could not get one of them entire, and therefore desisted from his purpose. It is now two hundred years since it was ruined. The cistern of St. Helena, probably built by her, is very deep and uncommonly large, being thirty-three feet in length and thirty in breadth, with twenty-four openings, and constructed with great solidity.

In the *Dschamea Kebir*, now the largest mosque in the town, the great church of St. John is easily recognized, only the mina-

ret is of Saracen architecture. The subterraneous vaults are also remarkable which are near the convent of the Franks, and always contain much water in the wet season. They were discovered fifteen years ago, but the people were so terrified at their depth and extent, that they immediately bricked them up again. They are said to be like a labyrinth, and were probably reservoirs for water, but the present inhabitants had no notion of the use for which they were intended.

Near Haram are the considerable remains of Apollonica. You see, in the sea, large thick walls, and close to them, handsome stairs, which lead from the lower buildings to the upper ones, situated on the high bank. Of these there are still considerable remains, the solidity and construction of which seem to indicate that a castle once stood here. Granite and marble columns are in the sea, and fragments of walls scattered in the adjacent fields. It is probable, that by digging, the ancient walls of the city might be traced. Five hundred paces north of Tantura, on the sea, are the ruins of a considerable castle, which the inhabitants say was built by the French during the crusades.

This whole country, as far as Atlid, was formerly full of castles, houses, and cisterns, but most of the first are totally destroyed, and the latter filled up: only a castle, on the ridge of the adjacent chain of mountains, still remains. On Mount Carmel are numerous caves, which may have formerly served as dwellings for hermits. The largest of them, called the School of Elijah, is held in great veneration by the Mahometans and Jews. The cave, which is eighteen paces long, and ten broad, is guarded by an Iman. All round there is a bench for the Divan, except on the left side, in the middle of which there is a similar grotto, five paces long, and as many broad, less regularly hewn in the rock. At the back part of the larger division there are lamps, and some rags, which are called trophies of victory, and are most devoutly touched by the Mahometans who come hither on pilgrimage. Several came in while I was there: they prayed first at the door, then in the middle, lastly near the lamps, and concluded their devotion by kissing the flags. The Mahometans and Jews call this the School of Elijah; that above, in the convent, the School of Elisha. The Greek inscriptions carved in the two side walls are very old, and merit the attention of those who study Greek paleography. The contents of all are the same. Each of those who have carved their names beg to be remembered. They were probably made in the first centuries, of the Christian era, by persons who visited these holy places out of devotion.

The ruins of the celebrated Carmelite convent are on Mount Carmel. It was rebuilt ninety years ago. The buildings were formerly more extensive. The ruins which are now seen, among

which are blocks of marble, are said to be as old as the times of St. Helena: that they are older than the Crusades seems certain. During the French invasion the convent was used as an hospital: all the soldiers wounded at the siege of Acre were conveyed thither, and many perished in the retreat. The convent was plundered, and the church stripped of its roof by the troops of Ghezzar Pacha. A hundred steps to the north-west is a chapel, built about sixty years ago, by the schismatic Greeks. Almost in the middle of the plain of Acre, on a mountain, there is a very ancient building, near which are many substructions. An ancient paved road, probably a work of the Romans, leads nearly to it. About Acre you find several columns of marble and granite; but in the immediate vicinity of the city, every monument of antiquity has been cleared away in erecting the fortifications. In the city itself there are still many monuments, chiefly of the time of the crusades. The Phœnicians called it Acca, also Abyron or Accaron; the Greeks called it Ptolemais, and the Romans, Civitas Acconensis. The Knights of St. John, in the Crusades, gave it the name of St. Jean d'Acre. On the *Raas el Mescherfi* (Scala Tyriorum), there are various substructions and reservoirs for water, which seem to be of high antiquity. They are not of the times of the crusades. This was probably the frontier of the Phœnician territory, and an important point. The Castellum Lamberti is at the foot of Mount Saron, near the village of the same name. A league distant, six hundred paces from the sea, on an eminence, is a great number of columns with doric capitals, some standing, others lying on the ground. These are, undoubtedly, remains of the very ancient town of Sida. A league further are the much more remarkable ruins of Ecdippa. Large and small marble columns, solid foundations, &c., show that this was a much richer and more important place. From this place we see a broad road made with stones almost to Cape Blanco. As soon as you have got round Cape Blanco, where the road is continually steep and dangerous, you again find remains of a very considerable place, with cisterns.

The under wall of the Well *Raaselain*, called also Solomon's Well, is certainly of the remotest ages; and in the neighbouring village of the same name, there are many walls of great solidity and high antiquity. An aqueduct, which is partly destroyed, leads from hence to the ancient Sur. That part is best preserved which leads from the Mosque Maschuk nearly to the present town of Sur. The hand of man has not yet been able to efface here every trace of more enlightened times. The most considerable ruin in the city, is that of a great church of the Byzantine age. We still distinguish the arches, the bold construction, the height; and near it are some granite columns of prodigious size.

On the way from Sur to Saida, we meet with considerable remains of some town, almost every half league, and the nearer we approach the latter place, the more evident traces do we find of its ancient splendour. Three leagues before Saida, are the ruins of Sarepta, near which is the oratory of Elijah. Five years ago, a sarcophagus was found two leagues from Saida, but the inscription has been since wantonly destroyed. About Saida there are many remains of walls and columns, but nothing of importance; and the ruins in the city itself are uninteresting, and of the rudest ages.

In general, we cannot take a step here without being reminded of ancient and more prosperous times. Sometimes you meet with cisterns half filled up; sometimes with fragments of marble columns; and the cattle graze, or the corn now grows, where cities, villages, and gardens once presented the most gratifying scenes of animation, industry and opulence.

Ruins in Galilee.

The ruins of Diocæsarea are very considerable. Many columns of granite, fragments of walls and marble lie scattered about the mountain, and at its foot where Saphuri now stands. In Nazareth, near the church of the Latin convent, there are ancient columns, capitals, &c. of a larger size, and in most of the remaining houses, substructions of a better age. On Mount Tabor are many ruins chiefly of the times of the crusades. In and about Tiberias, we found ruins and columns which attest the splendour that it received from Herodes Antipas. These remains are particularly important on the east side to the distance of half a league beyond Tiberias. The city, in ancient times, was more to the south, and it is only since the crusades that it has stood on its present scite. Remains of temples and other great buildings may still be traced, but I looked in vain for inscriptions.

Among the antiquities in the city I observed an alto relievo on a stone of blue granite, which may have been placed over the door of a house. It is four feet long, one and a half high and upwards, the same subject twice over; a lion biting a lamb in the hind leg. The similarity with the Phœnician style made this monument interesting to me, though the rudeness of the workmanship is by no means pleasing.

Where the Jordan issues from the sea of Galilee, there are considerable remains of walls on both banks, which appear to me to be of the times of the crusades. Not far off there are remains of a bridge of the times of the Romans, which are in such a state, that no great expense would be necessary to repair the bridge, by which many travellers would be saved the trouble of wading

through the Jordan, which after heavy rains is attended with danger, as ocular demonstration has proved to me. In Hamur are the ruins of Codolara, among which those of the Roman amphitheatre are the most remarkable for their extent and good state of preservation.

Ruins in Samaria.

In Dschenin, there are many ruins which appear to be chiefly of the times of the Saracens: the most important is a khan, built five or six hundred years ago, and destroyed about fifty years ago. It consisted of four parts, the court yard, the dwellings, the seraglio and the mosque. Part of the walls are still standing, with the great gateway, over which sentences from the koran are carved in alto-relievo in Neski characters, recommending to the rich to take care of the poor.

Immediately beyond Dschenin, in the narrow valley, the remains of a tower are seen on a mountain to the right. Such remains are common in Samaria, but there are none in such good preservation as these. The lower walls of most of the houses in Samaria are very ancient. On the way from Naplous to Samaria (Sebaste) there are remains of an aqueduct, and in Sebaste itself many marble columns, most of them lying on the ground, many standing, but without any inscriptions. The ruins of the church of St. John the Baptist, which the Mahometans have partly converted into a mosque, are the most considerable. To the west are the ruins of Marta Azor. At Naplous there are in the houses many pillars of granite and marble, and walls which are the work of more prosperous times: near it is Jacob's well and many ruins. In Sendschel there are many ruins of the most ancient times, and a great many old towers. At Elbir, the ancient Machmas, there are many old walls, among which we distinguish those of a large church built by St Helena, on the spot where the parents of Christ discovered that their son had remained behind at Jerusalem. At Kariataneb (St. Jeremia), are the ruins of a church, which has not been used as such for these two hundred years: it is large, on the whole in good preservation, has much resemblance with a basilica, and is now used as a stable for horses. The grave of Rachael is on the way to Bethlehem, half a league from the convent of Elias, in the plain of Ewata Atantur. Near the grave of Rachael there is a stone on the ground, with the following letters:)ELAVEEL.— In Bethlehem there are numerous remains of ancient edifices, but very few that are interesting. The principal church itself is a very remarkable monument of christian antiquity, and the following likewise merit attention; viz. the tomb of St. Jerome, that of St. Paula, and her daughter Eustochia, that of St. Eusebius, abbot

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of Cremona, near the church of St Catherine, and the sacellum of that great father of the church. The most remarkable ruins near this village, are those of the Om Solomon, the extent and solidity of which claim for this work the antiquity that is ascribed to it. Tradition reports them to have been erected by Solomon, and to be the same with those of Edom. They lie in a valley close to a hill. To the NW. opposite the ponds, is the walled well under ground with a hole, and two other artificial ones. Over it there are great vaults. The aqueduct lies deep in the ground, on a stone foundation. The water flows through round iron pipes, which are covered with two hewn stones, and walled in with stones. There are three ponds. At the foot of the El-feridi mountain of the French, who had a great fortress here, of which many ruins are still visible, are remains of Engaddi; and to the west is the labyrinth of Chareitum. The exterior is of good workmanship, but the interior is but little known. The subterraneous passages are said to extend very far, and to be filled with many wild beasts. Vadi Musa, two days and a half journey NE. of Akaba, is extremely remarkable for the numerous antiquities, and the remains of the ancient city of Petra, which has been frequently visited of late years.

Ruins in and about Jerusalem.

Jerusalem has had the melancholy lot to be so often levelled to the foundations, that the appearance of many parts is quite changed: the extent of mount Sion, and the Moriah, are now difficult to trace; and it would probably be impossible for the most careful inquirer to discover or accurately to distinguish, among the mass of ruins, the traces of those which belong to particular periods.

Thus we know, that when the Jews began to rebuild the temple after its destruction, the Emperor Adrian caused all the remains to be thrown into the valley, and a grove, consecrated to Jupiter, to be planted there. What was then done to the valley about the Moriah, was done to other valleys, with other buildings; and the valley of Jehosaphat has also lost, by this means, much of its depth, breadth and fertility. The inquirer, therefore, is like one led by an ignis fatuus, goes from one piece of wall to another, in hopes of finding interesting remains, and is every where disappointed. We have, however, certain fixed points in which we cannot be deceived,—the valley of Jehosaphat and Gehenna, the wall of Siloah, the brook of Kedron, mount Sion, the situation of the whole tract, in which we can easily distinguish the *ανωτερα* and *κατωτερα* *πολις*, and even in the ruins of the *καινοπολις*. The absurdities which would result from any alteration, are evident to

every unprejudiced person. The inhabitants are probably right in their conjectures also; that the ruins under the present harem, columns of uncommon size, walls of remarkably large stones, some walls in the *Birket Israel*, the foundation of the south-east wall of the city, and some cisterns on mount Sion, are of the age of David or Solomon; that some pieces of walls about the city, many filled up vaults in it, a considerable part of the south-east wall, which surrounds the former temple of Solomon, as well as the Mosaic pavements, and many ruins under the harem, are of the times of the Romans. So much appears from the description given by several Christians, who were employed as workmen in the reparation of the harem undertaken three years ago, which had been burnt six years ago, and who of course had to search every part, that remains dating from various periods may be here distinguished. If the long passages and large halls, which they observed in them, were of the age of Herod, the above-mentioned remains were certainly not so. Reasons, derived from history, architecture or paleography, lead us to attribute to the times of the Romans, the tombs of the kings, as they are called, half a league north-west of the city; also most of the sepulchres hewn in the rock in the valley of Jehosaphat, and the tombs of the judges a league to the north-west of Jerusalem.

The only remains of the time of Constantine are the lower part of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and a gate on the east side with many ornaments, the church of the Tomb of the Virgin, and the wooden door taken from the first, at St. Stephen's gate, or Setti Mariam. The border, frieze, and all the ornaments are in the same style, and like others of these times, their age is, therefore, evidently proved, and the tradition confirmed.

Many Greek churches are of the age of Justinian and Heraclius, but either because they had been devastated, or from other causes, they have undergone considerable alterations.

The ruins of the hospital of the knights of St. John, between the bazar and the church of the Holy Sepulchre, are of the time of the crusades. It seems to have resembled a fortress, and was thrice as large as the Armenian convent, five hundred paces long and nearly as many broad. When Saladin, favoured by treachery and good fortune, had already scaled the walls of Jerusalem, the Christians long defended themselves obstinately in it. At length, being without succour or hope, they were obliged to yield, and were all put to the sword. It was hereupon determined, that in future there should be no building within the walls of this hospital; and hence this spot, which lies almost in the middle of the city, has lain waste up to this day. There are merely some small houses with shops on the east and south sides, where the bazar is. Formerly they all belonged to the patriarchs of Jerusalem. Some centuries

ago, one of the patriarchs fell so desperately in love with a Turkish girl, that he promised to abjure his religion and embrace Mahometanism if he could obtain the girl for his wife. The Turks, rejoiced at the acquisition of a man of his importance, gave him the girl. The houses remained to him and his descendants, above forty different families of whom now live in Jerusalem. They share among them the revenue of these houses, which, from the increased number of pilgrims, has been augmented within these thirty years in the proportion of 7 to 17. The foundations of this building are, however, much older, and part of them must be referred at least to the time of the Romans. It is possible that even in the time of Constantine the ruins of ancient buildings were made use of in building a palace for the patriarch, remains of which are here to be seen. The patriarchal church was west of the church of the Holy Sepulchre. Part of it is now converted into a mosque. It extended far to the north. The pillars, columns, and arches (behind the church of the Holy Sepulchre) of the ancient church of the apostles, are to be referred to the time of Justinian. On the north-east they joined the building belonging to the clergy of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and of these also some traces may yet be seen.

The preceding conjectures on the high antiquity of some ruins are by no means arbitrary. The proofs are as strong as can be expected in such a case, and rest on the grand and colossal character which distinguishes all works of remote antiquity. All the accounts and descriptions given by the ancients of the Tower of Babel, the seven wonders of the world, and other equally large buildings, the origin of which the ancients partly involved in ingenious fables, lead us to this conclusion. We have traces of but a very few monuments of these ages remaining for our inspection, and those few are diminutive, compared with the great works which were once erected in all parts of Asia and the north-east of Africa, and even in the east of Europe. But these few fully confirm the testimony of the ancients. In Italy there are remains of another kind, which give strength to our conjectures. They are the Cyclopean walls. These are generally ascribed to the flourishing times of the Etruscan tribes, or even to those ages of which we have no accounts whatever, and nobody will ever think of referring them to the times of the Roman republic, and still less the Augustan age. We consider it equally incorrect to attribute some substructions, which are sometimes met with on Mount Sion, to the Herodian age. From that time downwards, as well as upwards, to the time of Solomon, we find no epoch to which the erection of such gigantic buildings can be well ascribed. The age of the Jebusites or David, and chiefly that of Solomon, are the most suitable. The same criterion guides us when we ascribe the

ponds of Solomon, near Bethlehem, to the time of Solomon; the ruins of the bridge of Rubin, some walls of Cæsarea, Sebaste, Sichem, and in all Samaria, the labyrinth near Hebron, and, lastly, some remains under the harem, to times anterior to the Romans, when an energetic national spirit erected them. The well of Nehemiah in the valley of Jehosaphat is also highly interesting to the antiquary; it is extremely deep, very regularly hewn in the rock, and surrounded above with very solid walls.

The aqueduct is equally interesting, which begins on the south side of this valley, near St. Mary's Well, and proceeds in a straight line to the north-east: it is eight hundred feet long, three and a half high, and two and a half broad. It is built with a solidity that defies destruction. It was destined to convey the superfluous water from the well, and the valley of Jehosaphat, under ground, to the place where the Kedron flows, whence it filled the pond of Siloah, and lies very deep. Above twenty steps lead down to St. Mary's Well. The wall round this well is very old, of very large stones, and some writing of remote antiquity; but they contain nothing entire, and are almost all defaced.

It would probably be more difficult to fix the age of the remaining ruins, which have been for the most part placed in the state in which we now see them, in the troublesome times of the Abassides, the Fatimites, the Seleucidæ, the crusaders, the Sultans of Egypt, and the Turks. We mention some that are historically remarkable; but must repeat our observation, that the age of most of them has been rendered undistinguishable, either by manifold alterations or too great devastations.

Near the gate Setti Mariam is the Salahijeh, once a church of St. Anne, with a convent of nuns, where St. Anne and the Holy Virgin are said to have been born. It belongs to the Latins, and well deserves to be repaired. The Maronites have applied, but in vain, for this fine building. Near the bath Elain was the Church of the Virgin, now there is a press in it, with the mosque Kormi and the tomb of the sheik of that name. Where the principal tan-yard, the most offensive place in Jerusalem, now lies, stood the convent of St. Peter, with a large well-built church, on the spot where the apostles' prison once stood. Not far from the Damascus gate is a large cave, hewn in the rock, which is much venerated by the Christians, Jews, and Mahometans, and on which there was once a convent. Jeremiah is said to have composed his lamentations here. To the south, near the wall, is a small pool, or rather a longish vaulted cistern, which is called the prison of Jeremiah.

Without the present walls of the city, a quarter of a league to the west, is a bath, called Berket Mameleh. It is one hundred and

fifteen paces long, seventy-seven broad, in the direction of north and south, and eight feet deep. On the east and west sides there are steps to descend into it. It is difficult to decide at what period the cisterns near it were erected. They are well built, but now filled with human bones. The many ruins in the environs are of different ages, without any peculiar characteristics. The sepulchres hewn in the rock are certainly all of them very old, some filled up, and most of them much damaged. With the hope of finding inscriptions, I crept into most of them, but without success. Almost all of them have a vestibule, a room with a seat or divan, and side apartments, with recesses for the corpses. I found the vestibules in many of them to be six paces broad and four paces long, the entrance three feet high, the room five paces long and as many broad, the divan a foot and a half high. -In this part of the country, to the west and north-west, half a league from Jerusalem, I counted about fifty, partly in a line one after the other, partly scattered about. The most celebrated among them, and the nearest to the city, are the tombs of the kings.

The access to them was formerly by a large portal and a flight of steps; now all is destroyed, and the entrance very difficult. You come first into a hall, eight paces square, in which there is a door, leading to the side vaults. There are many pieces of the lids ornamented with flowers in alto-relievo, but only one that is entire. It is five feet and a half long, and the workmanship is good. They are generally ascribed to the Herodian age. Those of the judges, north-west of the latter, are all remarkable for the great number of recesses for bodies, by and over each other. Near them is a great number of tombs, which extend towards the Valley of Lefta. The sepulchres, which are divided from the city by the valley that surrounds Jerusalem, are larger, but partly of later date. Inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek are to be seen on some of them, but for the most part greatly injured. Here were the Phœnician inscriptions already communicated by Clarke and Gau, which I shall explain on another occasion. Many have three crosses, and others a great number carved over the entrance. The number of these sepulchres is very great, and some have large vestibules, which were adorned with paintings, the remains of which shew with certainty that they belong to the period from the fourth to the seventh century, and were destined for Christians. I think that these vestibules were designed for religious meetings, either of single families or of the whole congregation. In the latter case, it must be supposed, that the bones of martyrs or saints repose here. The paintings decide nothing. Christ, the Holy Virgin, and other sacred personages, are represented here in the Byzantine style, as in other Christian paintings of that period, and the principal parts are not yet quite effaced. As these

tombs are always so damp, it is surprising that the colours have been preserved so long. There are likewise many such sepulchres about the village of Siloah, to some of which you ascend by ladders. They are of various forms, mostly of good workmanship, and older than those we have just mentioned.

Proceeding from Siloah to the north-west, we came to the present burying ground of the Jews, on the side of the mountain. Here, too, I frequently sought carefully, but could not find any remarkable inscription. There seems to have been but few sepulchres hewn in the rock, on this spot. The most considerable is that of Jehosaphat, which has various apartments. The entablature is in a good taste. It is almost in the middle of the burying ground. More to the south is the tomb of Absalom, with a number of Hebrew inscriptions of latter times, and to the west the tomb of Zachariah, both of a mixed style, and more modern date.

On Mount Sion also there are many sepulchres hewn in the rock, and I was in a fair way of finding some of very great extent. I am of opinion, that by a more accurate investigation, which is impossible under the present government, many subterraneous excavations will be found, older than all the remains which are at present known. This will be proved, not by inscriptions, for these are for the most part destroyed, but by the simple grandeur of the work. The cisterns lately discovered on the top of this mountain, near David's tomb, are large, and admirably contrived; but they will sink into nothing in comparison with the catacomb-like apartments, with which the bowels of Sion are undermined. But those luxuriant corn-fields which clothe Sion in April with the finest verdure, do not conceal only the abodes which have been made out of profound veneration for the dead, but the foundations of buildings, and parts of the walls of the fortress itself. The Christian tombs on it, of all religious parties, and the inscriptions, in the Greek, Latin, and Armenian languages, are uninteresting to the antiquarian, and without importance to paleography. This burying ground, southwards from the Coenaculum, was always a subject of the most violent disputes between the Christian sects, and all assured me, that it cost them more Spanish dollars than there was room to count upon it. It is believed that St. Stephen, Gamaliel, Nicodemus, and many martyrs of the first centuries are buried here, but no traces of this fact can be found. The Jews, too, have now a burying ground on the south part of Mount Sion, but among the inscriptions, there are none that are ancient.

Ecclesiastical Antiquities in Palestine.

When a critical examination of witnesses respecting the ecclesiastical antiquities of Palestine is talked of, we are led into the domain of the miraculous. But the truth of the tradition, which in memory of interesting scenes in sacred history, made use of such means to prove the circumstances themselves, or the precise spot where they occurred, will, for that very reason, seem suspicious, nay, guilty of forging historical facts, when they are not confirmed by other credible testimony. Hence many learned men have thought fit to consider the theatre of the sacred history, as it is now represented to us, as entirely incorrect, and made alterations, without reflecting that they thereby fell into greater, nay, inextricable difficulties and absurdities. The unprejudiced inquirer will appreciate the proofs deduced from miracles, and the historical facts involved in their Nimbus, because he knows that extraordinary natural phenomena, which, by the special direction of Providence, happened under certain circumstances, that even ordinary events, because they serve as proofs of divine things, are for that reason placed in the class of miracles.

In an age when piety believed that the Christian religion needed them to confirm its divine origin, this happened so often, that esteemed historians of those times certify that most of the important favourable events interwoven with Christianity were connected with miracles. We should therefore have reason to be surprised if the finding of the Holy Cross on which the Saviour of the world completed the great work of the redemption of mankind, and that of places sacred to the Christians, had not been connected with miracles. It was not considered that the most numerous, and by far the most important monuments, were erected by Constantine, or his pious mother Helena, in an age when the truth might still be ascertained from oral testimony. From the age of the apostles men had always lived here, to whom, as friends or enemies of the Christians, these places were not indifferent, who always impressed them on the memory of their descendants, as places sacred to the apostles. Their authenticity is farther attested by a series of respectable Christian writers, who lived in Palestine, and of whom, unfortunately, hardly any thing has been preserved but their names. As they were fond of research, this was a subject that could not be indifferent to them, and they would certainly have corrected by their authority the inaccurate reports of tradition. In the East, too, the common people feel far more interest in antiquity and its traditions, and hence they are preserved with more purity there than in any other country. To cast suspicion on them would be

throwing doubts on the whole history of the East, which rests upon them as upon pillars. Lastly, the impartial observer must confess, that the ground, though much changed as we now see it, yet so well agrees with the descriptions of the sacred writers and of Josephus, that we should select the places fixed by tradition, rather than any others, if we had to determine their situation. We will not, therefore, by useless conjectures and reveries, embitter the belief of the millions of pilgrims, but rather thank tradition for having so animated and extended the sphere of their meditations. It is beyond the purpose of this work to justify myself at length on this subject. Other men have done this in folios, and among the many proofs they adduce, there are always some that are irrefragable. I only lament that some places sacred to the Christians have been converted into mosques, and are partly inaccessible to Christians on pain of death; such are the Temple of Solomon, or that of the Presentation, Mount Sion, where our Saviour celebrated the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, where the apostles received the Holy Ghost, where Matthew was chosen an apostle, and the first Christian assemblies were held; the arch of Pilate, whence he shewed Christ to the people; and even in part, the place on the Mount of Olives, whence Christ ascended to Heaven; that others lie in ruins, as the Church of the prison of St. Peter, in Jerusalem; the grave of Lazarus in Bethany; the grotto of the Virgin, and the church of the Shepherds in Bethlehem; the church of St. Joachim and of St. Anne in Saphuri; and the great church of St. Peter in Tiberias, where the scene occurred which is recorded in John xxi.

The church at Cana, in memory of the first miracle; that in memory of the raising of the daughter of Nain; that of the Transfiguration on Mount Tabor, and others: lastly, the church of St. John the Baptist on the Jordan; all these holy places, together with those that are yet preserved, formed a series, which calls to our memory all the principal acts of our Saviour. At Ain Keram, (St. John) two leagues west of Jerusalem, there is a handsome church, with a chapel on the spot where John the Baptist was born, and with a stone on which he preached. A quarter of a league from it is a well, (Bir Eladri) rendered sacred by frequent visits from St. Elisabeth: a quarter of a league from this, are the ruins of a convent, built by St. Helena, called Dir Elkalbaze, where St. John did penance.

The series of the history of our Saviour begins with Nazareth, the abode of the holy family. The church of the Latins consists of three parts,—the church, the choir, and the sanctuary. The latter is under the choir, and seventeen steps lower than the church, on the scite of the dwelling of St. Joseph. On the left are three pillars, which formed the entrance. The arch-

angel is said to have appeared to the Virgin between the two that stand near together. Behind the third, (the base of which the Turks have broken to pieces, in hopes of finding treasures under it, and which, therefore, hangs suspended to the upper vault) she hid herself, through fear, on hearing the voice of the angel. Behind the altar of this chapel, there are twelve steps, leading to another called the Cave of Safety, to which the holy family retired after their return from Egypt. To the right of the church, and in another excavation on the left, Christ usually performed his prayers. You see there a stone which is always moist. A hundred paces to the north-west of the convent, they shew the work-shop of St. Joseph; three hundred paces south of it, the house in which Christ, with the twelve Apostles, dined; and two hundred paces from that, the Synagogue (now the church of the Catholic Greeks) in which he taught and replied to the Jews, who wished to see the miracles of Capernaum repeated, that they were not worthy of; they were so incensed at this, that they pursued him to the *Mons Precipitii*, half a league east of Nazareth, intending to cast him down, but the rock gave way, and he was able to hold fast in the breaks in the rock, which are still to be seen. When we visit the holy places, we must, in general, be content with the sight of an old wall, or of a hole. Here we are rewarded with a fine prospect into the valley of Esdrelon to Mount Tabor, Hermon, &c. Near the sides of this cleft in the rock, there are cisterns, and ancient walls, and many caves. The first, point out a convent, which the inhabitants say stood there; the last, the dwellings of the Coenobites. The Holy Virgin had followed her beloved Son at a distance, and when she saw the Jews coming back, she concealed herself, about the middle of the way, in an opening, called, from the fear which she felt, the Cave of Terror. Formerly, there was a convent of nuns here; whence it has, likewise, received the name of Dirbenat.

A league from it is the village of Jaffa, lying on two eminences, in which there is a chapel on the spot where the house of St. James formerly stood. The well, at the foot of the mountain, has its name from it; and near it are considerable remains of a reservoir for fish. I have noticed similar remains near a great many springs in Palestine. On Mount Tabor, besides the remains of a large town, there were, formerly, those of a church, in memory of the Transfiguration of our Saviour. At Cana was the church of St. Bartholomew, and another belonging to the Latins. Formerly, they used to shew the pots that contained the water which Christ transformed into wine.

The field of the ears of corn, (Matth. xii.) almost opposite to the village of Teraan, the Mount of Beatitudes, (Matth. v.)

and the spot where the five thousand people were fed, (Matth. xv. 32, and Mark, viii. 32), have no monument, but tradition has precisely fixed the scene of these transactions: the first place has always been marked by olive trees; the second, is such as could not have been better chosen to awaken pure and elevated sentiments. To the south, is the long and beautiful valley, bounded by the great chain of mountains that extends along the left bank of the Jordan; to the north, Saffet, with its fertile plain; to the east, the Sea of Tiberias, with its beautiful banks, and to the west, Tabor, and the other mountains of Galilee.

Under the large and handsome church in Bethlehem, of which no use is made, there is a beautiful chapel, richly adorned with good paintings and decorations, on the spot where Christ was born, and where he was worshipped by the Magi. Eastward of the convent, almost at the end of the village, is the grotto of the Holy Virgin; and half a league from it, the field of the Shepherds, *Dschurun Ebraawa*, an olive garden, fenced round, in the middle of which there is a convent, and a subterraneous grotto. But by far the greatest interest is inspired by Jerusalem and the environs. In Bethany is the place where Lazarus was raised from the dead, and where the fathers still read a mass every year. On Mount Sion is the Coenaculum, where Christ celebrated the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with the apostles, washed their feet, appeared to the Ten after his resurrection, and eight days afterwards to St. Thomas; where St. Matthew was chosen an apostle; where the Seven Deacons were appointed, and the first assemblies were held. Not far from it, in the Armenian Convent, is the place where Peter denied Christ, and then wept bitterly; and where our Saviour was a prisoner in the palace of the high priest. In the Valley of Jehosaphat, they shew the place where Christ parted from the disciples, to be alone with the three chosen ones—where he left the three to pray alone—where he sweated blood, and was betrayed by Judas. They shew, likewise, the footsteps on a stone under the bridge which crosses the Cedron, which are said to have arisen on the fall of our Saviour. In the church of the Holy Sepulchre, there are chapels in memory of Mount Calvary—of the grave of Christ—of the pillar where he was scourged—of the parting of his clothes—of the finding of the cross—of his appearance to Mary Magdalen under the figure of a gardener, and the stone on which his corpse was anointed. The place where our Saviour was crucified cannot now be ascertained. It is evident, from the accounts of the sacred writers, that it was at a short distance out of the city. It cannot have been on the spot which is now assigned to it, in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, for this is nearly in the middle of the present city, and can never have been outside of the walls,

North-east of it were the temples; north-west, the largest and finest palaces and residences of ancient Jerusalem; to the west, the city extended above a league, far beyond the walls of the present Jerusalem; to the south was Mount Acra, with its numerous edifices, and the buildings and market-places lying between that and Mount Sion. This difficulty was overlooked by those who, even in ancient times, affirmed, that Mount Calvary was under the present church of the Holy Sepulchre; that is, what was formerly nearly the middle of the city.

No objection can be made to the existence of the tomb of Christ on this spot. We know, that formerly sepulchres hewn in the rock, in the city, were common among the Hebrews. There can be no doubt, that this family vault was easily to be ascertained, and the place was certainly held in honour in the oldest times. The believers made pilgrimages to it, as the Jews were wont to visit the tombs of their relations. It is not improbable, that even in the apostolic age there was a kind of chapel there, which, being a place held sacred by the Christians, was treated by their enemies, as Eusebius describes, Vit. Const. III. 25, 26. What unprejudiced person will fail to be interested by the simple narrative given by the father of ecclesiastical history of the building of the temple over the Holy Sepulchre, or who will think it doubtful? But in that place, Eusebius evidently speaks only of the Holy Sepulchre over which the church was built. Theodoret expressly distinguishes this from another church, which was built on the place where the cross stood, in Golgotha, and St. Cyril frequently assures us, that he had preached there. As these two places, both so important to Christians, were so often mentioned together, this may have caused them to be confounded after the destruction of the churches by Cosroes, when that in Golgotha wholly disappeared. This same place, or its immediate vicinity, is assigned by tradition, as the scene of many of the circumstances of the passion of our Saviour, for which, in consequence, particular chapels were destined. Mount Calvary was placed near it, in order to increase the interest of the series.

The Jews differ from the Christians, in many respects, concerning the situation of places remarkable in Scripture. What the Christians call the Temple of Solomon, they call the School of Solomon. They place the temple rather more to the south, about where the *Sachara*, or temple of the presentation, is. The temple, they say, is in Moriah, which they also make the scene of Abraham's offering of his Son Isaac, which the Greeks, without reason, place on Mount Calvary. They place the tomb of David—of Solomon, and of other kings, on Mount Sion: but that of the prophets on the Mount of Olives, and the accuracy of the situation of the tomb of Jehosaphat, are not doubted. The

scite of the other sacred places has been less disputed; and there is, in fact, no sufficient ground for contesting it. Whether there be an error of a few paces cannot be decided; but it would be ridiculous to think of disputing about it.

The Christians in Syria.

No province in the Ottoman empire has such a variety of Christian sects as Syria. The Catholics are of the Latin, Greek, Armenian, or Syrian church, or Maronites, and constitute almost a sixth part of the population of this province. The Latins, enjoy as Franks, certain privileges; the especial protection of the King of France, and other European princes, and form, both in political and religious affairs, a *status in statu*. But their privileges have been much abridged since the French invasion. Charles IV. King of Spain, applied in 1793, to Sultan Selim III. for the title of Protector of the Sanctuaries, or of the Fathers of the Holy Land. Napoleon, likewise, granted them this protection: but the applications made to the Divan in their favour were of no avail.

Divine service is performed by Franciscans, Capuchins, Carmelites, or Lazarists, who have been sent there from the convents in Europe. The first are, here, almost as ancient as their order, which appears, from the bulls of Gregory IX. of the 29th of January, 1230, and Alexander IV. of the 27th of March, 1257, in which the same absolution is given to them that had been received by the Crusaders. In the general chapter at Narbonne in 1260, the province of the Holy Land was declared to be the thirty-second, and divided into two guardianships, (*custodia*) of Cyprus and Syria. In 1291, they shared the melancholy fate of all other Christians in Syria; but since 1333 have been allowed to dwell at the Holy Sepulchre, and since 1342, to read mass there, and dwell in a convent on Mount Sion.

This convent they lost in 1569, and removed into the convent of St. John, then called St. Salvator, which they purchased from the Georgians, where they have remained to the present day, as in all the other convents belonging to this province, persecuted in various ways by the Turks, and continually at variance with the schismatic Greeks and Armenians about the sanctuaries. Besides the native Catholics of the Latin church, they include in their community the French subjects, who were formerly very numerous in Rama, Acre, and Saida; some kings of France, and lastly, Louis XV., in a diploma of 1725, declares the guardian of the convent of St. Salvator, apostolical commissary, and their subjects in those parts to be dependent on him in all ecclesiastical affairs.

These fathers still live at Jerusalem, where there are 800 Catholics belonging to their community; at St. John 80; at Bethlehem 100; at Nazareth 800; at Rama 2; at Jaffa 300; at Acre 80; at Arizza 2; at Damascus 200; at Tripoli 18; at Ladakia 20; at Aleppo 800; at Larnaca 600; at Cairo 700; and at Alexandria 2000; as superintendents of the churches belonging to their convents and in the sanctuaries of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, St. John, and Nazareth; as administrators and intercessors for Catholic Christendom, for which, and especially its princes, they read all the masses, and intercede for them in their prayers. They have been obliged to abandon the convents of Saida, Scandaroon, Rashid and Nicosia, for want of priests, but their convent at Constantinople is still inhabited by their commissary. The ecclesiastical affairs are managed by the guardians of the convent of Jerusalem, the economical by the procurator, and the whole collectively by the *Discretorium*. The Guardian is chosen by the *Discretorium* from those who have been missionaries or curators of the Italian nation, confirmed by the General of the order at Rome, and in the above-mentioned parishes has almost all the authority of a bishop. The Procurator is chosen among the fathers of the Spanish, and the Vicar from those of the French nation. The *Discretorium* is composed of these three, one priest of the Italian, and one of the German nation. Their disbursements, for the exactions of the Turks, for the maintenance of their churches and the poor, and their own wants, are defrayed from the alms which they used to receive from all the states in Christendom, but for the last forty years only from Spain, Portugal, and Italy. From the earliest times they have possessed considerable landed property. Thus they have many gardens in Jerusalem, which they let a long time ago to the Greeks, who at some future time will probably contest their right to them. Besides the olive-trees in the garden of Gethsemane, they had many others in the valley of Jehosaphat; but they lost these long ago, and by degrees many others, so that they have now only the few in the above mentioned garden. They pay annually to the pacha of Damascus seven thousand piasters, as ground-rent for the churches and convents in and near Jerusalem, and one thousand piasters for that at Damascus; to the pacha of Acre ten thousand piasters, as ground-rent for the churches at Nazareth, Acre, Saida, Naplous, Arissa, Ladakia, Tiberias, Naim, Tabor, Saphori, Jaffa, and Cana, which latter are however in ruins. They likewise pay from one thousand to two thousand piasters on the marriage of the governor or pacha, and other festivals. Since they have been deprived of the protection of the French minister at Constantinople, there has been

no end to the extraordinary demands made upon them. In 1805 the Pacha Abdallah demanded one hundred thousand piasters; in 1806 a rather smaller sum; in 1807 one hundred and forty-five thousand piasters, and in the following years nearly as much. In 1813 he took only a hundred and seventy-five purses, because he said he knew the bad condition of Europe! Some years ago the procurator refused to satisfy the demands of the pacha. It was immediately affirmed that he had begun to build in the convent of St. John, and a committee of inquiry was sent thither, which cost him as much as the first demand. The pacha frequently obliges them to purchase of him cattle, fruit, and other things, at twenty times their value. The arrival of the pacha of Damascus in Jerusalem every year is like a day of judgment for the procurators of the different convents. If he is dissatisfied with them, they are inevitably visited with fine and imprisonment. Some years ago the Mufti of Jerusalem required an annual tribute of one thousand piasters. Eight years afterwards, when the fathers obtained from Constantinople a firman, ordering the mufti to repay these sums, he fled, besieged the city with some hundred peasants, till the fathers had given him the receipt, as if he had paid the whole.

If one Christian party has had any repairs made in its church or convent, the others immediately give information of it to the Motsallem or Cadi, who never neglects such an opportunity of imposing a fine. On the 18th of August, 1813, the governor demanded two thousand piasters, on occasion of the birth of a son of the sultan. The procurator refused, but three days afterwards was obliged to pay five thousand piasters, because a child, which a servant of the Latin convent carried in his arms, had a green branch in its hand. He was accused of having violated the law. The opening of a third door in their convent at Damascus cost them last year seven thousand piasters, and they were forced to pay nearly as much this year to retain the convent of St. John, where they were ill-treated and kept prisoners for several weeks. The expences for the poor Catholics in Judea also increased. Besides the dragoman and the servants of the convent, they have to support, according to established custom, the school-master and all the children; all the widows and orphans; to keep in repair the houses which fall to the convent for want of male heirs (in the East women cannot inherit), without receiving any rent from the occupants; to pay the annual land-tax for the Bethlemites; to supply in summer all the Christians with water from their eight-and-twenty cisterns, while the other inhabitants of Jerusalem purchase it of the Mahometans at ten para per

bottle; to maintain the poor, i. e. the greater part of the Catholics, and to furnish all Mahometans and Christians gratis with medicine from their laboratory. If a Catholic is imprisoned for any dispute or misdemeanour, they must redeem him; if not, the Greeks do it, and the delinquent goes over to their church. They have also to pay the other penalties for their poor brethren, which the Turks take care shall happen very often. This is particularly the case with the Bethlemites, who are almost every month engaged in disputes with the Molsallem of Jerusalem. Sometimes they had circulated false coin; sometimes they had not assisted a caravan, belonging to the Molsallem, when attacked by robbers; sometimes they all rise in a mass against the augmentation of the taxes for their fields. The fathers regularly pay one thousand piasters annually for this land belonging to the Catholics in Bethlehem, which has always been customary, on account of their great poverty. They do not perform any service for the fathers in return; they are even exempted from church dues, only on marriages, Twelfth-day, and Holy Thursday they make them presents of rosaries, crucifixes, or images of mother of pearl. The same may be said of all the parishioners belonging to the congregations of the fathers in the Holy Land. Here and there a custom has been retained from ancient times which is of advantage to them. Thus it is usual in Jerusalem for the superintendent to visit the grave of a deceased person three successive days after the burial, and he receives one piaster for each visit. Lastly, the maintenance of poor pilgrims from Europe, small as their number is, occasions them a considerable expence. Each has a month allowed him, during which he must be fed and taken care of in the several convents, where there are sanctuaries.

Thus these good fathers have laboured these thirty years under these manifold exactions. Their expences and debts increase; the latter already exceed 2,000,000 piasters; the number of their priests for missions is diminishing; within twenty years fifty of them have died, the majority of the plague; they will soon be obliged to give up other convents, and thus they gradually approach their entire dissolution. But it is said they have prepared their own misfortune: by pride, arrogance, scandalous publication of the sins made known to them by confession, by harsh treatment of their poor, and insolence to travellers, they have made themselves despised and hated, not only by the schismatics, but by their own brethren, and compelled them to labour at their overthrow. These reproaches are unhappily not entirely groundless. For want of good labourers, it has been necessary to admit bad ones into the vine-

yard of the Lord. The smaller number are true followers of Saint Francis, worthy to pray for Christendom at the tomb of their Lord ; many have done an injury to the good cause which can hardly be repaired.

When the French commercial houses and factories still flourished, the Catholics of the Latin church maintained a close connexion with them, carried on trade, and were very wealthy. In the French invasion they lost, like the French themselves, all their real property, and the greater part of them are now poor. In Jerusalem and St. John they live by the convent and by making rosaries ; in Bethlehem by that and agriculture. The situation of the Catholics in other cities is more tolerable. They call themselves Franks, and are recognized as such by the Turks, but they are all natives of the East ; only a few of them understand Italian, and none of them Latin, in which language their divine service is performed. But they generally attend a sermon on Sundays and holidays, and when children, receive religious instruction in their own language, from the missionaries who have learned Arabic in the convents of Damascus or Aleppo. As the followers of Saint Francis have every where the cure of souls, the priests of other orders in Syria can be considered only as missionaries, for instance, the Capuchins at Damascus and Tripolis. It is only in Berout, and within these few years in Saida also, that they are priests of the Latin Christians. They too have always enjoyed the special protection of the kings of France.

The Carmelites have convents on Mount Carmel, in Tripolis, Bscherdi, and Aleppo, as also in Merdin, Bagdad, and Basorah. The Lazarists have succeeded the Jesuits in Antura, Damascus, and Tripolis. Their situation is likewise very critical, as they receive no support from Europe, and the places of those who die are not filled up. In each of the above-mentioned convents there is but one priest. When Ghezzar Pacha, after besieging Acre, gave up to the discretion of the Mahometans the Christians and their property, the convent on Mount Carmel, which the French had changed into an hospital, was unroofed, as also its church, and the effects of the monks destroyed ; since which time it has stood desolate. The monk intended for it lives in the hospital at Heifa, and visits it himself very seldom, but his servant does every day. Under Soliman Pacha the Christians were not allowed to go in pilgrimage to it. The convent has, however, been repaired, and considerable donations collected for it in France and Italy.

The Catholics of the Greek church are considered as pious, firm in their religion, and partly as martyrs. They have a patriarch, now Ignatius, who resides at Zug, in Kesrouan ; an

archbishop of Sur, now Cyrill Debas, who resides in his diocese, and six bishops; for Palestine, Theodotion, Bishop of Acre; for the Mount of the Druses, Basil, Bishop of Saida; for Kesrouan, Theodotion, Bishop of Beirout; for Aleppo and its environs, Basil, Bishop of Aleppo; for Damascus, Ignatius, Bishop of Sacheleh; and for the Anti Lebanon, Clement, Bishop of Balbec. Most of these bishops cannot visit their dioceses, as their lives are in danger from the schismatic Greeks. They have therefore their vicars, who make the episcopal visitations in their stead, collect alms for the bishop, and other purposes. They are chosen by the people among the monks, as they must be unmarried, and a higher degree of knowledge is expected from them; are instituted by the patriarch, and receive their confirmation from Rome. Their parish priests, without any preparation, are also chosen by the people and ordained by their bishop. This office descends from father to son. I was assured that nothing more is required for it than reading and writing, a knowledge of the ceremonies and of the catechism, and some natural abilities. They perform the service and preach in Arabic, and have no notion of any other language. Only the Bishop of Sur can live near his metropolitan church, and visit his little diocese every year, in which there are about two thousand Catholics and ten priests. The diocese of Acre lies chiefly in Galilee, and has between four and five thousand Catholics of the Greek church. The other bishoprics are far more considerable. In Damascus there are above ten thousand, and in Aleppo above fifteen thousand Catholics of the Greek church. They have always been exposed, but particularly of late years, to the most violent persecutions from the schismatic Greeks. Last year the patriarch at Damascus paid vast sums to the pacha to compel them to go over to their church. They were obliged to pay great sums of money, many were thrown into prison, and when they were threatened with still more severe punishments, all the rich members fled to Egypt, Lebanon, and Constantinople. Their condition has probably been ameliorated on the arrival of a new pacha, for this assurance was given them on their repeated applications to the divan.

At Nazareth I was witness to an affecting scene with the Bishop of Babylon. One Wednesday morning, early, the heads of families of the Catholic Greek church, mostly venerable old men, assembled in the Latin convent with their worthy priest, an old man of seventy-five, at their head. They expressed their joy at being able to pay their respects to a Latin bishop, on which the speaker began to paint the melancholy prospect they had before them, after the dreadful events in Damascus

and other places. He affirmed that they were ready to die as martyrs for their religion, but they feared that hatred and persecution would not spare their families, and they therefore besought the bishop to contribute to obtain some alleviation of their fate, from the divan, by the intervention of the French minister at Constantinople, which the bishop promised. The tears which these venerable men shed were proofs of their good disposition, and we parted with emotion.

There are no Catholic Armenians in Palestine, but their number is considerable in Syria, and in Aleppo it amounts to above 10,000. Their patriarch lives in Scharfi, on Mount Lebanon. They also are exposed to the most violent persecutions from the Schismatics, which were very sanguinary at Constantinople in 1820, and the latter had there the triumph of seeing four Catholic Armenian priests go over to them, most scandalously betraying their own party. At Aleppo they have frequently been called upon by the pacha to unite with the Schismatics, and on their refusing to comply, he put many to the torture, and ten were publicly beheaded; but even this availed nothing. They remained firm to their church, many fled, but most were ready to die for their religion. Hereupon the persecutions ceased. So long as the Catholics of these various churches are compelled to live with the Schismatics, and to pay the extraordinary contributions to the schismatic patriarchs, and are thus politically identified with them, their lot will not be altered. Catholic Syrians are likewise only in Aleppo and on Mount Lebanon, where their patriarch resides, in a convent, three leagues from Antura; but they are very numerous in Diarbekir. The few Catholics of the Chaldean church in Aleppo are under their patriarch at Mohal.

Of all the Christian parties in Syria the Maronites are the most numerous and powerful. They inhabit almost alone the district of Kesrouan, and a great part of the Mountain of the Druses. They have a patriarch, who resides at Kanowin, six bishops, and six titular bishops. At Beirout and Trabolus their community is more numerous than all the others together; and in Aleppo, Damascus, Latakia, and Saida, they are also very numerous. They reside likewise in several towns in Palestine, and it is only about forty years since they withdrew from Jerusalem. They are under the Bishop of Acre, and their number is estimated at 200,000. All the Catholics of the Latin church in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt, with the exception of the fathers of the Holy Land and their parishioners, are under a bishop, now Gardolfi, of Piemont, who resides at Antura in Kesrouan. He is at the same time the Pope's Legate

in these countries, and authorized to decide many disputes between Catholics of different churches, (which must otherwise be referred to Rome) and to give dispensations.

The other Christian Sects.

Next to the Catholics, the Greeks are the most numerous. They have two patriarchs, of Antioch and of Jerusalem, the former residing in Damascus, and the latter at Constantinople, where he administers the ecclesiastical affairs of all the Greeks, as the patriarch of Constantinople does their political concerns. He has a deputy at Jerusalem, an office which is now filled by the Bishop of Petra. Besides him there live at Jerusalem the Bishops of Nazareth, Lydda, Gaza, and Philadelphia; only the Bishop of Acre lives near his cathedral. The limits of their jurisdiction are not very strictly defined; those residing at Jerusalem are only titular, and serve to enhance the splendour of divine worship in Jerusalem in the eyes of the pilgrims who annually resort hither. The Greeks have at Jerusalem nine convents of monks and four of nuns, and four others in the vicinity. The monks of these convents, as of all others in Palestine, come from the Archipelago and other Greek provinces. Those among them are generally raised to the episcopal dignity who can pay the largest sum to the patriarch. The nuns also come here from distant parts, live here in a secluded manner as long as they please, generally for life, on alms and the produce of their needle-work; they pray the hours, like the monks, and wear a peculiar dress. According to long-established custom, contrary to the laws of the church, they are not for ever bound to the three vows. They also live on the alms which the monks collect, or which are left by the pilgrims in Jerusalem. The bishops, archimandrites, and many monks, live in the great monastery; in the others generally only one monk and some lay brothers; and in the nunnery from ten to twelve nuns; in the monastery of St. Saba, formerly so full, there are only ten, and in the rest from five to six monks. They perform all their prayers in the Greek language, which is the only one they understand. The country priests, however, are only acquainted with the Arabic, and their whole learning is limited to reading, writing, and a knowledge of the rites. The Greek churches are for the most part small, and all of one form.

The Greeks have in general an irreconcilable hatred towards the Catholics, place them on a footing with Turks and Jews, endeavour to persecute them in all possible ways, and,

on the other hand, to be on good terms with the other religious parties, from which they differ in the dogmas as much as from them. At Jerusalem they sometimes approximate, receive presents from each other, and the Greeks very artfully take advantage of such opportunities to deprive the Latins of their property in the Holy Land. This hypocritical friendship preceded, for instance, the seizure of the garden of the Shepherds at Bethlehem, as well as the entirely excluding them from the Holy Sepulchre. But those friendly relations were never of long duration.

It is very difficult to account for this hatred. It is said to arise from the difference in the articles of faith; but these are not known either to their priests or the people, for they never think of catechising or preaching; making the sign of the cross, prostration before the reliques and images of the saints, and observance of the fasts, are with them the main points. For these they shew much more reverence than the common people do among the Catholics. First, they bow very low before the image, placed on a stone in the middle of the church, representing the patron Saint; make three times the sign of the cross—kiss it—make again the sign of the cross, and kiss the ground: they then proceed to kiss all the images round the church successively, and this is done by them all with as much uniformity as if they had been trained to it from their youth like soldiers. Confession is general, and made by many at the same time, with the observation that they have not committed any of the sins enumerated the last time; only when the sinner is conscious of having committed a great transgression, he confesses it to the priest in private, generally standing. Among the other Oriental Christians, both sit down together on the ground.

Nor is the difference of the articles of great importance, as the Synods have long since decided. The procession of the Holy Ghost has been long understood and explained by thinking Greek divines, according to the doctrine of all the western churches. The dispute respecting the validity of the baptism of the Catholic church, on account of the form *Baptizo te* instead of *Baptizetur Servus tuus*, turns on a logomachy, and it has been long since acknowledged to be indifferent whether it is performed by immersion or aspersion. But the repetition of baptism usual among them, in the case of Christians of other sects joining their church, is condemned by almost all Christian antiquity, and by several councils. In theory they deny purgatory, but in practice assume the forgiveness of mortal sin, by intercession in the mass, and require large sums for it; at Jerusalem two hundred piasters for a

mass. In practice many adopt divorce, forgiveness of the sin of theft without satisfying the injured party, general confession, the attainment of salvation, without the knowledge of the articles of faith; but in theory they agree with the Catholic church. This antipathy appears therefore to be rather the work of the priests, who, whether from religious zeal or self-interest, hate the adherents of the Pope, whom they consider as the rival of their Patriarch. I know several Catholics who were induced by their fears to go with the French to Egypt. Being obliged, at the departure of the French, to return home to seek a livelihood, they arrived at Gaza, without provisions, without money, almost naked, and exhausted by the long journey through the desert. They crawled to the Greek church, hoping to obtain from Christians something to appease their hunger and thirst. They made themselves known; but when the Greeks heard that they were Franks, they replied to their intreaties that they might die like dogs, and that they were worse than the Mahometans. They did not like to apply to the Mahometans because they feared for their lives; but a Mahometan woman, who had observed them from her harem, saved them from inevitable death. She sent them meat and drink, and thus enabled them to continue their journey to Jaffa. National hatred too seems to have its effect: at least, the Moldavians, Wallachians, and Servians, though of the same religion as the Greeks, are their most inveterate enemies. But whatever may be the cause of their hatred towards the Franks in general, in Palestine interest is the chief motive. It is the contest for the possession of the holy places.

The Christians enjoyed for three hundred and fifty years the free exercise of their religion insured to them by Omar. Amurat interrupted it for a short time. But in 1009, the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which had been destroyed, was already rebuilt, and it appears from a decree of Muzafar, king of the Saracens, dated 1023, and from another of 1059, that the holy places were at that time confided to the care of Frank, i. e. of Catholic monks. This was likewise the case during the continuation of the sovereignty of the Frank kings in Jerusalem.

As soon after the crusades as the Holy Sepulchre was again accessible to the Christians, the disciples of St. Francis were the first who took possession of the holy places that had formerly been repaired and adorned by the Latins, prayed there, and being gradually assisted by pious contributions, especially of Robert, king of the Two Sicilies, and his wife Sancia, of Peter of Arragon, and of John, king of the Two Castilles, they had in 1363 again fitted up all the sanctuaries and chapels for divine worship. The Sultan repeatedly confirmed them in the possession, and

granted them firmans for their safety, in the years 1059, 1203, 1206, 1212, 1233, and 1407, which were expressly designed for that purpose, or tacitly in others, in which they received permission to build with lime, in the years 1203, 1213, 1271, 1310, 1397, 1411, 1446, 1495, 1501, 1502, and 1803; a permission which has always been purchased at a high price under the Mahometan governments. By degrees the other Christian sects took part in it, and soon began to contend with them for the sanctuaries, as is proved by the firmans of 1203, 1277, 1494, 1540, and 1558, which are directed against them, and secure the exclusive possession to the Latins. It was the Georgians especially who disputed the possession with them, and often combated with very powerful arms, because they were very rich. But when the alms from their own country failed, and could no longer pay tribute to the Turks, they were deprived of the possession, and succeeded in it by the Greeks, under whose protection they placed themselves. The latter, not satisfied with the chapels in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, deprived them in 1674 of the Holy Sepulchre and of the Stable (*Præsepe*) in Bethlehem, as well as the principal aisles of both churches. It was not till fifteen years afterwards that they restored both places to their rightful owners, on the intervention of the Emperor Leopold. But this only increased their hatred; and the firmans of various years, from 1540 to 1774, which the Latin fathers were compelled to beg from the Sultan by the intervention of France; and at times of Austria, sufficiently shew how violent and incessant the struggles of the two parties were. In those firmans the Sultan constantly repeats the form of words, "The Holy Land, and all that it contains, is ours by the right of conquest. The Latins have always possessed it as property purchased by them; it has always been confirmed to them as such, and therefore it cannot be taken from them—it belongs to them for ever." Though the words are so very precise, and but ill calculated to give another party hopes of acquiring this property, viz. the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Greeks did not lose their courage. On the 12th of October, 1808, a fire (whether arising from accident or design we will not decide) broke out in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, which consumed the whole of the upper part of it. The Greeks immediately hastened to Constantinople, and by paying large sums of money, of which the Divan was in need for the war against Russia, succeeded, in spite of the earnest remonstrances of the Latin commissioners, who, at that time, were destitute of the *nervus rerum gerendarum*, and of the protection of France, in obtaining the necessary firmans by which they alone were authorised to repair the church.

The Latins and Armenians strove in vain to join them ; they pretended they had all the necessary firmans to *build* the church ; but they had in fact only leave to make the necessary repairs, and while they were employed in procuring materials, the Pacha of Damascus came on a visit to Jerusalem. He being likewise bribed by them, interpreted the firmans as they wished, and they commenced their building with the destruction of all the Latin inscriptions in the whole church, and of all the sanctuaries, of the sepulchral monuments of Godfrey of Bouillon, and of Baldwin, and of two others, the monuments of Philip of Burgundy, and of Philip I. king of Spain, of the marble, with which the walls were covered, of the walls erected by St. Helena on the sacred rock, of the Mosaics of beautiful stones, of the sacred rock itself, and in short of every thing that even Cosroes had spared, in the presence of the Pacha, and erected upon the ruins the present church, which they consider as their property. The procurator of the Latin convent protested in vain against these shocking acts of violence, against this horrible devastation. He was thrown into prison because he could not pay the sum of 50,000 Spanish dollars that was demanded of him. The Hattisheriff and counter orders which the French ambassador, M. de Latour Marbourg, obtained in 1811, came too late ; in consequence of this Hattisheriff, the Latins were going to replace their arms in the wall of a chapel formerly belonging to them, upon the spot where the cross is said to have been found. The Greeks would not permit this, alledging it was now their property. While they were employed in setting in a stone, a Latin father came to pray ; they struck him on the head with a hammer, and would have murdered him, had not his cries brought others to his assistance. The Greeks afterwards found out new contrivances to get possession of the Garden of the Shepherds, near Bethlehem, with forty olive trees, and to ill treat the catholic pilgrims who visited it. The Franks, without protection from France, which formerly secured them from such injustice, almost destitute of support from Europe, which would enable them to pay as large sums to the Turks as their adversaries, sink under this wicked deceit ; while the others can command the inexhaustible resources of their people, who spare no sacrifices, on the credit of the monks, under the pretext of saving the Holy Sepulchre and the sanctuaries from destruction, but in fact to outbid the Latins in bribing the Turks, and to expel them from Palestine ; and to put large sums of money into the hands of the Mahometans, their natural enemies, who know how to take advantage of their pride and their weakness. They always gain the victory ; they live with the Turks, are their dragomans, servants, and subjects ;

the Turks are always sure of their money; the Franks on the contrary, are always aliens, always suspected by them, and nothing but protection from Constantinople can preserve them. The Mahometans too, derive advantages from favouring the Greeks and Armenians, which the Franks can never afford them. They have upon an average 4000 pilgrims annually. The estimate of 88,000 Spanish dollars for the tribute called ghafar, which they pay, is very low, and for this the pilgrims have nothing more than the permission to visit the holy places. The conveyance of persons and effects is chiefly in the hands of the Mahometans, who possess the greatest number of mules and camels; the profits arising from the consumption of provisions, &c. are shared between them and the Christians. To this must be added, the extraordinary presents which the monks themselves make at this time to the keepers of the church of the Holy Sepulchre every time they open it, for the maintenance of order, and to the Motsallem for the sacred fire. The ten or twenty Latin pilgrims who annually visit Jerusalem, are almost all poor, and provided with the necessary firmans. From them, therefore, the Mahometans gain nothing. Of the small sums, which the convent has to pay, the Pacha, the Motsallem, the Cadi, the Mufti, and the keepers of the Holy Sepulchre gain but little. It is, consequently, no wonder if the Latins are oppressed and the others favoured.

The Armenians have in Jerusalem a patriarch, an archbishop, about one hundred monks, and two hundred individuals of their church. In Bethlehem, a convent with two monks, and two families; at Rama, a convent with one monk; at Jaffa, a convent with three monks, and about fifty Christians of their sect. They too frequently act in a hostile manner towards the Latins. Thus the latter had formerly in the church at Bethlehem, a door through the wall, which divides the principal aisle from the other three parts of the cross. The Armenians closed it, and the Latins remonstrated in vain against this violation of their rights, by which they were cut off from the chief entrance to the sanctuary under ground. When during the French invasion no doubt was entertained of the destruction of the Latin monks, who were shut up with the catholic Christians in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Armenians were the first to take possession of their chapels and valuable effects. But Sir Sydney Smith, who came from Acre to Jerusalem, and hoisted his standard on the Latin convent there, saved them and all their property. A few years ago the Armenians made them offers of peace, and of union with the Romish church. As a reward they received the chapel near the spot where the cross is said to have been found. But scarcely was the confirmation come

from Rome, when they separated again, still keeping the chapel, which they have retained to this day. They are very rich, and the alms which they receive seem to me to be more considerable than those of all the other Christians.

The custom of giving alms to the Christians in Jerusalem is very old. Even in the age of the apostles collections were made for them among the other congregations, and we learn, from Sozomenus and others, that it prevailed in later ages. Charlemagne and many other princes were very liberal to them. Henry VIII. in 1516, made a grant of two thousand pounds annually to the Latins. In later times their chief patrons were the kings of Spain, Portugal, and Naples, and the empress Maria Theresa, who not only gave large sums and costly utensils for the church, to the fathers of the Holy Land, but, like all other Catholic princes, allowed alms to be collected for them in their dominions, and thus millions flowed annually from Europe to these convents. Since the second half of the eighteenth century, the alms from many countries, as from Austria and France, have failed; those from Italy have gradually decreased; and those from Spain and Portugal are irregular.

The resources of the Greek and Armenian monks are now far more considerable. They send agents all over the Turkish and Russian empires, to collect for the poor Christians in Jerusalem, and to preserve the church of the Holy Sepulchre from being destroyed by the Turks. The profit they derive from the pilgrims is still greater. It is seldom that one of them leaves Jerusalem without expending ten purses (seven hundred and fourteen Spanish piasters), and the most spend two hundred purses and more. The cunning monks contrive, under the mask of piety, to get the last farthing from their pockets, and it is known that many have not kept sufficient to pay the captain for their voyage home. The Muscovites were particularly pillaged, and what the monks did not venture to do, was completed by the Turks. Earnest remonstrances were made; the Greek patriarch repeatedly affirmed that he could not protect them against the malice and insolence of the Turks, and thus the Emperor of Russia found it necessary to establish a consulate at Jaffa for the protection of the pilgrims. This has had the advantage, that many disorders have been prevented this year; but it has increased the hatred of the Turks towards the Muscovites. A Russian pilgrim has been murdered this year at Tantura on his road to Jerusalem, by way of Jaffa; many others have been very ill used and plundered at other places. This establishment of a consulate may lead to another important measure, which would be likely to put down the in-

solence of the Greeks. The Russians demand a separate dwelling for their pilgrims; a convent for their clergy; and full power to celebrate mass in the holy places, according to the rites of their church. The Greeks will not grant them any of these points, and cannot do it without being great losers.

The Christians in Syria have always been more exposed to the rapacity of the Mahometans than those in any other province of the Ottoman empire; and besides the usual oppression and ill-usage under which they have always laboured, they have been, in latter times, in danger of being entirely annihilated. So long ago as 1773, Abu Dahaw had conceived such a wicked project. The sultan threatened to depose him, because he had not for a long time sent him any money, and already owed him above five millions of piasters. But he came with an army to Syria, conquered Jaffa and Acre, from which Daher had fled with his treasures, and just as he was going to plunder and destroy the convents on Mount Carmel and at Nazareth, and to seize on the treasures of the temple in Jerusalem, he was seized with a severe illness, and died on the 10th of June, 1777. Tortured by remorse, he is said to have exclaimed, shortly before his death, "I have never done any harm to the Christians!"

After the retreat of the French, the Mahometans, under Ghezzar Pacha, were permitted to do as they pleased for three days with the Christians and their property. Many hundreds were killed or wounded, and almost all deprived of their property. Since that time the wounds have not been healed, and the tyranny of the Agas in the small towns falls chiefly on them. Formerly a Christian could abuse or strike a Mahometan, and was certain of being judged by the *cadi* according to equity. They were on more intimate terms together, and often forgot the difference of religion. Now the Mahometans look with haughtiness on the Christians; the slightest affront is attended with the most disagreeable consequences, and woe to the Christian who strikes a Mahometan. The Greeks are more intimate with the Mahometans than any of the other Christians, but do not on that account escape being ill-treated by them. The Catholics live entirely apart from them from their youth. I asked the Christians if the children did not sometimes play together? They replied, "Never, lest the children should learn the behaviour and bad language of the Mahometans." The Christian sects also live much apart from each other. The Maronites hardly allow Catholics of a different rite, and never schismatics and Mahometans, in their quarters. On the other hand, the Catholics find difficulty in settling in villages where none but schismatics reside. Their schools are always

separate, and mixed marriages extremely rare. I was assured that the Catholic girls are extremely averse to schismatic men, and I was myself witness in a place where a poor but very handsome girl of the Latin church, refused to marry one of the richest Greeks in the town. An oppressive law obliges the Catholic Armenians to be married and buried by the schismatic priests, and to lodge with them on their pilgrimage to Jerusalem. It is seldom that any one goes over to another church. The Latin guardians of the convents of the Holy Land think it very meritorious when they bring back a Greek to their church. But here too interest has great influence. Among the Bethlemites there are many who would willingly become Catholics, if the convent would maintain them, and especially if it would pay their portion of the taxes. The Christians do not differ in their clothing from the Mahometans, only the latter generally have the turban white, striped with red, a shawl either party-coloured or green; only the shevifs are allowed to wear the latter; that of the Christians is usually blue, grey or black. The Franks alone have a right to wear a white turban; the inhabitants of Bethlehem usurp it. The Jews wear a high cap, with a white and then a grey handkerchief round it, and a tuft of hair appears over the ears, which distinguishes them from the Christians. At Jerusalem the Christians cannot possess landed property. In other places they have lost it. In Nazareth they have a good deal, and in the Valley of Esdrelon, of which almost the fourth part belongs to the district of Nazareth, it is separated from that of the Mahometans.

All the Christians in the East agree in their strict fasts, when nothing of the animal kingdom is eaten with the blood warm, and all food dressed in oil. The clergy live on the alms of the congregation, and have no fixed income. There is much analogy in their mode of service. Preaching and catechizing are almost unknown to them. The mass, the prayers, and hymns, are said and sung so loud that all can understand them. Among the Greeks all join; with the others the clergy sing and pray, and the people respond only at times. Only the Christians of the Latin church hear a sermon on Sundays and holidays. The smallest number perform divine service in their mother tongue; the Latins in Latin, and only detached prayers, and in the mass the gospel, in Arabic; the Greek monks all in Greek; but the country clergy in Syria and Palestine all in Arabic; the Maronites, and the Catholic and schismatic Syrians read mass in Syrian, but many prayers and the gospel in Arabic. The Catholic Greeks use in Syria and Palestine only the Arabic; the Copts the Coptic and Arabic; the Abyssinians the Ethiopian language.

There is a difference in the manner of fitting up their churches. In those of the schismatic Greeks the high altar is separated from the rest by a wooden partition. Those of the other sects are nearer to the form of the Latin churches. Forms and stools are unknown in the East; but in the richer churches there are carpets, upon which they sit on the ground in the eastern fashion. The churches of the Latins, Armenians, and Maronites are distinguished from the others by their cleanliness and cheerful appearance. All their churches are crowded with paintings, but the style is very different. The Latins have many good paintings, especially in Bethlehem, and in their other churches caricatures are rare. Those of the Greeks are still quite in the Byzantine style, without any variety, except those which have been sent them from Russia. Those of the Armenians have a peculiar style, quite different from the Byzantine. The figures are ill-shaped, but the countenances more agreeable, all after one model, with pale complexions, and bearing the characteristic features of their nation, among which the painter seeks his Christ, Holy Virgin, and saints. In the drapery they much resemble those of the Latins. The pictures of the Syrians in the main resemble the Byzantine, but are more imperfect. They frequently resemble strongly marked outlines more than finished pictures. At times you see among them some more like the Armenian. Those of the Copts bear the peculiar character of the national physiognomy; in other respects they much resemble the Byzantine school. The paintings are usually on wood; the Greeks alone employ gilding. There is nothing in the composition or execution of these paintings deserving of particular description.

I conclude these remarks with the wish that the condition of these Christians may be soon changed; especially that the indecent disputes in Jerusalem may speedily be terminated; that the documents may be again carefully examined; and each party recover what belongs to it. Many abuses must be remedied. The Latins set a good example: formerly the consecrated palm-branches were distributed on Palm Sunday in the church; this caused violent quarrels; it is now done in the court-yard of the convent. It must be established, that all the holy places occupied by the Turks shall be open without restriction and expence to the Christians, according to the conventions. Lastly, care must be taken that the Latins, as the possession of the most important sanctuaries belongs to them, and they represent the greatest number of Christians, be provided with worthy priests, who have before received a suitable education in the Propaganda, and, destitute of monastic pride, live solely for their duties. I mention as a model my friend Father Vito, who is esteemed and beloved by Turks and Christians.

Whether it would be advisable to send secular clergy thither may be reasonably doubted. The Turks are accustomed to the dress of these monks; they know that they are poor; the monks think it a point of honour in their order to preserve the Holy Land and the sanctuaries from total desolation. Secular priests may also fall into the faults above-mentioned. Pope Martin V. refused their petition to guard the Holy Sepulchre, instead of the Franciscans, and he confirmed this for ever in the Bull *Salutare Studium*.

The Festival of Easter at Jerusalem.

It is natural that the festival of Easter should be celebrated at Jerusalem with great solemnity. The pilgrims generally arrive from a week to four months before it, and return home immediately after. This year the several parties looked forward to it with a degree of apprehension, because it happened with them all at the same time, and each is then afraid of being ill-treated by the others. Each desires to have much time for the performance of the ceremonies, and contentions are unavoidable.

This year there was a most violent dispute respecting the grand procession in the evening of Good Friday. The Latins had hitherto been allowed four hours and a half for it. It was proposed that they should henceforth be limited to four hours. The Turks decided that the old custom should be retained. I attended the rites performed by all the parties, with exemplary patience, and cannot but lament that the Latins alone celebrate the festival in a manner worthy of the occasion. Even when we have made due allowance for the difference of the Oriental character, there is still so great a want of decorum in the manner in which the clergy behave at the ceremonies, in the rude and unnatural cries, especially of the Greeks, in the remaining in the church at night, in which many improprieties take place; and lasciviousness, especially at Christmas in Bethlehem, assumes an appearance of sanctity, in the holding a market in the church; in the most disagreeable deafening noise, continued often for hours together, which is produced by striking a long board hanging loose, or on a piece of metal, and in the crowding and fighting of the pilgrims, who, as it were, storm the chapels, as the poor do a baker's shop in a famine, that I was often determined never to attend them again. The most striking part of the ceremonies are their processions: and among the Latins the high mass, at which the guardian officiates with great dignity. The communion on Holy Thursday is very solemn. According to a custom, which

has been retained from the primitive ages of Christianity, a quantity of provisions is brought by the Christians on this day, and distributed by the fathers among the poor.

It deserves to be noticed, that during the mass on Maundy Thursday, after the lessons have been sung, the Guardian kneels before the Holy Sepulchre, and with closed doors repeats a prayer, while very edifying hymns are sung in the choir. After the lapse of five minutes, the doors suddenly fly open. The singing of the mass on Maundy Thursday might be very moving, if they had but good voices. The procession on the evening of Good Friday, in which all the instruments, typifying the passion of Christ, are carried by different monks, is the most solemn. Sermons are preached at the same time, which refer to the passion or death of our Saviour.

If the most of the seven sermons in the seven principal chapels in the church, were delivered in the Arabic, and thus made generally useful, this would be a very good arrangement; but two in the Spanish language, which nobody understood, are useless, and four in Italian, by which few persons could profit, superfluous; that preached in Arabic by the Father Superior was listened to with great attention. The end of this procession is the signal for the processions and ceremonies, which continue through the night, of the Armenians, Syrians, Copts, and Greeks, which last, being by far the most numerous in clergy and pilgrims, make the most striking appearance. In the same manner the end of the high mass on Easter Eve is the signal for the most scandalous abuses of the church by the schismatic Christians, who conduct themselves in the most riotous manner. The Mahometan doorkeepers, and the Janissaries of the different convents, strike the good pilgrims on the head, face, and feet, at pleasure. They beat and throw each other on the ground, and run to the Sepulchre, all with the wildest cries. This is the preparation to receive the holy fire. At one o'clock the Motesalem of Jerusalem appears, and takes his usual place in the gallery of the Latins. At half-past one the Greek bishop, who is the deputy of the Patriarch, and called bishop of the holy fire, and who has the reputation of extraordinary piety, the procurator, and the Armenian bishop, go into the Holy Sepulchre, pray for half an hour with closed doors, then present the holy fire through the two lateral openings, to the pilgrims, who quickly distribute it all over the church by their wax tapers; and lastly, the Greek bishop carries it into the principal aisle, or division of the Greeks.

This year the Armenians had a violent dispute with the Greeks on account of the Syrian Bishop and the Coptic

Guardian, who also desired to be admitted into the chapel of the Holy Sepulchre, to receive the holy fire. The Greeks replied, that such innovations could not be allowed. Either the ancient custom must be observed, by which only the Armenian Bishop could be admitted to this honour, or else the later orders of the firmans must be followed, by which first the Greeks, and then the Armenians, were to receive the holy fire in the chapel. The Armenians, on their side, appealed to the Mutasallim, and depending on forty Russian pilgrims of their church, threatened to complain to the Russian emperor. But the Russian consul rejected their appeal, and the Armenians said no more.

In the first ages of Christianity, it was customary for the Christians to pass the night of Good Friday in the church without light, and on the Saturday, to celebrate in common the whole service of the sabbath. When they went to rekindle their lamps, the patriarch, the clergy, the magistrates, and other Christians, made a procession to light the lamps of the Holy Sepulchre; the miraculous fire appeared; and this miracle is said to have continued till the taking of Jerusalem, by Godfrey of Bouillon.

In the 13th century, when the other Christian sects again assembled round the Holy Sepulchre, the Syrians and Abyssinians were the first who imitated this miraculous fire for the sake of the numerous pilgrims. Afterwards the Georgians shared the honour with them; and after their fall, the Greeks and Armenians undertook to receive the sacred fire in the chapel, and to distribute it to the other Christians.

The Catholics do not believe in the miraculous origin of it, but are of opinion that it is made by the Greek bishop, and is communicated very rapidly, because the wicks of the tapers given to the pilgrims are dipped in spirits of wine. The schismatic Christians are perfectly convinced of its supernatural origin and effects. Every one rubs himself with it; and it is sent by expresses to the churches in Jaffa, Acre, &c. The Greeks, Syrians, and Copts, conclude their pilgrimage by going to the Jordan to bathe. The Armenians for the most part content themselves with washing at Jerusalem, with water fetched from the river. The Latins have entirely discontinued this journey for many years, because they had many disagreeable scenes, and it generally happened that some of the monks were severely beaten. We set out on the 26th of April, accompanied by the Mutasallim, with Turkish music. We met some caravans returning which set out the day before. Those which set out this day, about one thousand eight hundred persons, encamped in the plain of Jericho, and set out at two

o'clock in the morning for the Jordan. Every one washed or bathed, but observed the strictest decorum; filled his bottle with water, and his pockets with pebbles from the bed of the Jordan. They then all returned cheerfully under the protection of the Motsallem, after paying the ghafar (tribute). At this year's festival of Easter there were one thousand four hundred Armenians, one thousand two hundred Greeks, thirty Georgians, three hundred Moscovites, sixty Copts, fifteen Syrians, one Abyssinian, twenty Oriental Catholics of the Greek and Armenian churches, four Maronites, and fifteen Franks.

The Ghafar.

The ghafar is a tribute which the Mahometans think themselves entitled to demand of the Christians for permitting them, who are infidels, to pass through the countries belonging to the Faithful. This tribute is particularly introduced in Syria and Palestine, and in many places is so established by custom, that it is regarded as a legal tax, and he who attempts to evade it is in danger of being plundered or murdered. Only such Franks as have a firman from the Sultan, from the Pacha, or his Motsallem, declaring them free, are legally exempt from it. Most of them, by the intervention of their respective consuls, obtain from the Motsallem of Jaffa the necessary passports, one to the governor of Rama, from whom he receives another; and one also for the entrance into the Holy Sepulchre.

Ghafar is paid for the first time on coming out of Egypt, in Arish, on the frontiers of Syria. When we rode by, the Sheiks did not venture to demand it of us, because we were recommended by Mahomet Ali Pacha; they however asked for a present. Khan Jouness, the frontier town in Syria, is the second place where it is demanded. We appealed in vain to our firmans; we were obliged to use force, and to repel, with arms in our hands, a swarm of Arabs who pursued us, and to put them to flight.

At Gaza, the only duty is upon merchandize. We paid nothing for our trunks, as they contained only our travelling equipage and no goods. At Jaffa six piasters must be paid, at Rama seven, at Kariataneb seven, at Jerusalem three; and for the entrance into the Holy Sepulchre, twenty-three. Franks, without firmans, pay thirty-three piasters every time they go into this church; one para for the entrance into the Holy Sepulchre; after the sacred fire, for the first few days, from one hundred and fifty purses to ten piasters, afterwards fifteen para; for the journey to the Jordan after Easter eighteen piasters; for the departure from Jerusalem, seven piasters; in Kariataneb seven piasters; in Rama seven; before Jaffa three in

Jaffa, on departing, seven piasters. On the road from Acre by Nazareth and Nablous, you have to pay in Dschenin three piasters, in Nablous seven, on departing three, in Suwije three, in Schafat seven, and in Jerusalem as above.

Besides this legal ghafar, a similar tribute is demanded by the Mahometans in many other places. On our journey from Jaffa to Jerusalem nobody ventured to demand it, because we were accompanied by a soldier of the Motsallem of Jaffa: for a large company it is advantageous to have such a one. The presents they expect are indeed great; but persons are then not exposed to be ill-treated by these privileged highwaymen. The English pay it, though they are generally provided with firmans. This liberality, by which they also seek to get a good name among the Arabs, has done much injury to less opulent travellers; for my part I never paid it. In Dschenin, and in Nablous, I got rid of the demand, by appealing to my firman. On my departure from the latter place they attempted to compel me; but I hastened to Ibrahim, the governor, who on reading the firman, dismissed me with kindness, and declared me exempt from payment. But the most dangerous adventure in this respect occurred at Suwije. On entering the narrow valley, on the right hand of which this nest lies, four fellows, armed with stones, lay in wait for me, and threatened to kill me if I did not immediately give up my property. I replied that I travelled under the protection of the Pachas of Acre and Damascus, and of the Motsallem of Nablous, but all was in vain; they seized my horse's bridle, I drove them off with my pistols; they stoned it—I was forced to submit to this for fear the other inhabitants of the village, to whom they cried for assistance, should come up; besides, it rained so hard, and my whole body was so benumbed, that I was scarcely able to urge my horse forwards. They were at last tired of waiting in this bad weather, and contented themselves with a trifle which my guide gave them. But he had scarcely got rid of them, when another came up and demanded the ghafar. I gave him a peremptory refusal. He threatened and demanded my firmans. This I refused, as I knew beforehand that he would tear them. These robbers have often done this, even with firmans from the Sultan, which the other Arabs always regard with the greatest respect. He called for help, but no one came except the four banditti. It now suddenly began to thunder and lighten, and the rain increased, which made them all retire. At the end of this valley, which is two leagues in length, another Arab was sitting with his musket in his hand, and two others were seen at a distance. He demanded the ghafar, if we were bound to pay it, for he

had a right to ask it; but nobody answered him, upon which he arose and threatened us. Upon this two Sheiks, who by this time had joined us, replied that he had nothing to claim; that they were inhabitants of the country, and good Musselmén, but that I was a Hend (Indian). He then quietly sat down again; the storm increased; and I believe that all these people knew of my coming, otherwise they would certainly not have exposed themselves to the inclemency of the weather. In Sendschel no demand was made. I went into the house of a Greek, the only Christian in this great village. I here dried my clothes, which were quite wet, and warmed myself at the fire. On the following day I travelled without any interruption, for nobody met me on this interesting road. It was not till I arrived near Schafat, that I saw four fellows hasten towards me, who I feared intended to plunder us. I pointed out the danger to my mule-driver, and ordered him to drive quickly, but our mules were obstinate and the danger was too near. Before they came up to us, they raised a great cry, and commanded us to stop, which we did not do. They approached us, armed with muskets, swords, and pistols. I was extremely alarmed, remote from all assistance, not a soul near, not a village, except the one half a league distant, from which these robbers came. I renounced all hope of saving my life. They commenced with disarming my mule-driver, and beat him severely. They seized my bridle and threatened me with their sabres if I made any resistance. I appealed to my firmans, entreated; promised them presents, but all in vain, and they conducted us to the neighbouring village. We could not obtain an explanation of their conduct; they took it for granted that we knew the reason of it. They only affirmed that they were right, we were impostors, they acted openly, and we tried secretly to evade the laws. We at last arrived at the village, where I met with an Albanian, a soldier of the Motsallem of Jerusalem, whom I immediately requested to protect me against these robbers. He encouraged me and said he would accompany me. We then proceeded to the second part of the village, situated on the main road from Nablous to Jerusalem, where there is a toll-house. My Arabians first entered the apartment, round which, five and thirty Arabs were sitting engaged in earnest conversation. They here accused me of having left the high road to avoid the toll-house, and not pay the tribute. They had run after me they said, and delivered me to justice. It is true, I said, I had a firman, but this they did not believe, for, in that case, I should not have secretly left the main road. They all looked at me, and I replied that it was untrue that I had intended to

evade a legal tribute; that I was ignorant of this road, as well as of the toll-house; that they were equally unknown to my mule-driver, who had never made this journey but once, and not in the main road; he had therefore been unjustly beaten. I stated that I had desired him to conduct me to some ruins, and that he had done so, and contented himself with bringing me on the way to Jerusalem, but not into the main road which we had followed before; that I was a Frank, and had therefore to pay no tribute, and had besides been dispensed from it by a firman. Upon this I gave my firman to the Sheik, who had it read aloud. They now treated me with great civility, pronounced me free of the ghafar, and begged me to tell the Moslems of Jerusalem, that I had been with them, and had been very well received. I now, at length, comprehended the meaning of all the expressions which had before so much alarmed me, when they repeatedly affirmed that we were cheats; they looked upon us in the same light as many Christians and Jews who go far about to avoid this toll-house, where every one has to pay seven piasters. A short time before the attack, we met a Jew, who, doubtless, evaded it, and was pleased to meet with companions.

The Inhabitants of Palestine. Towns and Villages in the Pachalik of Acre, and the District of Nablous and Kuddes.

Syria was formerly divided into the five Pachaliks of Aleppo, Damascus, Trabolus, Saida, and Gaza. Daher took from the Pacha of Saida the land of the Druses, and also the whole coast from Nahr el Kelb to Carmel, and confined him to Saida, from which he likewise expelled him in the sequel. After the fall of Daher, Ghezzar Pacha restored the ancient Pachalik, united to it Safad, Tiberias, Balbeck, and Cæsarea, took Beirout from the Maronites, and transferred his residence to Acre. Afterwards, Jaffa, Gaza, Rama, and Nazareth, were annexed to it, and on the appointment of Abdallah, Pacha of Tripolis, to the dignity of Pacha of Acre, the Pachalik of Tripolis, where the mountain chain on the Orontes forms the frontier, so that the Pachalik of Acre is now one of the largest and richest in the Turkish empire. The Pacha annually pays to Constantinople, about two millions of Turkish piasters, besides the presents which he has to make to his patrons in the divan. The rest of Palestine fell to the Pacha of Damascus, under whom it still is, though the Christians are very desirous of having one Pacha of Palestine, and have petitioned to that effect at Constantinople, hoping that this would prove a check on the ill-treatment and extortion to which they were exposed.

They always received for answer, that the Pacha of Damascus had need of the revenues of this city to defray the expences of the caravans with provisions, which always go to meet the pilgrims on their return from Mecca. The last Pacha had been recalled towards the beginning of 1821. His place was supplied by a late Grand Vizier. At the time of my leaving Syria, it was generally affirmed that he had brought two great men from Constantinople with him, one of whom was intended for Pacha of Acre, and that Abdallah had fallen into disgrace because he did not send enough money to the divan.

Abdallah is devout, not without talents, but guided by counsellors, who, under the pretext of religion, endeavour to do all possible injury to persons who are not of the Mahometan religion. It was by their influence that Hajim, his powerful minister, a Jew, was strangled on the 24th of August, 1820. This able statesman, for twenty years sole minister in Acre, lost one eye through Soliman Pacha, on his pilgrimage to Mecca, and as the latter owed the Pachalik to him, he also, by his great credit, got Abdallah, Pacha of Tripolis, to be appointed Pacha of Acre. One of his brothers is equally powerful, who is minister to the Pacha of Damascus, their native city. A third brother is first secretary to the Reis Effendi at Constantinople. The Pachalik of Acre enjoys this advantage over others, that its Pacha generally holds his place for life, while most of the others retain it for only one year, which time is often prolonged, but often abridged. Abdallah endeavours to show his love of justice by returning their lands to those who lost them under Ghezzar, especially during the French invasion. But he indemnifies himself tenfold, by seizing the possessions of the little Emirs or Sheiks on the mountain of the Druses, who were hitherto independent or only tributary. Three of them have already become the victims of his tyranny, and great fermentation on both sides of Lebanon is the consequence. Who knows whether the liberty which these good mountaineers have preserved for centuries, may not be destroyed by these events? Twenty years ago they were deprived of Beirout, their sea-port, by the despotic Ghezzar, and now their very vitals are attacked. The consequences to the Christians in Syria, who, in times of persecution, always found a refuge in the mountain, are incalculable. But, however cowardly they may appear to have become, danger will unite them; the fire kindled in the spring of 1821, will spread through Lebanon and defy the pretensions of the tyrant of Acre, if he should continue to demand more tribute than their ancestors paid, to destroy institutions which centuries have sanctioned, or should he attempt to deprive them of their arms, which the Orientals

regard as their greatest treasures. When I visited Lebanon, the fermentation was greater than ever. The treasurer had fled with large sums, which he had extorted from the Maronites and Druses in the name of the Pacha, who now required them to pay these extraordinary contributions over again, which they were unable to do. A body of troops, stationed at Saida, was to terrify them, but it was in vain. At the beginning of May all the Christians in Syria were disarmed.

The number of inhabitants in Kesrouan, is estimated at 200,000, and on the mountain of the Druses, at 160,000. The whole coast from Khan Jouness, to Nahr el Kefb, and also Trabolus and Latakia, and the whole of Galilee, is the property of the Pacha; it contains the towns of Gaza, Jaffa, Acre, Tiberias, Sur, Saida, Beirout, Tripolis, and Latakia.

Gaza lies in a very fruitful tract, a quarter of a league from the sea. Olives, figs, oranges, &c. grow in abundance; the houses are chiefly built of hewn stones, the remnants of ancient buildings, and are very low, so that the town covers a great extent of ground in proportion to the number of the inhabitants, which is only six thousand, all Mahometans, except three hundred schismatic Greeks. The streets are narrow, unpaved, and crooked. There is a good deal of communication in the town, from the trade by land between Egypt and Syria, the goods being conveyed by camels, of which many of the inhabitants have large herds.

Jaffa is on the sea side, and has a port, which is, however, very unsafe, and in winter dangerous. The town is small, situated on an eminence which commands the whole surrounding country. The only broad street is that next the sea, in which are the Bazars, which are much richer than those of Gaza. There is a considerable trade into the interior of Palestine, but there are seldom more than ten vessels here in summer, and in winter none. Only just after Easter the number is greater. The English have a vice-consul, the Austrians and Germans an agent, both of Jaffa, the Russians a consul, who has been appointed within these twelve months, chiefly on account of the pilgrims. The affairs of the French, Spaniards, and Italians, are managed by the procurator of the convent of the Holy Land. There are about three hundred Christians of the Latin, and three hundred and fifty of the Greek church, and three thousand Mahometans in Jaffa.

Rama is in a very fruitful plain four leagues from the sea. No city in Syria has suffered more from the French invasion than Rama. There were several French factories, which had almost the exclusive trade with manufactured goods to Gaza, Jerusalem, and Nablous. Now only one monk resides in the

hospital of the fathers of the Holy Land. All the other Christians of the Latin church have either been murdered, or have lost their property and fled to Jaffa, Jerusalem, or Acre. The Greeks are above five hundred.

Acre is the residence of the Pacha of the whole coast of Syria. It lies on the sea, in a fertile but almost uncultivated plain, three or four leagues broad. The harbour is protected from the west and north-west winds by some houses built on rocks in the sea; but it is small, and choaked with sand, so that it is fit only for a few small vessels: the others lie at Haifa. All the streets of Acre are narrow, ill paved, and dark, except the bazar. The houses are ill built. The town is surrounded with a wall and ditch, and having only one gate, it is easy to take note of those who come in and go out. No strangers can enter till application has been made to the Pacha for permission, for which they generally have to wait an hour at the gate. There are four richly furnished bazars, the handsomest of which is near the Pacha's residence; it was built by his predecessor. It is intended to add a large khan, and the houses have been already pulled down, and the work commenced. Acre has from 12 to 15,000 inhabitants. The great majority are Mahometans, and have four mosques, one of which, lately finished, is among the handsomest in the Turkish empire. A magnificent bath, and a library, are attached to it.

Opposite to it is the residence of the Pacha, an irregular building, of which the barem is, as usual, the handsomest part. Cannon are planted in the court-yard, and it has a garden, the only one in this small and crowded town. The other inhabitants are, 800 Greek Catholics, 80 Latins, 800 schismatic Greeks, 80 Maronites, and 800 Jews. Each of the Christian communities has a church. The Latins, besides their parish church, which is a neat plain edifice, near the sea, have a chapel in their convent, and had formerly a very handsome little church, with marble walls and pillars; but, because it was higher than other buildings, Soliman Pacha ordered the roof to be taken off, in spite of the remonstrances of the French consul, who used it as his private chapel. It now lies in ruins. The church of the schismatic Greeks is the largest, and near the convent, where their bishop resides.

Almost the whole trade is in the hands of the Pacha and of the Austrian consul, who is also Russian vice-consul. They are owners of several ships: they purchase the oil of Samaria and the cotton of Galilee for exportation, and sell, on the other hand, manufactures in the country.

The chief trade of Palestine is with Egypt. Above two hundred vessels arrive from that country annually at Jaffa, and

still more at Acre, laden with rice, linen, sugar, some fruits, and manufactures. Palestine exports, oil, olives, cotton, tobacco, pipe-heads, earthenware, soap, and, in productive seasons, corn. The soap manufactories are numerous, and the soap much celebrated on account of the good potashes obtained from the plants of Arabia.

The difference in the kinds of money current in the Turkish empire, is a great impediment to commerce. For a Spanish dollar you receive in Egypt twelve piasters; in Jerusalem, seven and a half; in the sea ports, from Gaza to Acre, eight; from Sur to Trabolus, eight and a half; in the rest of Turkey, seven piasters. The great difference arises from their coining in Egypt piasters which are not equal in value to other Turkish piasters (properly an ideal coin). European gold always loses considerably in Turkey.

Nazareth is at the foot of a declivity, between mountains from north to south: the streets are crooked, the houses low, chiefly of stone: there is a Latin convent, four churches, and one mosque. No Jews are ever allowed to show themselves here. The convent is the cleanest and richest in the Holy Land, possessing gardens, lands, and houses, with shops. Each of these shops is let for two piasters; the Pacha demands four for his. Some applicants, willing to outbid each other, having offered four to the fathers also, the guardian answered "*La Madonna no vuol piu*"—(The virgin will have no more.) Many old men so related to me, with emotion, this simple answer. The church is spacious, and tastefully decorated. It consists of three parts; the church itself, in which there are seven altars, and paintings of subjects taken from scripture; the sanctuary, to which you descend by seventeen steps, and the choir of the fathers over it, with stairs to each side of the entrance into the sanctuary. The Latins are about 800; the schismatic Greeks 1200. Their church was built about seventy years ago, in the usual Greek form. Formerly, they had no church at Nazareth, till they obtained permission to build one, through the intercession of the Latins; but they were obliged to erect it 200 paces from the town. The Catholic Greeks, 200 in number, performed divine service in a church belonging to the Latins. The Maronites, 250 in number, have a church of their own. The Mahometans are under 300, and their mosque lately built. The whole amount of the inhabitants is 3000.

Tiberias, on the west bank of the sea of Galilee, is surrounded with walls; the houses are for the most part miserable huts, excepting the castle, the residence of the Mutsallem, and the new house of the former Austrian consul at Aleppo, who is resolved to spend the rest of his days here. The inhabitants

are partly Greek Catholics (about 300), partly Turks, and partly Jews, chiefly foreigners, especially Poles, who almost all live on alms. I was moved with pity when I walked about the quarter of the Jews. Ragged figures, in dirty, wretched, half ruined houses, are now the only population of this spot, which was once the resort of many thousand students. I visited the synagogue of the German Jews, which I found, though in a better condition than that of the Oriental Jews, like it, empty, without any ornament, and but a few books on the benches. I saw the synagogue of the Portuguese, which is rather larger and handsomer, and may be best compared with ours in Europe. I examined their libraries, and besides some MSS. of the fifteenth century, found only Hebrew and Rabbinical books, printed in Italy, Germany, Amsterdam, Lisbon, and Constantinople, which had been brought by the Jews. The children and adults were employed in some schools in learning the elements of reading and writing, in others with the Talmud.

Sur is a little walled town on the sea, but its port is not much frequented. The country next the town is sandy, and it is about a quarter of a league to the east that the celebrated fertile tract commences. The inhabitants are three thousand, including one thousand five hundred Catholic Greeks, with an archbishop, and three hundred schismatics. Each of these two parties has a church; that of the Catholics is large, and simply ornamented.

Saida, formerly the residence of the Pacha, has lofty walls on the land side. The harbour, like most of the others, is choaked up with sand. The bazar is extensive, and though Saida has lost much by the removal of the Pacha's residence to Acre, it is still very lively, because part of the trade from the mountain of the Druses passes through it. Formerly there were many French commercial houses, of which only two remain. The inhabitants are chiefly Mahometans. The whole number is eight thousand, including five hundred Greek Catholics, four hundred and fifty Maronites, four hundred schismatic Greeks, and eighty Jews.

Beirout lies on a plain; the harbour is sandy and small, but there is a large bay a league to the north, to which ships resort. There are in the neighbourhood many gardens, planted with vines and mulberry-trees. At a distance are groves of fir-trees, which are said greatly to improve the otherwise bad air. The town is extensive; the bazar large and rich. It is well situated for trade; that of Damascus, the Kesrouan, and the mountain of the Druses, being chiefly carried on through it. It has about ten thousand inhabitants, of whom four thousand

are Turks; almost all the rest Maronites, except about fifty Franks, one hundred Jews, some schismatic and Catholic Greeks, and a good many Druses. About five thousand people daily come from the mountain to the city to trade. The Austrians have a consul, who is also Russian consul; the French and English each an agent.

Tripolis lies on the sea; has eight thousand inhabitants, chiefly Maronites, one hundred Franks, several convents and consuls. It is not so well situated for trade, yet it is more lively than Latakia, through which the greater part of the traffic from the sea to Aleppo is carried on.

Each of these cities has a Motsallem, or governor, appointed by the Pacha of Acre, and generally changed every year; a commander of the garrison, consisting in Nazareth, Tiberias, and Sur, of fifty men; in Acre, of four hundred; and in the others, of two hundred men. Receivers of the taxes are appointed out of the different religious parties, who pay them to the secretary of the Motsallem. The taxes are levied on the male inhabitants above twelve years of age, according to their ability, from thirty to three hundred Turkish piasters. These regular and pretty equitably distributed taxes, are less burthensome than the extraordinary imposts on the birth of the Sultan, his marriages, the marriage of the Pacha, &c., the amount of which is fixed by the Pacha. The towns, which have gates and walls, (all except Gaza and Nazareth) are shut up at night, and the keys carried to the governor, without whose permission the gates cannot be opened.

In each city there is also a cadî, sent from Constantinople, who administers justice in the town and neighbourhood.

These Motsallems have under them the villages in the plain between the Mediterranean and the territory of the Pacha of Damascus, the desert of Arabia, the mountains of Halil, Kudde, Nablous, and the Jordan, the sea of Galilee, and some villages on the sea between Sur and Beirout, Trabolus, and Mintaburg. They are mostly small, inhabited by from twenty to three hundred families, who chiefly subsist by agriculture and breeding cattle. The houses are chiefly built of black earth, in the form of a cone, very small, and so low that one must creep into them. The inhabitants are in general very poor; the women in blue shifts, with a handkerchief on the head falling down behind. The men miserably clothed, but in different fashions and colours. The long Oriental dress is seen every where, but only worn by the rich. In the fine vallies of Galilee I saw many tents of the Arabs, who feed their horses on those luxuriant but uncultivated fields.

The dirt, the vermin, and the smoke, make their houses extremely disagreeable, and I have often been obliged to repulse

the good-natured importunity of the Arabs. In the towns the houses are chiefly of stone, one story high, with many apartments. In the principal towns, as Acre, Jerusalem, and Nablous, there are also large houses, with seats on both sides of the entrance, a court-yard with a piazza round it, several rooms, and a handsome division for the harem. Many dwellings are made in some villages in the caves of the mountains, which are particularly numerous in Judea.

The population of all Syria may be estimated at three millions. It appears less because the villages and towns are not considerable, the statements given by the inhabitants low, and the sum paid for the poll-tax small. But when we consider that twenty or more persons often sleep in a small hut; that the inhabitants generally count only the males, and therefore the women and children must be added; and that the poll-tax is paid only by males between the age of twelve and fifty years, our estimate will not be thought too high. The Pachalick contains perhaps a third of the above-mentioned number.

The ten villages on the mountains between Halil and Rama, have also lately become tributary to the Pacha of Acre. The men of these villages, amounting to about three thousand, are robust, warlike, savage, rapacious, and always armed. Fifty years ago they could with impunity defeat and kill the Pacha of Damascus, who attempted to subdue them with an army. At that time they were allied with many other villages between Halil and Gaza; but the latter have since been gradually subdued by the Motsallem of Gaza; yet they continued to make war on the Motsallem of Jaffa, and to attack every year the inhabitants of the plain, till a few years ago, when their Sheik Elazasi, generally residing in Talsafi, was made prisoner. He was kept half a prisoner at Acre, till Abdallah Pacha released him about a year ago, with a present of some clothes, at the request of Abugos, the chief of another tribe, who was formerly at war with them, but is now become their friend, and on the promise of the Sheik that the villages should remain tranquil.

In the same manner the villages under Abugos are likewise bound in some degree to the Pacha of Acre. The country is in the middle between Jerusalem and Rama, and the chief seat is Kariataneb (St. Jeremiah.) This Sheik is less powerful by the number of his subjects than by the advantageous position of his territory among mountains. Most of the places are built on mountains that are nearly inaccessible. This tribe is notorious for its ill treatment of the Christian pilgrims and the Jews. The road from Jaffa to Jerusalem passes by Kariataneb, the chief seat of these privileged banditti, which no pilgrim ven-

tures to avoid without exposing himself to the greatest ill-usage, and indeed cannot well avoid, on account of the steep mountains. There he has to pay seven piasters for himself, and two for his baggage. This toll or ghafar is according to their language legal. Hundreds who were unable to pay, have been here wounded or even murdered. The convents at Jerusalem are especial objects of their extortion. Besides the usual payment that they have to make Abugos for suffering their pilgrims and provisions to pass, he daily makes new demands on them. He pays annually to the Pacha of Acre from thirty to forty purses (five hundred Turkish-piasters each); to the pacha of Damascus, forty purses, and large presents to the governors of Jerusalem and Jaffa, and to several Sheiks in Jericho on the east bank of the Jordan, and others.

Though his revenue is large (above ninety thousand piasters), he affirms that he has little left for himself, being obliged to make large presents of shawls, horses, &c. to those who aid him in his robberies. He is intimately connected with the Sheiks on the Dead Sea and the Jordan, without whose assent he never begins war. So long as the old Abugos lived (he died three years ago, of the effects of a long imprisonment at Acre), their affairs went on well, but they are much dissatisfied with the present chief, because he is covetous, and does not share his booty with the others. He has two brothers. It has been observed that no chief of this family has died a natural death. Three years ago he had the misfortune to lose one of his sons, who was cut to pieces by the inhabitants of a neighbouring village. At the beginning of April, 1821, he conquered the village, and killed many of the inhabitants. Sir Sydney Smith sent him a handsome pair of pistols, a dagger, and some printed leaves of the Koran. The late Queen of England, then Princess of Wales, made him presents of the value of twenty-one thousand piasters. He is also fond of making presents, but people do not like to receive them, because they are obliged to make him presents of twice the value in return.

This banditti chief is esteemed, because he is powerful, keeps his word, and his protection and assistance may be depended upon; whereas the legal governors murder and rob under the cloak of the law, and these districts are a scene of plunder and robbery when a Motsallem or a Pacha dies. We were in danger from such troubles, when the inhabitants of Nablous were in a state of insurrection in February, 1821, and all Palestine was for a few days in arms.

Before the French invasion these tribes were involved in continual feuds, the consequence of which was, the desolation of the country, the extinction of many chief families, the de-

struction of the villages, and the ruin of the inhabitants; till about twenty years ago the Pacha of Damascus, by his vigorous measures, inspired terror into all these parties, so that a traveller can now go, on payment of the ghafar, from Rama to Jerusalem, and when he visits the Dead Sea and the Jordan, may hope to escape without being murdered or plundered, if he has some soldiers of the Motsallem of Jerusalem to protect him; but this journey should never be undertaken without such an escort, as several Franks, who thought they could dispense with it, have experienced.

The ancient Samaria is now mostly under the Pacha of Damascus; though the country is mountainous it is well peopled. One hundred villages belong to the district of Nabolosa, the governor residing in Nablous, a large town said to contain three times as many inhabitants as Acre. They are said to be malicious and thievish; but I was exposed to less danger than at Dschenin, where they wanted to show me how they cut off people's heads; whereas here I was only stared at, and questioned about my country and my religion. The priest of the schismatic Greek church too, assured me they were not so bad as they were represented. The streets are broader and cleaner than in other Arab towns, and I nowhere saw so many houses, with Arab sentences from the Koran inscribed over the doors in red letters, which distinguish the houses of those who have made the pilgrimage to Mecca.

Jerusalem.

Jerusalem has about eighteen thousand inhabitants, viz. eight hundred Christians of the Latin church, eleven hundred of the Greek, two hundred of the Armenian, and fifty of the Coptic and Syriac; the number of the latter diminishes while that of the Armenians increase; five thousand Mahometans, and ten thousand Jews. The number of the latter increases annually; it is said that five hundred often come from Europe in one year, and hardly fifty go away. Only the foreign Jews are rich; those born here live on alms sent from Europe by their rich brethren. The city lies on an irregular eminence, and has six gates. The church of the Holy Sepulchre belongs to the Greeks, Latins, Armenians, and Copts. The building was commenced by the Bishop Macarius, under Constantine, and completed by Maximus. It was repaired by Heraclius, and subsequently often destroyed and rebuilt. Each of the Christian parties has its own chapel for divine worship, and dwellings for the monks, who pray there day and night. Four Turks are there as superintendants, and as they often have friends with them, you sometimes see twenty Mahometans sitting on the divan at

the door, or striking with their whips the poor pilgrims in the church. They never open the church but in the presence of a dragoman of the Greek, Latin, and Armenian convents. Each pilgrim pays twenty-three piasters the first time he enters, and afterwards one para each time.

The church of St. Salvator is in the Latin convent, and the only one belonging to the Franks. Almost all the Greek clergy are united in the great Greek convent, where five bishops, six archimandrites, the procurator, and fifty monks and deacons reside. They have their board and lodging, one hundred piasters annual salary, and five thousand piasters for masses. They have to reside almost the whole year in the convent, to attend the ceremonies for the pilgrims, and add to the splendour of them. This convent contains the church of St. Constantine and St. Helena, which is full of paintings, and possesses many relics. It joins the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Greeks have several other churches in Jerusalem, viz. those of St. Demetrius, of St. Nicholas, of St. George, (with an hospital for the aged and infirm), of St. Michael, of St. Basil, of the Holy Virgin, founded by St. Milasia, of St. Euthymius, of St. John the Baptist, of Abraham, of St. Maria Egyptiaca, containing a very ancient picture of the Virgin, and of St. James.

The Armenians have undoubtedly the finest convent in Jerusalem, formerly belonging to the Georgians, who were obliged to leave it because they were unable to make the customary presents to the Turks. The Armenians obtained it by presents in spite of the remonstrances of the Greek patriarch, under whose protection the Georgians had placed themselves. The church is very handsome, clean, and adorned with paintings. The chapel of St. James, where he is said to have been beheaded, is particularly rich. Opposite is a nunnery of the Armenians.

The Copts have their convent behind the church of the Holy Sepulchre. The Abyssinians have theirs in the same place. It contains a large collection of Ethiopic MSS., some historical, but most of them translations from the Bible and the Fathers.

The convent and church of the Syrians, called that of St. Marini or of St. Mary, is on the spot where St. Mary, the mother of St. Marini dwelt.

The Jews have only three synagogues, all in bad condition; but I observed that they often have private meetings in the houses of rich individuals. It would be a great mistake to judge from these synagogues of the condition of the Jews in Jerusalem. As their numbers are never accurately reported,

they are also cunning enough to appear to the Turks, outwardly, as poor as possible.

Jerusalem has been distinguished by the bounty of the caliphs, sultans, and other sovereigns, to whom it is indebted for many mosques. Private persons have likewise been liberal in this manner. But most of those mosques were formerly Christian churches. They are so numerous, that a very large proportion is not used.

There are six baths in the city ; the water of one of them is salt, and has a medicinal virtue. The water which is drawn during the day flows again in great abundance during the night. All these baths are of ancient date.

On the Arabic Language ; the difference between the written and vulgar Language, &c.

In Egypt as well as in Syria, Arabic is almost exclusively spoken and understood. Only in Maloula and Sidnaia, near Damascus, the dialect is so different that it is considered to be Syriac. Turkish is spoken only by some civil officers and soldiers, and the inhabitants of Scanderoon and Beilan. The Greek and Armenian monks speak their national languages, the Latins the Italian.

As the difference between the Arabic written language of the golden age of Arabic literature, from that now in use, is greatly exaggerated, so is also the difference of that spoken in various provinces, or in the several parts of the same province. It is true we may perceive a considerable difference in the grammar and syntax, and several words are adopted, which are used but seldom in writing, or in a different sense. But still the difference is not so great as is pretended. A well-informed Greek will never understand the works of his ancestors, without preparatory study ; but the Arab does, as I frequently convinced myself among the Bedouins in Egypt and Syria, and the inhabitants of the towns and villages in both provinces. I was as much astonished at the ease with which they read and commented upon Antar, Macrizi, Abulfeda, &c. as they were at my acquaintance with the contents of those works. It cannot excite surprise that some places have adopted certain peculiarities, especially in the pronunciation. This is the same with all languages, and all the inhabitants testified that it was so in a high degree in the different villages in Egypt. But according to my observations the difference is not so great. The Bedouins in the Delta and Middle Egypt speak better than the villagers. The peculiarities in the language of the several provinces are more important.

The Arab in Yemen is known to be the best that is spoken. Many words that are used by the best educated Arabs in Cairo are not employed there. They know only the more elegant forms of the written language.

In Jerusalem there are many words in daily use, different from those employed at Cairo, to designate the same objects.

There are likewise some diversities in the language of the coast towns of the villages, and especially of the Bedouins in Syria. However inconsiderable they may be, it would be important to know them, because in the peculiarities of dialect in the coast towns, we might perhaps find some remains of the Phœnician.

In Beirout they speak bad Arabic. On Lebanon they swallow many syllables. In Palestine no peculiar dialects can be distinguished: only the pronunciation of syllables and words is different. Thus in many parts *kaf* is pronounced like *ain*. In the villages about Samaria they generally speak slow, and their mode of speaking, as well as their whole exterior, has an appearance of sincerity; but at the bottom they are rogues, inclined to revolt, and notorious robbers. The inhabitants of some villages about Gaza, drawl out most of their words, in a singing tone, and the old people carry this to such an excess that one can hardly help laughing. At Jericho they speak quick, but have a very bad way of pronouncing the vowels, which are often hardly heard. The Bedouins on the Jordan and Dead Sea speak the Arabic better than the inhabitants of Jerusalem. Natural defects in speaking, as well as very ill habits, are unknown to them; but in general the Arabic spoken in Palestine is not considered as the best. The women generally drawl their words, especially in short phrases, and sing just like the Jewish women with us.

It has often been remarked that a knowledge of the comparisons and proverbs used in the language of the people, would be advantageous in the study of ancient writers. I did not meet with any thing particular in their comparisons and proverbs, they were such as are very common in the Oriental writers, especially poets; and I am inclined to doubt whether any new and unknown ones would be discovered among them. This is another proof of the little difference between the written and the vulgar language.

In Syria and Egypt, the love of literature is confined to some Arabs in the capital cities, Cairo, Aleppo, Damascus, and Acre. In the other cities all my inquiries after MSS. were fruitless. I was assured that the MSS. of the historical kind were chiefly procured from Cairo, where every thing was to be had.

At Jerusalem I saw the history of Antar, in twenty-three octavo volumes, and also several copies of the Chronicle of Raschid. The largest library in Syria is at Acre. Ghezzar Pacha composed it of the library of the convent of St. Salvatore, near Saida, of that of the Sbeik Kairi, and that of the Mufti of Rama. It contains eight hundred and four numbers, but not so many different works. Thus there are several copies of the work on the Sects, and among the many collections of letters, several appear to be identical. Unfortunately the names of the authors are never specified in the catalogue which I have seen. There may be many unknown and interesting works in it; but it is very difficult to obtain permission to see them.

Not only the towns, but most of the villages, have schools; from which, however, the women are wholly excluded. In those of the Christians, as well as those of the Mahometans, only reading and writing are taught, and sometimes, in those of the Latin Christians, the Italian language. The latter likewise give religious instruction in the church on Sundays, by catechising; but the other Christian sects are as unacquainted with this mode as the Turks themselves. The children sit dispersed in the room on their hams; the master questions them in succession; the rest all read their lessons aloud, so that there is always a great noise in these schools. They write either with the *Kalaam* on polished paper, or with a stone on metal plates, or with a coloured pencil on a kind of tablet. The Mahometans write and read nothing but the Koran, and prayers that are filled with phrases taken from it. They are not communicative of either to the Christians. But the Imans write out copies of this book for the Musselmen, generally in four parts, and gain their livelihood partly by this occupation. The Christians read in their schools the Psalter, from copies printed on Mount Lebanon, or from MSS.

The following may serve as a proof of the ignorance of the clergy at Jerusalem. The contest of the several parties for the possession of the church of the Holy Sepulchre, or its chapel, is still carried on with much animosity. As the Greeks have the advantage of all the others, by expending large sums, and by intrigues, they also found means to get the better of them, by proving the justice of their claims from ancient documents. Among these there is one written in Neski character, which they ascribe to Omar, and by which he grants the church of the Holy Sepulchre to them and their posterity, as their property for ever. Even if they had not the fact against them, that in the seventh century there was no dispute about the church, the circumstance that the Neski character was wholly

unknown at that time, would suffice to prove this document to be a forgery. Nevertheless they boast of it not only in Jerusalem and Damascus, but even in the Divan of Constantinople. The Armenian dragoman in the Divan, by a witty remark, caused the decision to be put off, when the Greeks thought themselves already sure of the victory. When the Greek dragoman affirmed that their rights to the church of the Holy Sepulchre were founded upon firmans, according to which their ancestors possessed it in the remotest times, he replied, that if those rights were to be enforced, the church of St. Sophia must also be given up to them. This answer pleased the Divan so well that the affair was adjourned.

All the Orientals have a propensity to superstition. As the Christians have for certain misfortunes certain saints, whose intercession they invoke, so have the Mahometans and Jews certain formulæ which act as talismen, and these are written in certain characters which only the initiated understand, who by this means give them great importance. The Jews employ, among others, what is called Kataba Libona. Some Rabbis are of opinion that it was invented by Kutai, on Mount Lebanon, and hence derives its name. Their superstition includes the belief in ghosts, apparitions, &c. Thus for instance it is said, that on the mountain, a quarter of a league north of Beilderas, a hen with her chickens sometimes appears, which guards a treasure buried there.

The administration of justice is very simple in the East. The judge does not even qualify himself for his office by many years previous study. He studies his Koran and some Commentaries, and at the most, the writings of some lawyers, and interprets or perverts the Koran according to his own judgment. At Constantinople, where they are the best educated, they are said not to enjoy any esteem, and to be more exposed than others to contempt and ill usage; but as soon as they are sent into the provinces they play the tyrant. Their decrees are infallible. The judge hears both parties, puts questions, makes objections, and decides verbally on the spot. In every considerable place there is a judge, commonly for life, and many of them, by natural sagacity and witty decisions, have gained the attachment of those under their jurisdiction; but the majority have made themselves hated. Small transgressions are punished by them with imprisonment, and in preference with a fine; greater ones with death, the loss of an eye, or other member. They go about the town to examine, according to their fancy, and if they any where find a deficiency of weight or measure, they inflict punishment on the spot. They are under the Mufti at Constan-

tinople, who in appearance is independent of the Divan, though in fact all his actions are under its controul. It might be thought that by this independence of the Pacha, the despotism of the latter would be checked, but in general they do not pay attention to him.

The dervises are here quite naked, live at the expence of others, and enjoy uncontrolled liberty. They attack girls, and sometimes women, in the streets, and are even covered in the act by the pious Mahometans. At Jaffa one of them proceeded to such extremities with the Christian women, that the English consul Damian, yoked him to the wheel of a mill, like an ox, and made him draw till he promised never more to molest Christian women. At the festival of Easter, the dervise from Chalil, now living at Jerusalem, did violence to a Catholic woman of the Latin church. He had pulled off her head-dress in her room; she followed him to recover it, till he threw her down. On our journey to the Jordan we requested the governor strictly to inquire at whose instigation he had done it, for it was generally said that the Greeks had prompted him to this act of violence. The governor promised to inquire into the affair. They do with impunity what they please. If they are called to account, they answer, "*Schar Allah*. God put it into my head." The Mahometans highly esteem a child of such a dervise; they have free access to the harem, and are not responsible for any thing they do. They often beat the Christians, who are obliged to bear it patiently. Very strict Mutsellams punish them by imprisonment.

Diseases in Palestine.

The small-pox still rages among children in the East, and no care is taken to inoculate them. At Jerusalem it is said not to be frequent. When I was at Nazareth there were many children infected with it. The Tertian ague is common in Judæa in the summer time. The coarse food, unripe fruit, the use of pepper in large quantities, bleeding, want of exercise, and the sulphureous exhalations from the Dead Sea, may be the chief causes of it. The Turks frequently complain of giddiness and momentary stupor, and yet will not refrain from the use of opium. Epilepsy is very rare, and the symptoms nearly the same as with us. Leprosy is more frequent. Many poor persons afflicted with that disorder live in huts on Mount Sion, secluded from the rest of the world. Some are likewise met with in the streets, asking alms.

The Christians generally indemnify themselves for their ri-

gorous fasting, by the use of brandy, which unhappily subjects them at an early period of life to apoplexy. At Nazareth I saw many old people afflicted with disorders in the eyes, which may perhaps be caused by the heavy damp air that comes from Lebanon. Fits of melancholy are seldom attended with the same symptoms in Syria as among us.

The character of the inhabitants of the East, particularly of the Mahometan, is serious; he seldom laughs, and always speaks with a certain gravity. A great misfortune can depress him extremely, and his discourse, as well as his writings, may have the impression of a suddenly excited imagination, but a permanent state of this kind is foreign to his character. There is no want of persons who fancy themselves sick. Many of the villagers especially, asked my advice, and, upon an accurate examination, it appeared that nothing ailed them. In general the native of the East is less susceptible of disease than the native of the West. He is more inured to hardship from his youth, always in the open air, accustomed to simple food, and an enemy to all refinement. Yet they seldom reach any great age, and those who grow old generally die at about eighty. At Nazareth they spoke of a man one hundred and four years old, as a most extraordinary phenomenon. It is said that strangers, especially Jews, who settle here, are not long lived. It has been observed that the most sickness is in October, November, and December; the most births in July, August, and September; and that most of the women die who lie in at Jerusalem in July. In general they have no midwives; and this alone is very unfortunate. Immediately after the birth, they lace the body so tight, that the patient can scarcely breathe. The violent heat of July may increase the bad consequences of this practice. As most of the diseases proceed from the stomach, which is weakened by the immoderate use of coffee and tobacco, and the early indulgence of the sexual propensity, emetics and laxatives are generally prescribed. If the first dose of medicine does not afford relief, they generally think it useless to continue it.

The number of births generally exceeds that of deaths; the plague alone reverses this proportion. The pilgrims generally bring it from Cairo and Damascus, and is said to be proved by repeated experience, that that coming from Damascus is far less dangerous than that from Cairo.

It generally comes to Galilee in March or April, to Jerusalem in May or June, but it seldom rages here. Since the French invasion, when many persons were carried off, it has appeared but twice in Galilee; but on one of these two occa-

sions, the fathers were confined to their convent for eleven months.

The hospital in the Latin convent, the only one in Jerusalem was quite empty in 1821. The laboratory connected with it, is amply stored with every thing necessary, and renowned for the balsam which is made there. It is here alone that the genuine balsam can be had, which is compounded of fifty-five different ingredients, some of which are very expensive. The confidence of the Turks in the fathers and their medicine, is evinced by their taking the medicine without requiring them to taste it first. They are more employed as physicians than any others, either natives or foreigners. Vitus Filukka, a German father who came there about three years ago, is a particular favourite. These fathers make use of this opportunity to baptize any one who is near dying, without the knowledge of himself or his relations, and they are very proud of their success in this way. I know one who affirms he has baptized eighty in this manner, and was often in the greatest embarrassment when the patient seemed likely to recover.

Amusements of the Orientals.

Passion week was very lively in Jerusalem, because a festival of the Mahometans occurred at the same time. It coincided with the time at which they annually make a pilgrimage to Vadi Musa, where Moses is said to be buried. What they call Moses' stone is found there, which burns like a coal, without consuming, and smells like asphaltum. This pilgrimage is made with a great deal of noise. The people flock out of the gate Setti Mariam. The women form lines on each side. Some men stand together in groups, and amuse themselves with firing muskets; but the most ride in different troops to this valley. Each of these troops keeps up an incessant firing, those who are well mounted, shew their skill in horsemanship; they sing, and most have instrumental music, the only object of which is to make as much noise as possible. I have never seen the Mahometans so merry. Out of the other gates there were likewise numbers in their holiday clothes, but most were before this gate, because the road leads from it to Vadi Musa.

A very common amusement of the boys is the simple music of a tambourine with bells, to which monkeys dressed in rags are made to dance. Grown up people frequently look on, and often too amuse themselves with playing at some game in the coffee-houses; but most commonly they smoke tobacco either there or in their divan, drink coffee, and speak a few words to each other. Customs derived from antiquity, either in this or other respects, are in vain sought among them.

The women in the East have no amusement but when the weather is fine in the afternoon to visit the church-yards, where they sometimes pray over the graves of their friends, sometimes converse together, sometimes abuse those who pass by, or look on, while the children are clambering up the trees. It is probable that acquaintances may make appointments, and take the opportunity of conversing on their domestic affairs. It is thought highly indecorous for a man to approach them, even at a distance. When the well of Jeremiah overflowed, the people flocked out of Jerusalem to it; but nobody dared to go near because some women had stationed themselves close by it.

Throughout the East decorum and modesty are most strictly maintained, but the manner in which it is done is very different in different places. In Chalil no woman dares unveil before a man, even were he her own brother, without hazarding the lives of both. A man dare not shew himself in a bye street, without exposing himself to the most dangerous suspicion. The bazar alone is publicly open to every body. In other cities, as Gaza, Jaffa, Jerusalem and Nablous, they are not so strict; but the women always have their faces covered, none dare speak face to face with any but their relations; their dress is frightful, inconvenient and dirty. In the country, and even in several towns, they are less rigorous in this respect, and the women cover their faces, either half only, or not at all, when a man comes towards them; but they always live separate. At Jaffa I lodged in a house where there were many women in the lower story. Whenever I entered the house they ran from their work into the room, though I avoided even looking at them. The consequence of this separation is, that instances of unchastity are rare. The penalty of death, which is the inevitable consequence, has still more effect.

In the country their dress consists of a pair of wide trousers, which are often very handsomely ornamented below, of a long blue shirt, fastened round the breast with a girdle, and often of a large handkerchief, which hangs down so as almost to cover the whole person. At Richa they have a long blue dress tied round the body and open before. The Christian women differ from the Mahometans in wearing a white handkerchief before the face, whereas the others commonly wear a black one. A number of gold or silver coins strung together are often bound round the head by way of ornament. They are very fond of black eyes and dye them. They express joy by a monotonous song, the whole text of which is *lu, lu, &c.*

The men wear in Galilee breeches, a wide shirt, and over it a short coat without sleeves; and in bad weather a large

cloak, which looks more like a blanket. On their heads they wear a long red cap.

The wedding is one of the greatest festivals among the Oriental Christians. The whole village, and in towns, the greater part of the congregation, and many persons who do not belong to them, assemble and dance, i. e. leap before each other, clapping their hands, and then eat rice and meat. The hospitality of the Orientals is not much commended at present, however sacred to them the duty appears, of kindly providing strangers gratis with all necessaries. They are so little able to hide their poverty and distress, that you willingly indemnify them for their expense and trouble. The schismatic Greeks are remarkable for their cunning in this respect. The khans, of which so many are seen in a dilapidated condition, recal the memory of better times. Even the last remnant of them, the custom of keeping, in all the high roads, reservoirs filled with water, to which the nearest village is bound; is still retained only in a few places. I often expressed my dissatisfaction at this to the Arabs, who always answered, "where are those happy times now? where shall we now find hospitality?"

Their domestic mode of life forms a contrast with ours. They shave the head and let the beard grow; we shave the beard, and let the hair of the head grow. With them it would be unpolite to uncover the head in the presence of an acquaintance; with us it is unpolite not to do it. We sit on chairs, eat at tables, and sleep in beds; they sit, eat and sleep on the ground. We eat with knives, forks, and spoons, from plates and dishes; they with their fingers from one common dish. Our dishes and liquors are compounded; theirs plain. We have numerous wants; the Orientals very few. We travel in carriages; they ride. We love and seek exercise; the Orientals never take any without a certain object. We love change; they uniformity. A dress which was common only thirty years back is ridiculous among us; with them the same dresses, manners and customs prevail that were in use thousands of years ago. Our domestic animals are as effeminate as ourselves; those of the Orientals are able to endure the greatest hardships. They observe their fasts very strictly; we less so, and in quite a different manner.

In general the Orientals are more honest, they never steal; the Occidentals are more given to cheat: the former proceed more quickly to act, the latter are more considerate. They transact every thing publicly; with us there is no end of mystery. With us the fair sex reign in the family and in society, and are allowed to show their charms; there they see no company, and are obliged to go veiled from head to foot.

With us the bride receives a dowry from her father, there he is paid a considerable sum for her.

On the whole, the physical and moral character of the East, reposes on principles which are in the main, the same as they were some thousand years ago, and which make a permanent contrast to those of the West. In the East, religion is the observance of certain prescribed rules. Our administration of justice is regulated by wise, natural, and positive laws; theirs governed by the will of a despot, to whom every thing belongs, who can dispose at pleasure of the lives of his subjects, as his own property. For some thousands of years one tyrant has made room for another, and every one revels by the right of the strongest, on the possessions of his subjects.

In vain do we seek in the list of their sovereigns for benefactors like Sextus V. Henry IV. Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, whom every Italian, Frenchman, Prussian and Austrian names with profound respect and ardent love, and in whose reigns he might find the ideal of a golden age. The Oriental is proud of individual liberty, and maintains it by the revenge of blood; but then he renounces civil freedom. We willingly allow our individual liberty to be controuled by wise laws, but live happy in the enjoyment of civil freedom. Our life is more active; that of the Orientals more passive. Our mode of living is refined and changeable; theirs simple and permanent. Among us prevails an impulse towards great civilization; among them a tendency to barbarism.

For centuries a curse has rested on these countries, which formerly contained rich and powerful cities, the environs of which were covered with innumerable villages, cultivated fields, and crowded roads. The riches of every climate flowed to them; in their walls opulence and luxury reigned, and their streets were animated by the incessant bustle of commerce and art, and the sounds of festivity and joy. These numerous blocks of marble that lie scattered around, once decked the sumptuous palace, these mighty columns of marble and granite, once enhanced the splendour of the imperial hall, or the awful majesty of the temple. These dreary places covered with unseemly rubbish, which savage beasts have now chosen for their abode, were once the resort of a busy multitude who flocked hither from every part of south western Asia.

THE END.

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A
VOYAGE
IN THE
S O U T H S E A S,
IN
THE YEARS 1812, 1813, AND 1814.
WITH
PARTICULAR DETAILS
OF THE
GALLIPAGOS AND WASHINGTON ISLANDS.

BY CAPTAIN DAVID PORTER,
Of the American Frigate, The Essex.

WITH THREE ENGRAVINGS.

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VOYAGE

IN

THE PACIFIC OCEAN.

CHAPTER I.

Passage from the Delaware to the Cape de Verd Islands, and from thence to Cape Frio; with Nautical Remarks.

I RECEIVED orders, October 6, 1812, from commodore William Bainbridge, to prepare the Essex for a long cruise; and on the day following, received his final instructions, appointing places of rendezvous, and the next day a copy of his orders from the honourable secretary of the navy.

Having had favourable winds since our departure, we found ourselves, on the 2d of November, in the latitude of $36^{\circ} 7'$ north; longitude, by dead reckoning, $58^{\circ} 54'$ west; but with a view of getting into a latitude where we might expect more moderate weather, as well as to cross the track of vessels bound from England to Bermudas, and those from the West Indies to Europe, stood to the south-east.

On the 23d, we were honoured by a visit from the god of the ocean, accompanied by Amphitrite and a numerous retinue of imps, barbers, &c. &c., in his usual style of visiting, and in the course of the afternoon, all the novices of the ship's company were initiated into his mysteries. Neptune, however, and most of his suite, paid their devotions so frequently to Bacchus, that before the ceremony of christening was half gone through, their godships were unable to stand; the business was therefore entrusted to the subordinate agents, who performed both the shaving and washing with as little regard to tenderness, as his majesty would have done. On the whole, however, they got through the business with less disorder and more good humour than I expected; and although some were most unmercifully scraped, the only satisfaction sought, was that of shaving others in their turn with new invented tortures.

26th.—At sun-rise, discovered the island of St. Nicholas; shortly afterwards, spoke a Portuguese brig bound to St. Anthony's; run down among the islands that day, and the next night passed in sight of the isles of Sal and Bonavista. The first is high,

and may be known by a hill that appears in form like a sugar-loaf, on first making the island ; the second has a rugged irregular appearance.

27th.—In the morning, we were between the isles of Mayo and St. Jago. On the sides of the mountains of the latter we could perceive several villages, and large flocks of goats ; but the arid appearance of the soil, scarcely left us the hope that it would afford us the refreshments we required, as no vegetable or tree of any description could be perceived by us, except a few scattering cocoa-nut trees. The island had altogether a most dreary and uncultivated appearance, and I had partly determined in my own mind only to look into the road of Praya, to see if there were any of our ships of war there, as this was the first rendezvous fixed on by commodore Bainbridge.

On the 29th, I dined with the governor, and from that time, until the morning of the 2d of December, we were occupied in getting on board refreshments and water ; but of the latter we were only enabled to get about five thousand gallons. The beef was very dear, and very poor ; a bullock, weighing three hundred weight, cost thirty-five dollars ; sheep were three dollars, but very poor ; oranges, forty cents per hundred, and other fruits in the same proportion, and in the greatest abundance. It is supposed, that the ship had not on board less than one hundred thousand oranges, together with a large quantity of cocoa-nuts, plantains, lemons, limes, casada, &c. &c. Every mess on board were also supplied with pigs, sheep, fowls, turkeys, goats, &c., which were purchased tolerably cheap : fowls, at three dollars per dozen, and fine turkeys at one dollar each ; many of the seamen also furnished themselves with monkeys and young goats, as pets ; and when we sailed from thence, the ship bore no slight resemblance, as respected the different animals on board her, to Noah's ark.

In the town of Praya there are not more than thirty whites ; the rest of the population is made up of slaves and free negroes, making altogether not more than three thousand, of whom, four hundred are soldiers. All the officers, except three or four, are mulattoes, and their priest is a negro, who possesses considerable polish of manners. The soldiers are generally destitute of clothing, from the waist upwards ; and it can be asserted with a certainty of adhering strictly to the truth, that there are not five serviceable muskets in Praya. Most of them are without any locks, their stocks broken off at the breech, their barrels tied into the stocks with a leather thong, or a cord made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut ; and it was no uncommon thing to see a naked negro mounting guard, shouldering a musket-barrel only. Their cavalry were in a corresponding style, mounted on jack-asses, and armed with broken swords. The governor informed me it had

been ten years since they had received any pay, or supplies of clothing or arms.

The two greatest evils to guard against in refreshing at Port Praya, is the bad rum of the country, and the heat of the sun, to both of which the watering party are unavoidably exposed. The negroes and seamen have such a variety of expedients for getting rum on board, that it is almost impossible to detect them. They hover about the beach with the bottles under their arms, where the shawls of the females serve the better to conceal them; and at a favourable opportunity they bury them in the sand, receive their money, while the sailor watches his opportunity for getting it on board, or drinking it. They sometimes draw the milk from the cocoa-nuts, fill them with rum, and sell them to the seamen in that state at a high price. The first day we were employed in watering, we had several men drunk; but after that we were more fortunate, as I selected the most trusty men to fill and roll the casks to the beach, with directions to make a signal when they were ready to tow off. By this means, we prevented our boats' crews from having any communication with the shore. A similar precaution was used in getting our supplies of fruit on board: they were brought to the beach by the negroes, and on a signal being made, boats were sent for them. I should advise ships that intend getting any considerable supplies of water, to employ negroes altogether for filling the casks, and rolling them down to the beach, as it would entirely prevent the necessity of exposing the men, either to the inclemency of the sun, or the temptations held out to them.

The watering-place is a well at the back of the town, in a valley, and the only place from whence the inhabitants receive their supply.

The following determinations were made at Port Praya, by astronomical observations:—

Latitude	14° 54' 05" north
Longitude	23° 30' 17" west
Variation of the compass	14° 58' 00" west.

Praya at present has no commerce. It derives its principal support from vessels that casually stop for refreshments, and its only importance, from being the residence of the captain-general of the islands of Cape de Verd, who receives a salary from the crown of two hundred dollars per month, and draws some portion of the revenue arising from the sale of cattle to foreign vessels, on every head of which is a duty equal to one half the amount paid by the purchaser. Whether this is an imposition of the officers of government, I will not pretend to decide; I would, however, recommend it to such vessels as require fresh provisions, to purchase sheep, hogs, and poultry, in preference to beef, on account

of the cheapness and quality. Nor would I advise the purchase or contracts to be made the first day of the arrival; if a salute should be fired, in the course of a day or two the country people flock in from all parts of the island, and the price of every article is reduced one half.

St. Jago produces, besides every species of tropical fruits, sugar, indigo, coffee of a superior quality and flavour, orchilla, a vine for dyeing, which is a monopoly of the crown, cotton, and (during the fruitful seasons) corn in such considerable quantities, as to enable them to make large exportations to Madeira and the Canaries. Manufactories of a kind of cotton shawl, worn by the women of the island, are carried on in almost every family. It is remarkably neat, and consists of a number of narrow stripes, so artfully joined as to render the seam scarcely perceptible. Cover-lids of the same kind for beds are also made.

On the 12th of December, about two, P.M., discovered a sail to windward, which bore the appearance of a British brig of war; made all sail in chase of her, and at six she displayed a signal. With a view of decoying her down to me, I displayed such British signals as I became possessed of during my last cruise, but without effect. At sun-set she hoisted British colours, and after dark made her night signals. At nine we were within musket-shot, and being desirous of doing her as little injury as possible, I gave orders that the great guns should not be fired. I hailed her, and directed her to lower her topsails, haul up her courses, and heave to windward; but as she attempted to run athwart my stern, with a view, as I supposed, to rake us and make her escape, I directed a volley of musquetry to be fired, which, I am sorry to say, killed one man on board her. She proved to be his majesty's packet Nocton, bound to Falmouth, of ten guns, and thirty-one men. I that night took out the prisoners, and a quantity of specie found on board, amounting to about fifty-five thousand dollars.

On the afternoon of the 14th made the high peak (called the Pyramid) of the island of Fernando de Noronha, under the lee bow, and kept plying to windward, under easy sail, all night.

The Portuguese island of Fernando de Noronha, is in latitude $3^{\circ} 54' 28''$ south, and longitude $32^{\circ} 36' 38''$ west from London. It is well fortified in every part, and its population consists of a few miserable, naked, exiled Portuguese, and as miserable a guard. The governor is changed every three years, and during his term of service in the island, has the privilege of disposing of its produce to his own emolument. Cattle in abundance, hogs, goats, fowls, &c., may be had there, as well as corn, melons, cocoa-nuts, &c. Ships, formerly, frequently touched for refreshments, wood, and water, but for seven months prior to the

Mayo N

S. Jago bearing South Westward.

V.F. Point of the Island of S. Jago bearing S.W by S

The Island of Mayo S.E. by S.

Island of Mayo E. N.E

Mayo N
Island of Mayo E. N.E

arrival of the *Acasta*, none had been there. There are no females on the island, and none are permitted to be there, from what motives I cannot perceive, except it be to render the place of exile the more horrible. The watering-place is near the beach, at the foot of the rock on which the citadel is placed, and it is with the utmost difficulty and danger that the casks can be got through the surf to the boat. The island produces wood in abundance; but the Portuguese do not permit it to be cut for shipping any where, except on a small island to the east of Fernando, called Wooding Island. This island is in tolerably good cultivation, and produces their principal supply of vegetables. There is no boat in the island, and the only means of communication, between Wooding Island and Fernando, is a small raft or catamaran, which is carefully kept in one of the forts, and is capable of bearing only two men. An abundance of fish may be procured, with but little trouble, with the hook and line.

As clothing is not in use here, as hunger may be gratified without labour, and as there is an appearance of cheerfulness, those that are not in chains may be supposed, in some measure, reconciled to a state as good, perhaps, as any they had formerly been accustomed to.

The governor caused his catamaran to be launched through a surf, (which twice filled our boat, and was near destroying her,) and despatched it to Wooding Island for fruit for us, but before she returned we made sail.

A rise of tide was perceptible here of about five feet. The only anchoring place is near the citadel.

The oppressive heat here is, I presume, occasioned by the coast of Brazil, which runs at right angles with the direction of the trades, and occasions an interruption of their course; it is well known, that winds never blow home (as seamen term it) on a high coast. Added to this, the land breezes, which blow off at night, break in on the regularity of the current of air, and produce the light and baffling winds and calms that we have experienced in this place.

When in the latitude of $17^{\circ} 35'$ south, and longitude of $34^{\circ} 56'$ west, supposing myself to be on the Abrohas shoal, sounded with one hundred and twenty fathoms of line, but got no bottom; we again sounded in the latitude of $19^{\circ} 45'$ south, and longitude of $37^{\circ} 22'$ west, with the same quantity of line, but did not succeed in getting bottom; and between the soundings we did not perceive that the water was in the smallest degree discoloured about this place.

CHAPTER II.

Transactions on the Coast of Braxils; Arrival and Departure from St. Catharines.

THE land we first discovered was high and irregular, and I had every reason to believe it to be part of a group of islands to the north of Cape Frio. I therefore hauled to the southward to make the Cape, which we discovered about four P. M.

For the two last days the ship has been surrounded with dolphins, of which we have succeeded in catching great numbers.

On the 19th of January, 1813, made the island of St. Catharines, bearing S. W., and stood for the passage between the East Point and the island of Alvarade, until eight at night. Being then at the distance of between twelve and fifteen miles, I lay off and on until morning, when we ran in with light winds from the north-east.

Immediately on anchoring, I dispatched a boat with lieutenant Downes, to inform the commander of the fort that we were Americans, and in want of supplies, and to come to an understanding about a salute. He returned in about two hours with offers of civilities, and a promise from the commander, that he would send an officer and pilot on board, in the morning, to take the ship nearer in, and in a better place for taking in our water, &c.

On the 21st I dispatched lieutenant Wilmer to the town of St. Catharines, in one of the ship's boats, accompanied by lieutenant Gamble, Mr. Shaw, purser, doctor Hoffman, and midshipman Feltus. I directed lieutenant Wilmer to wait on the governor, don Luis Mauricio da Silvia, with my respects, and to thank him for the civilities I had met with, and gave him orders to return if possible the same day. I gave orders to Mr. Shaw to endeavour to procure a supply of beef, flour, bread, and rum; to remain in town until it was ready, hire a vessel, and bring it down. The weather was squally, with heavy rains, when they started, as, indeed, was the case the whole time we lay here. I felt uneasy that the boat did not return in the evening, but hoped, as the weather had grown much worse, that they had determined on remaining that night; however, at two o'clock in the morning, lieutenants Wilmer and Gamble came into my cabin almost naked, and shivering with the wet and cold. They informed me that the boat had been upset in a squall; but that all hands had saved themselves, after having been four hours on her bottom. They fortunately were to windward of an island, lying in the middle of the bay, where they drifted on shore and righted the boat. They lost all their clothes, as well as every

thing they had purchased in town, to the amount of six or seven hundred dollars, but were so fortunate as to find next day, among the rocks of the island, every article that would float.

The beef was spoiled before it came on board. We were obliged to throw it overboard; and shortly afterwards an enormous shark, at least twenty-five feet in length, rose along side, with a quarter of a bullock in his mouth. It would have been impossible to describe the horror that this voracious animal excited. Several of our seamen, and most of the officers, had been swimming along side the evening previous. A man would scarcely have been a mouthful for him. When he first made his appearance, every one was impressed with a belief that it was a young whale.

I waited on the commander of the fort the day after I anchored. He was a very old man: his name was don Alexandre Jose de Azedido. He received me with great civility, and, as has been generally the case with the Portuguese, expressed a great desire that our cruise might be successful. The fort has been erected about seventy years; there are mounted on it fifteen or twenty honey-combed guns of different calibres. Vegetation has been so rapid, that the walls of the fortress are nearly hid by the trees that have shot up in every part. The gun-carriages are in a very rotten state, and the garrison consists of about twenty half-naked soldiers.

There is a church within the fortress; here, as a substitute for a bell, is suspended at the door, part of a broken crow-bar; and at the entrance of the commandant's apartments, is the stocks, (for the punishment of the soldiers,) which, from their greasy, polished appearance, I have reason to believe are kept in constant use. There are three forts for the protection of the bay, of which this is the principal: one on a high point on the island of St. Catharines, and another on the island where our boat landed after upsetting, called Great Rat Island. About one league and a half below the chief fortress, on the starboard hand going into the bay, behind a rocky point, are the houses for the accommodation of those employed in the whale fishery, as well as the stores, boilers, and tanks to contain the oil. The crown has the exclusive privilege of fishing here. About five hundred men are engaged in it. Nearly the same number of whales are taken annually in the bay, where they come to calve, and are then perfectly helpless. None but small boats are engaged in taking them. The oil is deposited in an immense tank, formed for the purpose in a rock, and is from thence transported to Portugal and elsewhere.

St. Catharines has been settled by the Portuguese about seventy years. The town, which appears to be in rather a thriving state,

is situated on that point of the island nearest the continent, and may contain about 10,000 inhabitants; here the captain-general resides. It appears to be a place of considerable business: several brigs and schooners were lying before the town, and the stores were numerous, and well supplied with dry goods, which were sold cheap. The town is pleasantly situated; the bay before it apparently commodious; and the people industrious. It is defended by two small forts, one opposite the middle of the town on a small island, joined to it by a causeway; the other on a point projecting towards the continent. The houses are generally neatly built, and the country at the back of the town is in a state of considerable improvement. But nothing can exceed the beauty of the great bay to the north, formed by the island of St. Catharines and the continent. There is every variety to give beauty to the scene; handsome villages and houses built around, shores which gradually ascend in mountains, covered to their summit with trees which remain in constant verdure; a climate always temperate and healthy; small islands scattered here and there, equally covered with verdure; the soil extremely productive; all combine to render it, in appearance, the most delightful country in the world. We arrived, unfortunately, in the worst season for fruit; there were no oranges to be had now; but in the proper season for them, I was informed, they were to be had in the greatest abundance, and for a mere trifle.

The people of this place appear to be the most happy of those who live under the Portuguese government, probably because the more they are distant from it, the less they are subject to its impositions and oppressions; still, however, they complain. There are two regiments of troops at St. Catharines: if provisions are wanted for them, an officer goes to the houses of the peasantry, seizes on their cattle or grain, and gives them a bill on the government, for which they never receive payment.

The peasantry are well clad, and comfortable and cheerful in their appearance; the women are handsome and graceful in their manners; the men have the character of being extremely jealous of them, and I believe they have some reason to be so.

Our anchorage, latitude $27^{\circ} 26' 10''$ south; longitude $48^{\circ} 2' 20''$ west.

The fort at Ponite Groce, latitude $27^{\circ} 24' 46''$ south; longitude $47^{\circ} 55' 30''$ west.

The north-east point of St. Catharines, Ponte de Bottle, latitude $27^{\circ} 46' 49''$ south; longitude $47^{\circ} 42' 48''$ west.

Variation of the compass $6^{\circ} 27'$ east.

Vessels should always moor here, as the irregularity of the currents will otherwise soon occasion them to foul their anchors. The tide enters to the north and south, and rises about four and

a half feet. The usual anchorage for large vessels is about the spot occupied by us ; vessels drawing not more than sixteen feet water, can go up to the town.

CHAPTER III.

Passage from St. Catharines around Cape Horn ; Arrival at the Island of Mocha.

THE whole of the 26th, we had fresh gales from the southward, which I took advantage of to get a good offing.

An alarming disease now made its appearance among the crew ; ten or fifteen of them were suddenly attacked by violent pains in the stomach, and cholera morbus. The surgeons were first of opinion, that it proceeded from the bad rum procured at St. Catharines, under the impression that it was strongly impregnated with lead, the disease having every symptom of that known under the name of the painter's cholic. Their speedy recovery, however, soon removed this opinion, and caused us to attribute it to the proper cause, the too sudden change from salt provisions to fresh, and overloading the stomach with unripe fruit and vegetables.

The weather continued fine, and the wind fair, until the 28th ; the colour of the water indicated soundings ; our course between S. by W. and S. S. W. ; time was too precious for us to heave too to sound. Our latitude on the meridian of this day, $34^{\circ} 58' 09''$ south, longitude by chronometer $51^{\circ} 11' 37''$ west ; variation of the compass $12^{\circ} 49'$ east. At nine P. M. the wind began to haul around to the southward, and at midnight, after sharp lightning, fixed itself at S. by E., and freshened up so as to compel us to send down our royal yards, and double reef our top sails. The cold began now to be sensibly felt, and woollen clothing to be more esteemed than it had been for some time past : the old jackets and trowsers that had been lying about the ship were carefully collected, as some suspicions of my intention of doubling Cape Horn had got among the crew.

The albatrosses, and other birds, that frequent high latitudes, now began to assemble around us, but in small numbers ; many attempts were made to catch them, but they all failed. We also saw two whales. The colour of the water continued to indicate soundings ; but we could not reach the bottom with one hundred and sixty fathoms line ; rock-weed was also seen.

We generally kept on the edge of soundings, in from sixty to seventy-five fathoms of water ; and, although the frequent ripples indicated strong currents, they did not make any sensible dif-

ference in our run, except on the 8th and 9th, in latitude $47^{\circ} 36'$ south, when we were set twenty-four miles to the westward. When on soundings, we frequently met masses of a weed, called kelp, of sufficient buoyancy to bear the albatrosses, and other birds which kept about them; but we never met with them off soundings. We saw a few whales, but none approached us nearer than a mile.

The northerly winds have much the character of the southwest winds on the coast of North America, and are generally accompanied with hazy weather. The southwest winds are clear and cold, and bear no slight resemblance to the northwest winds of the same coast. The appearance of albatrosses and other birds generally preceded a southerly wind, but few were to be seen when the winds came from the northward. No certain guide, however, can be given in this changeable climate, to enable you to judge correctly of winds and weather; the finest appearances were frequently the immediate precursors of a fresh gale and unpleasant weather, which was as unexpectedly succeeded by calms and sunshine.

On the morning of the 11th of February the weather was remarkably fine, the air clear and serene, the sea smooth, and the wind fair, with every appearance of a continuation. Our latitude $51^{\circ} 13'$ south; longitude $63^{\circ} 53'$ west; and depth of water seventy-four fathoms, fine grey sand. I embraced the opportunity offered by the weather for repairing our rudder-coat, and succeeded perfectly. Having no cause to go into port, I now determined to make the best of my way round Cape Horn, and, apprehensive of some difficulties in going through the Straights of Le Maire, I decided to go to the eastward of Staten Land. The latter part of the day, the wind hauled round from the northward, and the weather became extremely hazy, which I regretted extremely, as it prevented our getting an observation. The breeze was, however, very fine and increasing; I therefore felt confident of a short run to Staten Land, and steered away more to the eastward; we had studding-sails set on both sides, and our rate of sailing from seven to nine miles per hour.

On the 13th, the wind continued to increase, and the weather became still more hazy, with rain. At meridian, I calculated that Cape St. John's, the eastern part of Staten Land, bore south, half west, distant thirty-five miles; and although the thickness of the weather prevented our seeing more than a mile ahead, a confidence of being able to see the land in sufficient time to haul off to clear it, induced me to continue my run. At four o'clock, the appearance of a strong current, which was indicated by a violent ripple, and seeing an unusual quantity of kelp, some of which, as though it had been dead and drying on the

beach for some time, together with considerable flocks of birds, much resembling geese, induced me to believe that I must be very near the shore. I therefore caused a good look out to be kept, took in top-gallant-sails, double-reefed the topsails, furled the mainsail, and had every thing prepared, in case it should be necessary to haul our wind; and at half-past six had cause to rejoice that I had taken such precautions, as breakers were discovered, bearing E. S. E. and S. E., distant about three-fourths of a mile, and in a few minutes afterwards the land appeared in the same direction: we consequently hauled on a wind to the eastward, and sounded in forty-five fathoms water. We had now approached so close to the breakers, with the hope of weathering them, that we had not room to wear; there was a tremendous sea running, the ship driving fore-castle under; no chance of weathering the land, which could now be seen a-head, bearing E. by N., running out in small lumps, and surrounded with dreadful breakers. Our only hope of safety was in getting the ship in stays; the mainsail was set with the utmost expedition, and we were so fortunate as to succeed: after getting the ship about, the jib and spanker were set, and the top-gallant-yards sent down; but, in a few moments, the jib was blown to pieces. My first impression was, that we had been set by the currents to the westward, into the bay formed by Cape St. Vincent and the coast of Terra del Fuego: and, as the gale was increasing, and night fast approaching, the thick weather continuing, the wind directly on shore, with a tremendous sea, I saw no prospect of saving the ship, but by carrying a heavy press of sail to keep off the lee shore until the wind changed. We kept the lead constantly going, and found our soundings very regular at forty-five fathoms, rocky and coral bottom. After standing to the W. N. W. about an hour, the water began to grow very smooth, which could only be occasioned by a sudden change of the current; and whales appeared along-side the ship. This gave me hopes of being to the eastward of St. Vincent, and in the Straights of Le Maire; a sharp look out was kept for the land, and at half-past seven, to our unspeakable joy, the land was discovered a-head, and on both bows, distant about a mile. No doubts now remained as to our being in the straits. I therefore directed the helm to be put a-weather, and made all sail to the southward, keeping the coast of Terra del Fuego close a-board; and, as we undoubtedly had the first of the tide, we were swept through with great rapidity, and at nine o'clock were clear of the straits.

The extreme haziness of the weather prevented my making many observations on the appearance of the land; it, however, had not that dreary aspect I was prepared to expect. The hills appeared clothed with verdure, and the coast seemed indented

with deep bays, which, from the accounts of former navigators, I have no doubt, are well calculated to afford shelter to vessels navigating those seas, and engaged in the whale fishery. Indeed, it was the source of much regret to me, and to all on board, that the state of the weather prevented our having a better view of a coast that has excited so much of the attention of mankind, from the description given by the most celebrated navigators. Had circumstances permitted, I should have anchored in the bay of Good Success, so minutely described by Captain Cook.

The land we first made and attempted to weather, was Cape San Diego, on the coast of Staten Land, and the appearance was dreary beyond description. Perhaps, however, the critical situation of the ship, the foaming of the breakers, the violence of the wind, and the extreme haziness of the weather, may, all combined, have served to render the appearance more dreadful. But from the impression made by its appearance then, and from the description given by others, I am induced to believe, that no part of the world presents a more horrible aspect than Staten Land.

On the meridian of the 14th, the horizon was somewhat clear; the wind moderate from the westward; the sun shining out bright; and, with the exception of some dark and lowering clouds to the northward, we had every prospect of pleasant weather. The Cape was now in sight, bearing north, and Diego Ramirez bearing northwest; and the black clouds before mentioned, served well to give additional horror to their dreary and inhospitable aspect. But so different was the temperature of the air, the appearance of the heavens, and the smoothness of the sea, to every thing we had expected and pictured to ourselves, that we could not but smile at our own credulity and folly, in giving credit to (what we supposed) the exaggerated and miraculous accounts of former voyagers; and even when we admitted, for a moment, the correctness of their statements, we could not help attributing their disasters and misfortunes chiefly to their own imprudencies and mismanagement. As we had endeavoured to guard against every accident that we had to apprehend, we flattered ourselves with the belief, that fortune would be more favourable to our enterprize than she had been to theirs. But, while we were indulging ourselves in these pleasing speculations, the black clouds, hanging over Cape Horn, burst upon us with a fury we little expected, and reduced us in a few minutes to a reefed foresail, and close-reefed main-topsail, and in a few hours afterwards to our storm-staysails. Nor was the violence of the winds the only danger we had to encounter; for it produced an irregular and dangerous sea, that threatened to jerk away our masts at every roll of the ship. With this wind we steered to the southward, with a view of getting an offing from the land, in ex-

pectation of avoiding, in future, the sudden gusts, and the irregular seas, which we supposed were owing to violent currents, and confined to the neighbourhood of the coast. But in this expectation we were much disappointed; for, as we receded from the coast, the gale increased: and it was in vain that we hoped for that moderate and pleasant weather which former navigators have generally experienced in the latitude of 60° south, which we reached on the 18th. From the time we lost sight of the land until this period, the gales blew hard from the north-west, accompanied with heavy rains, cold disagreeable weather, and a dangerous sea.

On the afternoon of the 18th, a gale came on from the westward, which, for its violence, equalled any described by that historian. But, as my experience had already taught me, that moderate weather was not to be expected in this part of the world, at this season of the year, I determined to carry all the sail in my power, to endeavour to get to the northward as fast as possible; and with much difficulty, and great risk of splitting the sail, succeeded in getting the close-reefed main-topsail set. With this, and the fore, main, and mizen storm-staysails, we were enabled to force the ship about two knots, through a tremendous head sea, which threatened every moment destruction to our bowsprit and masts. The gale, however, increasing, we were soon reduced to the main storm-staysail, and from that to bare poles. About 12 o'clock, the wind hauled around to the southwest, and blew in dreadful squalls, accompanied with hail; and as this enabled us to steer northwest, and (allowing for the drift and variation) make a north course good, which I believed would take us clear of the west point of Terra del Fuego, I got all the yards well secured, by preventer-braces; and, by watching a favourable opportunity, set the close-reefed fore and main topsails, and reefed foresail. The squalls came at intervals of from fifteen to twenty minutes, with so little warning, and with such tremendous blasts, that it was impossible to shorten sail; for to have started the sheets, after they had struck the ship, would have been attended with the certain loss of the sail. I therefore saw no alternative, but running before the wind while they lasted, and as soon as they were over, which was generally in two or three minutes, hauled again by the wind. Thus, by the utmost attention and care, we were enabled to get along, at the rate of between five and six miles per hour; and on the 21st, found ourselves, by estimation, in the latitude of $57^{\circ}30'$ south, and the longitude of 77° west.

It was with no little joy, we now saw ourselves fairly in the Pacific ocean, and calculated on a speedy end to all our sufferings. We began also to form our projects for annoying the enemy,

and had already equipped, in imagination, one of their vessels of fourteen or sixteen guns, and manned from the *Essex*, to cruise against their commerce ; indeed, various were the schemes we formed at this time for injuring them, and we had already, in fancy, immense wealth to return with to our country. As the gale continued to blow from the southwest, every hour seemed to brighten our prospects and give us fresh spirits ; and on the last day of February, being in the latitude of 50° south, the wind became moderate and shifted to the northward, the sea smooth, and every prospect of mild and pleasant weather. I consequently determined to replace the guns, and get the spars on the spar-deck ; but before we had effected this, the wind had freshened up to a gale, and by noon had reduced us to our storm-staysail and close-reefed main-topsail. It hauled around to the westward, in the afternoon, and blew with a fury even exceeding any thing we had yet experienced, bringing with it such a tremendous sea, as to threaten us every moment with destruction. Our sails, our standing and running rigging, from the succession of bad weather, had become so damaged, as to be no longer trust-worthy ; we took, however, the best means in our power to render every thing secure, and carried as heavy a press of sail as the ship would bear, to keep her from drifting on the coast of Patagonia, which we had reason to believe was not far distant, from the appearance of birds, kelp, and whales, which I have heretofore found to be a tolerably sure indication of a near approach to land, and from the clouds to leeward, which appeared as if arrested by the high mountains of the Andes. From the excessive violence with which the wind blew, we had strong hopes that it would be of short continuance ; until, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, greatly alarmed with the terrors of a lee-shore, and in momentary expectation of the loss of our masts and bow-sprit, we almost considered our situation hopeless. To add to our distress, our pumps had become choaked by the shingle ballast, which, from the violent rolling of the ship, had got into them : the ship made a great deal of water, and the sea had increased to such a height, as to threaten to swallow us at every instant ; the whole ocean was one continued foam of breakers, and the heaviest squall that I ever before experienced, had not equalled in violence the most moderate intervals of this hurricane. We had done all that lay in our power to preserve the ship from the violence of the elements, and turned our attention to the pumps, (which we were enabled to clear,) and to keep the ship from drifting on shore, by getting on the most advantageous tack. We, however, were not enabled to wear but once, for the violence of the wind and sea was such, as afterwards to render it impossible to attempt it, without hazarding the destruction of the ship, and the loss of

every life on board. The whole of the 1st and 2d of March, we anxiously hoped for a change, but in vain; our fatigues had been constant and excessive; many had been severely bruised by being thrown, by the violent jerks of the ship, down the hatchways, and I was particularly unfortunate, in receiving three severe falls, which at length disabled me from going on deck. The gale had already blown three days without abating: the ship had resisted its violence to the astonishment of all, without having received any considerable injury: and we began to hope, from her buoyancy, and other good qualities, we should be enabled to weather the gale. We had shipped several heavy seas, that would have proved destructive to almost any other ship; but, to us, they were attended with no other inconveniences, than the momentary alarm they excited, and that arising from the immense quantity of water, which forced its way into every part of the vessel, and kept every thing afloat between decks. However, about three o'clock of the morning of the 3d, the watch only being on deck, an enormous sea broke over the ship, and for an instant destroyed every hope. Our gun-deck ports were burst in; both boats on the quarters stove; our spare spars washed from the chains; our head-rails washed away, hammock-staunchions burst in, and the ship perfectly deluged and water-logged, immediately after this tremendous shock. The gale however soon after begun to abate, and in the morning we were enabled to set our reefed foresail. In the height of the gale, Lewis Price, a marine, who had long been confined with a pulmonary complaint, departed this life, and was this morning committed to the deep; but the violence of the sea was such, that the crew could not be permitted to come on deck, to attend the ceremony of his burial, as their weight would have strained and endangered the safety of the ship.

When this last sea broke on board us, one of the prisoners, the boatswain of the *Nocton*, through excess of alarm, exclaimed, that the ship's broadside was stove in, and that she was sinking. This alarm was greatly calculated to increase the fears of those below, who, from the immense torrent of water that was rushing down the hatchways, had reason to believe the truth of his assertion. Many who were washed from the spar to the gun-deck, and from their hammocks, and did not know the extent of the injury, were also greatly alarmed; but the men at the wheel, and some others, who were enabled by a strong grasp to keep their stations, distinguished themselves by their coolness and activity after the shock. I took this opportunity of advancing them one grade, by filling up the vacancies occasioned by those sent in prizes, and those who were left at St. Catharines; rebuking, at the same time, the others for their timidity.

X And now we began to hope for better times, for the sky became serene, and we were enabled to make sail; the wind shifted to the southwest, and brought with it the only pleasant weather we had experienced since we passed the Falkland Islands. Here again we were deceived, for, before night it began to blow in heavy squalls, with cold rain, and reduced us to close-reefed fore and main topsails, and reefed foresail. But, as the wind was fair, we consoled ourselves with the pleasing reflection that we were every moment receding farther from the influence of the dreary and inhospitable climate of Cape Horn. On the 5th of May, having passed the parallel of Chili, our sufferings appeared at an end, for we enjoyed pleasant and temperate weather, with fine breezes from the southward: and, for the first time during our passage, were enabled to knock out our dead-lights, and open our gun-deck ports. The repairs of our damages went on rapidly, and by night the ship was in every respect, excepting wear and tear, as well prepared for active service as the day we left St. Catharines. Our latitude at meridian was $39^{\circ} 20'$ south; and we had a distant view of part of the Andes, which appeared covered with snow. Albatrosses were as usual about the ship; several fish, by sailors denominated sun-fish, were seen; and we frequently passed a white and apparently gelatinous substance, which we had not an opportunity of examining. There was every prospect of a speedy arrival in some port on the coast of Chili; and I directed the cables to be oent, using every means in our power to guard them from the effects of rocky bottom.

But before I proceed farther, I shall take this opportunity of offering some hints to those who may succeed me in attempting the passage around Cape Horn. This I feel myself the more authorized to do, as we have effected it in, perhaps, a shorter time, with less damage, and labouring under more disadvantages, than any others who ever attempted it; and that too at an unfavourable season of the year, against a constant succession of obstinate and violent gales of wind. And I am the more strongly induced to offer these hints, conceiving it to be of the utmost importance to give any information derived from experience, which may tend to enable navigators to overcome the obstacles which nature seems designedly to have placed, to deter mankind from all attempts to penetrate from the Atlantic to the Pacific ocean. As various opinions have been given on the subject, my advice may differ from that of others in several points: but as my measures have proved successful in the end, and as my opinion is not founded on mere conjecture and hypothesis, it is to be presumed that it may deserve the attention of seamen, for whom alone it is intended.

In the first place, I must caution them against those erroneous expectations, which the opinion of La Perouse is unhappily calculated to lead them into, and which, perhaps, have proved fatal to many ships, by inducing their commanders to believe that the passage round Cape Horn is attended with no other difficulties than those to be met with in any other high latitude; thereby causing them to neglect those necessary precautions, which the safety of their ships, and the lives of those on board, required. I would advise them, when they arrive in the latitude 40° south, to prepare their ships for the tempestuous weather of Cape Horn; by securing their masts by preventer-shrouds; sending down all their light spars, studding-sail booms, &c.; unreeving their small rigging; unbending their light sails; and reducing, as much as possible, the weight, in order that they may be enabled to carry a heavy press of canvas. They should abandon all thoughts of using their light sails, until they arrive in the same latitude in the Pacific. Indeed, it would be advisable to provide themselves with a set of small topsails and yards to suit them, as it will be rarely (if ever) they will be enabled to carry whole topsails, and seldom their courses. Their storm-staysails should be constantly bent; and if they have guns, no more of them should be kept on deck, than what would be necessary to keep the ship easy. From the latitude of 40° south, in the Atlantic, to the Straights of Le Maire, the winds vary from northwest to southeast, by the west; in order, therefore, to take advantage of the slants which they offer, it is advisable to keep about the edge of soundings, and run with the wind free on that tack which most favours the course; this will prevent the ship from making lee-way, and the certainty of a change will soon enable you to recover the direct tract.

On the morning of the 6th, the Island of Mocha bore northwest by compass, about twenty miles distant, and we appeared about as far from the coast of Chili. Our soundings were then sixty fathoms, fine black and grey sand; the winds light, inclining to calms; and a small current setting to the north. I stood for the island, keeping the lead going; and found the depth to decrease regularly to within two and a half miles of the southeast part, where we had ten fathoms water, fine bluish sand. A sandy point makes out from this part of the island, on which stands an old tree, and off which are some breakers, which extend a quarter of a mile. This point I sounded, at the distance of one league, and had ten fathoms; the depth then soon increased to fifteen, when I hauled in for a remarkable gap, about the middle of the island, and anchored in twelve fathoms water, with black sandy bottom; the southeast point bearing E. S. E., and the north point, N. N. E. We were then about two miles from the shore.

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CHAPTER IV.

Mocha; Arrival at Valparaiso, and Départure.

THE island of Mocha is high, and may be seen at a great distance. On the north part, the land gradually tapers to a long low point, off which lie some rocks, at the distance of a quarter of a mile. On the west side is a long, narrow, and, were it not for the height of the island, a dangerous reef, extending three leagues, on which, during a heavy swell, the water breaks with great violence. At the anchorage, a ship is sheltered from the westerly and southerly winds, but is exposed to those from the north and east; the latter, however, seldom blows with violence on the coast.

This island, which is situated in latitude $38^{\circ} 21' 37''$ south, longitude $74^{\circ} 38' 26''$ west, is about twenty miles in circumference, has a verdant and beautiful appearance, its hills being covered to their summits with trees of a large size, and clumps of them are near the water's edge, which renders wooding very easy. Ships may also supply themselves with excellent water, from several beautiful streams, which discharge themselves on the west side. It would, however, be necessary to wait for a favourable time to take the casks off, as, when the sea is high, the surf beats with great violence.

It was settled in the early part of the last century by the Spaniards, and was deserted by them, perhaps in consequence of the terrors excited by the buccaniers. It is now frequented by vessels engaged in smuggling, and in the whale fishery, as well as those employed in catching seals; great numbers of which are always to be found in the rocks and small keys. Shags, penguins, and other aquatic birds, are to be found in great numbers; the woods are filled with birds of various descriptions; and apples and purslain grow on different parts of the island. Our short stay here did not enable me to give this interesting spot so thorough an examination as I could have wished; but I saw enough to convince me, that it is a most desirable place for vessels to touch at after doubling Cape Horn.

I now considered myself in a good position to meet vessels plying between Conception and Valparaiso: and as neither the health of the crew, the state of my provisions, nor the distresses of the ship, rendered my going into port absolutely necessary, I determined to keep the sea awhile longer, in hopes of meeting some of the enemy's ships, and thereby obtain such supplies as would render it entirely unnecessary to make ourselves known

on the coast, until we were about quitting it. Unfortunately, the fog continued to envelope us, and prevented our extending our view a mile beyond the ship, which rendered it unsafe to keep so close in shore as I wished; for although the land is very high all along this coast, and in clear weather may be seen from a great distance, yet the state of the atmosphere was such, that before we could see it distinctly, the white foam of breakers, among the rocks which skirt it, was evident to us. We were here surrounded by whales in great numbers, which gave us strong hopes of soon meeting some of the vessels engaged in catching them, as the whales generally go in shoals along the coast, and the whalers keep in pursuit of them, following their track north and south. We also saw many seals, and birds in greater numbers than at any time during our passage, except while in the neighbourhood of Mocha.

On the latter part of the 12th, light airs sprang up from the southwest, the weather began to clear off slowly, and every eye was engaged in searching for a sail, as the fog moved to leeward. Nothing, however, was to be seen but a wide expanse of ocean, bounded on the east by the dreary, barren, and iron-bound coast of Chili, at the back of which the eternally snow-capt mountains of the Andes reared their lofty heads, and altogether presented to us a scene of gloomy solitude, far exceeding every thing I ever before experienced. The winds now freshening up, enabled us to make sail to the northward; and as the weather was clear, I determined to keep close in with the coast, that no vessel might be enabled to pass between us and the shore unobserved. In the course of our run this and the next day we could discover no vessels of any description, or the least trace of the existence of a human being on the coast, except in one instance, when a fire was lighted in the evening in a small cove, probably by some Indians, or, persons engaged in smuggling, and intended, no doubt, as an invitation for us to land.

On the morning of the 13th, we discovered that our main-top-sail-yard was badly sprung, and were compelled to get it down and replace it with another, which we were so fortunate as to have on board. On the afternoon of the 13th, we made the point three or four leagues to the southwest of the bay of Valparaiso, and called by the Spaniards Quaranmilla. At sun-rise, not discovering a sail, I determined to look into the harbour, and see at once what hopes we had in this quarter; and accordingly steered away for Point Quaranmilla under all sail, doubling it at the distance of half a league. After passing this point we perceived some scattering rocks lying some distance from shore, and shortly afterwards opened a handsome bay, with a fine sandy beach, where we perceived a few fishing boats engaged in fishing;

and wishing to have some communication with them, I hoisted the English ensign and pendant, and a jack for a pilot, but none of them appeared disposed to come alongside. In the bottom of the bay was a small enclosure with a hut, and on the top of the next projecting point was another small building, apparently covered with tiles. On the sides of the neighbouring hills were several cattle grazing. These were the only marks of civilization we had yet met on the coast, and nothing whatever appeared to indicate our approach to the most important city of Chili. With the exception of the few cattle that grazed on the arid rocks, the two huts before mentioned, and the miserable looking fishermen, the coast here had the same desolate appearance as the rest we had seen; and since we left Mocha, but little of it had escaped our observation. It was in vain that we sought for those handsome villages, well-cultivated hills, and fertile valleys, which we had been prepared to meet in this part of the world.

The whole coast is skirted by a black and gloomy rock, against the perpendicular sides of which the sea beats with fury. At the back of this rock the country appears dreary beyond description. Yellow and barren hills, cut by torrents into deep ravines, and sprinkled sparingly here and there with shrubs; but not a tree of any size was to be seen on this whole extent of coast. When the weather was clear we always saw the Andes; and as these were never clear of snow, they were not calculated to give us a more favourable impression of the interior.

The next point which presented itself, on the top of which the afore-mentioned tile-covered house was situated, was the point of Angels, which I had learned formed the western point of the Bay of Valparaiso. As I perceived some rocks lying off it, I doubled it, with a stiff breeze from the southward, at the distance of nearly half a mile, keeping the lead going, but got no bottom at the depth of sixty fathoms. As we rounded this point, I sought with my glass the city of Valparaiso, or some proofs of our approach to it: first a long sandy beach, on the opposite side, offered itself to my view; next a large drove of loaded mules coming down the side of the mountain by a zigzag pathway, and in an instant afterwards the whole town, shipping with their colours flying, and the forts, burst out as it were from behind the rocks, and we found ourselves becalmed under the guns of a battery prepared to fire into us. The scene presented to us was as animated and cheerful as it was sudden and unexpected; and had I not hoisted English colours, I should have been tempted to run in and anchor. A moment's reflection induced me to believe, that, under existing circumstances, it would not be advisable to do so, as several large Spanish ships, with

their sails bent, and in readiness for sea, were lying in the port. As those vessels were beyond doubt, bound to the northward, and in all probability to Lima, I concluded on keeping the sea a few days longer, to give them time to get out, in order that intelligence might not be given by them of an American frigate being in this part of the world. There was also in the port an American brig deeply laden, pierced for eighteen guns, lying close in shore, with her yards and topmasts struck, her boarding-nettings triced up, and in appearance prepared for defence. A large and clumsy-looking English brig was also lying there with her sails unbent, her crew employed in tarring down her rigging.

Before I had got to an anchor, however, the captain of the port, accompanied by another officer, came on board in the governor's barge, with an offer of every civility, assistance, and accommodation that Valparaiso could afford. To my astonishment I was informed that they had shaken off their allegiance to Spain; that the ports of Chili were open to all nations; that they looked up to the United States of America for example and protection; that our arrival would be considered the most joyful event, as their commerce had been much harassed by corsairs from Peru, sent out by the vice-roy of that province, to capture and send in for adjudication all American vessels destined for Chili; and that five of them had disappeared from before the port only a few days before my arrival, after having captured several American whalers, and sent them for Lima. This unexpected state of affairs, as may naturally be supposed, (considering our existing wants,) was calculated to afford me the utmost pleasure, as it promised us a speedy departure from Valparaiso.

A courier was immediately dispatched by the American deputy vice-consul, to Santiago, the capital of Chili, to inform Mr. Poinsett, the American consul-general, of our arrival in the port of Valparaiso; and arrangements were made for getting our wood, water, and provisions on board. The latter article I found could be procured in the greatest abundance, of an excellent quality, and at a more moderate price than in any port of the United States. I also directed a daily supply of fresh beef and vegetables, fruit and fresh bread for the crew, and, by the time I had completed these arrangements, was informed that the governor intended returning my visit. I consequently went on board to receive him, and on his arrival, with a numerous suite of officers, saluted him with eleven guns. It appears that many of them had never before seen a frigate, all of them being native Chilians, and this being the first, since their recollection, that had entered the port. The *Standard*, a British ship of the line, had touched there four months since for refreshments, on her way to Lima; but some misunderstanding having taken place between them and

her officers, there was but little intercourse between them. The visit lasted about two hours, during which time they viewed every part of the ship; and although she appeared under great disadvantage, from having been so long at sea, and from the tempestuous passage round Cape Horn, still they were much pleased and astonished that *Anglo-Americans*, as they styled us, could build, equip, and manage ships of so large a size.

The governor, before he left the ship, invited myself and officers to a party for the next evening, and expressed great regrets that we had not arrived sooner, as they had had the evening before great rejoicings, in consequence of a victory gained by their troops over those of Peru. It seems that a small, unimportant fortress, belonging to the latter, had fallen into the hands of the Chilians.

When we first arrived, a few boats came off with fruit, and, as was the case at St. Catharines, the most exorbitant prices were demanded for the most trifling article. However, as they continued to increase in numbers, I soon saw that the evil would be speedily removed; and permission being given them to establish their market on board, our supply was, in a few hours, as abundant, and at as low prices, as in the market on shore. Nothing could exceed the excellence and abundance of the apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, melons, onions, potatoes, and vegetables of every description. The potatoes are superior in size and quality to those of any other country, and are indigenous. Tons of the foregoing articles were sold to our people, which were laid by as a sea stock, as well as hogs and poultry in great numbers, and of the best qualities. The fowls are of the largest size, and of that kind called the China fowl, which were sold at the moderate price of two and a half dollars per dozen; indeed, I soon perceived that, unless I placed some restrictions, my ship would be much encumbered with the stock on board her. I therefore, before my departure, gave directions that all the hogs belonging to the crew should be killed, except one for each mess; and this arrangement left upwards of one hundred hogs on board, counting those belonging to the officers. No part of the world could have afforded us a more ample supply of every kind of provision required. The flour and bread were of a very superior quality, and could be procured in any quantities without difficulty. We could not, however, without considerable delay, procure salt provisions, except jerked beef: this was to be had in large quantities, and put up in a superior manner for exportation, in a network formed of strips of hide, containing one hundred weight. All the dry provisions were put up in hides; the flour was better secured in them, and more closely packed, than it could possibly be in barrels; and, although much heavier, we found them more

manageable. The use they make of hides is astonishing; the most of their furniture for their mules and horses, and their houses, and, on some parts of the coast, even their boats, or (as they are called) balsas, are made of this article. It is used for every purpose to which it is possible to apply it, either whole, cut in pieces, or in long strips. When used for balsas, two hides, each cut something in the form of a canoe, with the seam upwards, are blown up by means of a reed, and stopped together; a piece of board is then laid across to sit on, and on this frail machine they venture a considerable distance to sea. The *laque*, for the use of which the Chilians are so famous, is formed of a very long strip of hide, with a running noose; and their dexterity in using it, in catching animals at full speed, is surprising. Every pack-horseman and driver of a jackass is furnished with one of these; and so much do they delight in them, or in showing their dexterity, that when they wish to catch any one of their drove, either to load, or unload, or for any other purpose, they take their distance, deliberately coil up their *laque*, and never fail of throwing it over the neck of the animal wanted.

Agreeable to the governor's invitation, we attended a party, where we found a much larger and more brilliant assemblage of ladies than we could have expected in Valparaiso. We found much fancy and considerable taste displayed in their dress, and many of them, with the exception of teeth, very handsome, both in person and in face; their complexion remarkably fine, and their manners modest and attractive. This was our first impression on entering a room containing perhaps two hundred ladies, to whom we were perfect strangers. Minuets were introduced; country-dances followed; and the ladies had the complaisance and patience to attempt with my officers, what they had never before seen in the country, a *cotillion*. The intricacies of their country-dance were too great for us to attempt; they were greatly delighted in by those who knew them, and admitted a display of much grace. With their grace, their beauty of person and complexion, and with their modesty, we were delighted, and could almost fancy we had gotten amongst our own fair countrywomen; but in one moment the illusion vanished. The *ballas de tierra*, as they are called, commenced: they consisted of the most graceless, and at the same time fatiguing movements of the body and limbs, accompanied by the most indelicate and lascivious motions, gradually increasing in energy and violence, until the fair one, apparently overcome with passion, and evidently exhausted with fatigue, was compelled to retire to her seat.

They disfigure themselves most lavishly with paint; but their features are agreeable, and their large dark eyes are remarkably brilliant and expressive. Were it not for their bad teeth, occa-

sioned by the too liberal use of the matti, they would, notwithstanding the Chilian tinge, be thought handsome, particularly by those who had been so long as we out of the way of seeing any women.

The matti is a decoction of the herb of Paraguay, sweetened with sugar, and sucked hot through a long silver tube. To the use of this beverage the Chilians are perfect slaves. The taste is agreeable, but it occasions terrible havoc among the teeth. We returned on board our ship pleased with the novelties of a Chilian ball, and much gratified by the solicitude shown by every one to make our stay amongst them agreeable. Invitations had been given by them to visit at their houses; but time was too precious to us to be spent in amusements. All were busily engaged until the 20th in getting on board our supplies, and on the meridian of that day we had completed our water, and, with the exception of a few small articles, had as much provisions on board as the day we left the United States. Those we calculated on taking on board while our accounts were in a train for settlement; and as the next day was Sunday, and we all required some relaxation from our fatigues, I determined to devote it to pleasure, and invited the ladies and gentlemen of Valparaiso to spend the afternoon on board the ship, all, as well as ourselves, being previously engaged for the evening at a ball, at the house of Mr. Blanquo, the vice-consul. The Spaniards, and particularly catholics, do not, like the people of protestant countries, spend their Sabbath in penance and prayer, but in feasting and dancing; and although a good catholic would consider himself lost if he neglected confession, or tasted meat during Lent, yet he is above the vulgar protestant prejudice of devoting one whole day in each week to the worship of the Almighty, when he has it in his power to spend it so much more agreeably in amusement.

The consul-general had arrived from St. Jago, accompanied by don Lewis Carrera, the brother of the president, by the consul, a Mr. Heywell, and another American gentleman. They all dined on board my ship on Saturday, and were saluted with eleven guns. On Sunday, about three o'clock, myself and officers were on shore with our boats to take the ladies on board the ship, she having been previously prepared for their entertainment; and we had all laid aside our national and religious prejudices, and devoted ourselves entirely to the pleasures of the day, when, at the moment we were on the point of embarking with them, an officer came from the ship to inform me that a large frigate had appeared in the offing, and on perceiving us had hauled in for the harbour. We all immediately left our fair Chilians, and without any ceremony jumped in our boats and repaired on board, where I found every thing prepared for getting under

weigh. I soon perceived that the strange ship was a thirty-two gun frigate, gave orders to cut the cables, and in an instant the Essex was under a cloud of canvas; but as the breeze, which had until this moment blown, now failed, we got all our boats a-head, and towed out of the harbour, and in the course of an hour we were alongside the stranger, who proved to be a Portuguese, that had been sent round by the government at Rio Janeiro, for the purpose of getting a supply of flour for Lisbon. As there was every expectation of an engagement, the consul-general, and several Americans and Spaniards, and Don Lewis Carrera, came on board to share with us the dangers; the latter appeared to us a spirited youth, (about twenty-two years of age,) and as he had never been in any engagement of importance, was evidently anxious to partake of one. His constant request of me was to board the stranger, and his disappointment was great when he discovered the Portuguese flag. We could perceive the hills crowded with men, women, and children, all equally, and perhaps more anxious than Don Lewis, to see the fight. Among them, as it afterwards proved, were our fair guests, who did not hesitate to declare their disappointment; and frankly acknowledged that the sight of a sea engagement would have had more charms for them than all the entertainment we could have afforded them on board the ship.

The wind continued light; and the day being far advanced, I gave up all thoughts of returning to port that night, and stood off to sea, endeavouring to get to windward. Don Lewis, as well as his servants who accompanied him, soon became excessively sick; and however warlike he might have felt when he first came on board, he was now as helpless as an infant. We succeeded, by the help of our drags, in getting to our anchors early next morning, and were more fortunate in finding the buoys we had put to our cables than I had expected. We, immediately on securing our ship, took on board the remainder of our supplies. An invitation was brought for us to dine and spend the evening with the governor, who, we could perceive by the flags about the battery in front of his house, had made great preparations for the occasion; and we were informed that the entertainment was given us by the order and at the expense of the superior government of Chili. The company was seated in an extensive tent, handsomely and fancifully decorated with the flags of different nations, and the ground covered with rich carpets; the dinner was served up in silver plate, and, with the exception of the blades of the knives alone, no other metal or substance whatever was used for any part of the table equipage. The dinner consisted of at least twenty changes; and by the time the third course had been removed, we had cause to regret that we had not

reserved our appetites for some of the delicacies which we perceived were likely to succeed the substantial food of the first course, which we had began upon with keen appetites, and were soon cloyed. The officers of the Portuguese ship, and some English merchants, were also at table; but when the wine began to circulate, and the Chilian officers to feel the ardour of their patriotism, such flaming toasts were given, as to make them think it prudent to retire.

As the ball was to succeed the dinner in the tent, we walked round with the governor to look at the fortifications, which were in tolerable order; and on our return found the ladies assembled, dressed in all their splendour, and unusually disfigured with paint. The night was spent with much hilarity, and at one o'clock in the morning we repaired on board. Having now little to detain us, I intended sailing early; but the ladies seemed determined not to be cheated out of a visit to the ship, for the governor, his wife, with a boat-load of other ladies, came on board about nine o'clock, and remained until twelve.

From my extreme occupation with my duty, and the rapidity of the events which took place during the week I remained at Valparaiso, it could scarcely be supposed that I could have an opportunity of making many observations on the place, the manners and customs of the people, or the political state of the country. Perhaps no week of my life was ever more actively employed, both in labour and in pleasure; and had not a strong desire of serving our country to the utmost overcome every other consideration, we should have left Valparaiso with much regret. But during our stay there two Spanish ships had sailed for Lima, and the certainty that they would give intelligence of us to the enemy, made our speedy departure the more necessary, as it had always been my intention to visit that coast previous to my going to any other place. From all accounts, the coast of Peru, and from there to the Gallipagos, is the favourite fishing-ground of the British whalers. From thence I intended proceeding to the latter place, and to endeavour to arrive at their general rendezvous at Albemarle island, before the British agent at Lima could have an opportunity of giving them intelligence of my arrival in this sea; for it seemed beyond a doubt that they would conjecture that my designs were not confined to the doubling Cape Horn merely for the pleasure of visiting Valparaiso.

The town of Valparaiso is pleasantly situated at the bottom of the bay, and is a place of considerable commerce. The anchorage is in front, and from two to five cables length from the shore, where vessels lie secure, and are sheltered from all except the north winds, which blow directly into the harbour, and occasion a considerable sea. There have been instances of vessels being

driven on shore by them, and all hands perishing. On the eastern limits of the town, towards the village of Almandral, and near some rocks, is erected a cross, as a monument of the loss of a Spanish ship that was driven on shore here, and all her crew lost.

The bay is entirely free from danger, and the only advice necessary for running into the harbour, is to stand in for the middle of the town, choosing your anchorage in from twenty-five to seven fathoms water. The bottom is every where clean, and the holding ground good. As the port has been so accurately and minutely described by Vancouver and others, any further directions would be superfluous.

The customs of the inhabitants of this place differ so materially from our own, (and perhaps from those of every other people,) that I cannot help noticing a few particulars that struck me as the most singular.

At all their dinner entertainments, the principal guest is placed at the head of the table, the host on one side of him, and the hostess on the other; and their principal business appears to be to make him eat as much as possible. This duty they are apt to perform most effectually, if he happens like me to be a stranger, and not aware of the variety of changes that is to be brought on, each one more and more inviting in its appearance and taste.

There is another practice at their balls, or evening parties, which at first gave me some embarrassment. A very large silver dish, filled with sweet jelly, was presented to me by a servant, as well as a silver plate and fork. Believing that the whole dish could not be intended for me, I attempted to take the plate; this the servant objected to. I then attempted to take the dish; but to this she also objected. I felt certain, however, that it was intended for me to eat in some way or other, and was determined to do it in that way which appeared the most natural and convenient; I therefore took from her the plate and fork, and helped myself to as much as I thought I should want. The eyes of all the company, however, were on me, and I perceived that I had made some mistake, which I was soon convinced of; for the servant brought another plate with a fork, which was handed with the sweetmeats around to the company, and each made use of the same fork to take a mouthful, holding his head carefully over the dish in order that nothing might fall from his mouth to the floor; the fork was then laid on the plate, and passed to the next. The *matti* is taken with as little regard to delicacy as cleanliness. When the cup containing it is brought in, one of the company blows into it, through the silver tube, until a high froth is produced; it is then considered properly

prepared. The same *matti* and tube is then passed around the room, and each one takes in turn a draught of it, with much apparent relish and delight. It is also a practice for one glass of water, one spoon, or one *segar*, to be served to the whole company. A Chilean lady would consider it a high indecorum to be seen walking arm in arm with a gentleman; and their refinement is so great, that it is thought indelicate even to accept his hand in any way, except in dancing, when, to be sure, every thing like delicacy is laid aside. They are, however, extremely hospitable and attentive to strangers; and if they have their peculiar customs which seem strange to us, we no doubt have our own equally deserving their animadversion.

The whole power and force of the kingdom of Chili is now concentrated in one family, who have taken advantage of the state of anarchy into which it fell for want of rulers, and placed themselves at the head of government. This family is the *Carerras*. The eldest brother has created himself commander of the infantry; the second brother is president of the junta, and commander of the cavalry; the third, Don Lewis, is commander of the artillery; and they are altogether capable of bringing into the field fifteen thousand men, but they have not arms for more than six thousand. They are in alliance with the Buenos Ayreans, and have furnished them with five hundred men, properly equipped, to assist them in carrying on their war against the Montevideans. The rest of their force, except a few men on the frontiers of Peru, remains unemployed; and indeed they all appear too much engaged in the pursuit of pleasure, and the gratification of their appetites, to be capable of making any great military exertions.

There is a strong and secret party opposed to the present administration, and favourable to the cause of Ferdinand VII.: they are styled *Saracens*; the party in power are denominated *Patriots*; the former are dangerous, and are not a little dreaded, from the concealed manner in which they carry on their hostilities. Several of their emissaries have already been convicted of attempts to assassinate the officers of the present government; some have been sentenced to be hung, others to be banished to the island of *Juan Fernandez*. The patriots are known by a tri-coloured cockade, blue, yellow, and white; and the ladies of that party are distinguished by wearing their hair gracefully brushed over on the left side of the face. They seemed to have entered into the spirit of the revolution, and perhaps not without cause, as most of the patriots are young, dashing, native Chileans, and the adverse party are invariably crusty, old, formal Castilians. The patriots have not yet openly declared themselves independent, nor has any declaration of war taken place between them and the

Peruvians. Yet they have done what nearly amounts to the same thing; they have formed for themselves a constitution, one article of which punishes with death any person, residing in Chili, who shall keep up any secret intelligence with, or execute any order from, any power not resident within the state.

I shall now take my leave of Valparaiso, and continue my cruise.

CHAPTER V.

Run down the Coast of Chili and Peru; arrive at the Gallipagos Islands.

On the morning of the 25th, at eight o'clock, descried a sail to the northward, to which I gave chase, and at meridian we were near enough to discover her to be a ship of war, disguised as a whaler, with whale-boats on her quarters. She shortly afterwards hoisted the Spanish flag, when we showed English colours, and fired a gun to leeward, which she shortly returned, and run down for us. The Spaniard, when at the distance of a mile, fired a shot at us, which passed our bow. I immediately, from her appearance and the description I had received of her, knew her to be one of the picaroons that had been for a long time harassing our commerce, and felt so exasperated at his firing a shot, that I was almost tempted to pour a broadside into him; but reflecting that we were under British colours, and that the insult was not intended for the American flag, I contented myself with firing a few shot over him to bring him down. Shortly afterwards, a boat was lowered down from her, and sent to the *Essex*; but perceiving her crew to be armed, I directed her to return immediately to the ship, with orders for her to run down under our lee, and for her commander to repair on board with his papers, and to apologize for firing a shot at us. She proved to be the Peruvian privateer *Nereyda*, of fifteen guns. The lieutenant informed me that they were cruising for American vessels, and had captured the *Barclay* and *Walker* in the port of Coquimbo, but that the British letter of marque *Nimrod*, Captain Perry, had driven their people from on board the *Walker*, and taken possession of her; that they were in search of the *Nimrod*, to endeavour to recover their prize; that seeing us, with the *Charles* in company, they had supposed us to be the vessels they were in search of, and this had been the cause of their firing a shot. He stated that the Peruvians were the allies of Great Britain; that he had always respected the British flag; and that his sole

object was the capture of American vessels; that he had been out four months, and had only met the aforesaid vessels; and that the crew of the Barclay, and the captain and part of the crew of the Walker, were now detained as prisoners on board the Nereyda. I informed him that I wished to see the captain of the Walker, and one of the prisoners from the Barclay; and informed him, that if his captain was too unwell to come on board, it would be necessary for the first lieutenant to repair on board, and make the apology required. On this he dispatched his boat to the Nereyda, which returned with Captain West, of the Walker, and one of the crew of the Barclay, as well as the first lieutenant of the Nereyda. On taking Captain West into the cabin, and assuring him that he was on board an American frigate, he informed me, that he, as well as the rest of the Americans on board the Nereyda, amounting to twenty-three, had been plundered of every thing; that the Spaniards had not assigned any other motives for the capture of the vessels, than that they were Americans; that both his ship and the Barclay were employed solely in the whale-fishery, and not concerned in any mercantile pursuit whatever; that both ships had full cargoes of oil, were about returning to America, and had put into Coquimbo for refreshments; and that the first intelligence they had received of the war was at the time of their capture.

The Nereyda was now under the muzzle of our guns, and I directed the American flag to be hoisted, and fired two shot over her, when she struck her colours. I then sent Lieutenant Downes to take possession of her, with directions to send all the Spaniards on board the Essex; and as I had reason to expect that the Nimrod and the other ship were somewhere in our neighbourhood, I stood in shore, with a view of looking into Tongue Bay and Coquimbo, sending Lieutenant M'Knight to take charge of the Nereyda for the night. Next morning had all her guns, ammunition and small arms thrown overboard, as well as all her light sails. What surprised us very much was, that all the shot of this vessel, round, bar, and star-shot, were made of copper; and I have since been informed that this metal is in such abundance, and so cheap in Peru and Chili, as to be held in very little estimation, there being no comparison between the value of that and iron. Wanting a few nails while at Valparaiso, I found they could not be procured for less than one dollar per pound. But it seemed equally curious that, although copper was in such abundance, and brass guns are so far preferable to iron, yet all the guns of this vessel, except one, were cast of the latter metal, differing in this respect from the customs of every other part of the world. After I had completely dismantled her, leaving her only her topsails and courses to take her back to Callao, which is the

port of Lima, I liberated all the Americans from on board of her, sent back all the Spaniards, and directed her commander to proceed to Lima with a remonstrance to the viceroy.

At six o'clock of the 28th, we were abreast the island of Sangallan, or St. Gallan, when I hauled off to the northwest, with a view of crossing the track of vessels bound to Callao. On the morning of the 29th, to the great joy of all on board, we discovered three sail standing in for the harbour, two to windward and one to leeward. I consequently made all sail for the port to cut them off, and, as I approached the headmost vessel, she seemed to answer the description I had received of the Barclay. As I approached St. Lorenzo, I discovered that she would be becalmed so soon as she doubled the point of the island, as she eventually was. We were, at the moment of her turning the point, at the distance of two miles and a half from her, but shot in with the breeze to within one hundred yards of her, then lowered the boats down, and sent on board to tow her out, which was not effected without considerable labour, in consequence of an indraught. As we were but a short distance from the shipping in the harbour, and perceiving the two Spanish vessels had not arrived from Valparaiso, I hoisted English colours on board the Essex, and directed the officer of the captured vessel (which proved to be the Barclay) to hoist English colours over the American. After putting on board the Barclay Midshipman Cowan and eight men, and fixing on Payta and the Gallipagos as the places of rendezvous, in case of separation, also furnishing him with suitable signals, and giving him instructions to steer such courses as would enable us to spread over as much ground as possible in our track, I shaped my course to the W. N. W., to run between the rock of Pelado and the Ilormigas, which lies about thirty miles from Callao.

The town of Callao is the seaport of Lima, from which the latter is distant about three leagues. Callao is an open roadstead; but as the wind here always blows from the southward, and never with violence, and as it is well sheltered from this quarter by the projecting capes, and by the island of St. Lorenzo, it is considered in this sea as one of the safest harbours for vessels. In this place all the trade of Peru centres; it is apparently well fortified by batteries on shore, and is said to be well protected, in addition to those, by a formidable flotilla of gun-boats. The calms which appear to prevail in the bay seem to render this mode of defence very proper; and if this is the case, it must be very dangerous for hostile vessels to venture beyond the island of St. Lorenzo.

While we lay to here, I observed the sea filled with small red specks, and supposed at first that some hog had been killed on

board, and that part of the blood was floating alongside; but on a close examination I perceived them to have at times a very quick motion, and on directing some of them to be caught in a bucket, discovered them to be young craw-fish, of different sizes, but generally from one inch in length to one tenth that size. The ocean appeared filled with them: and from the immense number of birds that kept about this spot, I am induced to believe that no small number of them were daily devoured. They did not appear to be governed by any general laws, each one pursuing his own course, and shifting for himself; no two appearing in the same direction; and it is probable that, as soon as they left the egg, each one began to seek his own subsistence. Two of them were put into a bottle of sea-water, and on some crumbs of bread being thrown in, they seized and devoured them very ravenously.

The supercargo appeared to be a man of considerable intelligence; and when I inquired where was the most suitable place to proceed to give protection to British vessels, and annoy those of the United States, he advised me to go to leeward, observing that the Gallipagos Islands were much frequented by the British whale-ships, and between that and the latitude of the Lobos Islands, I should most likely find many Americans, as the sea thereabouts was full of them.

At daylight in the morning, we stretched away to the westward, leaving the Barclay to steer to the northward, and spread to such a distance as just to see her signals, and closed at night. This course we pursued until our arrival off Cape Ajuigia, where we arrived on the morning of the 10th. In our run we passed near to the islands of Lobos de la Mare, and Lobos de la Terre; they are two small islands, situated some distance from the continent, and at the distance of five leagues from each other, bearing N. N. W. and S. S. E.; they appear to be perfectly destitute of vegetation, and serve as a residence to an immense number of birds, with which the hills were covered. There can be no doubt that an abundance of seals may be caught on them, as in passing we were surrounded with them, one of which we struck with the harpoon. The sea was here also covered with pelicans, and various other aquatic birds, feeding on the shoals of small fish, which were to be seen in great numbers, constantly pursued by seals, bonettas, and porpoises; and such as attempted to escape their ravenous jaws by jumping out of the water, were immediately snapped up by the innumerable swarms of birds that were hovering over them.

On our arrival off Ajuigia, we had another opportunity of witnessing a similar scene; and as the water was perfectly smooth

and the winds light, we were enabled to examine it more minutely. We discovered the sea boiling violently in many places, and wherever this was the case, vast numbers of seals, large fish, and birds, were apparently in pursuit of small fish. On approaching one of these places, the water had so much the appearance of having been put into action by violent currents, opposed by sunken rocks, that I felt some uneasiness, and directed the helm to be put a-weather to avoid it; however, the next one had the same appearance, and was equally attended with fish. I therefore steered close to it; and saw that in the centre of the agitated spot (which bore the appearance of water boiling in a pot) were myriads of small fish, collected together, and appeared as though it were impossible for them to escape from this violent whirlpool, which was so powerful as to effect considerably the steering of the ship. Whether this boiling of the water was occasioned by the vast numbers of seals and large fish which kept constantly darting in among the small fry, which were drawn as it were to a focus, I will not pretend to say. It is possible, however, that whales, or some fish perhaps nearly as large as whales, which did not show themselves above the surface, might also have been concerned in the pursuit, and occasioned the agitation that so much surprised us; for I cannot think it possible that the seals and bonetas, numerous as they were, could have produced so violent a commotion.

A breeze springing up, we stood away for Payta, with a view of looking into that port. The weather at sunrise was hazy, and prevented us for some time from seeing the saddle of Payta, which is a remarkable irregular mountain to the south of Payta, and when once seen cannot be mistaken, the highest part making something like a saddle, and running away to a low point to the northward, which is the point forming the harbour of Payta. As we stood in shore we discovered two small sail coming out, and as we approached them were at a loss to know what to make of them; but at last discovered them to be rafts or catamarans, steering by the wind, having each six men to work them. I had at first believed them to be fishing rafts from Payta, but was surprised they should have ventured so great a distance from the land, as we were, when we spoke them, about seven leagues off shore, and was induced, from their strange appearance, to visit them. On going along side, I learnt, to my astonishment, that they were from Guayaquil, with cargoes of cocoa, bound to Guacho, a port to leeward of Lima, and had already been out thirty days. They were destitute of water, and had no other provisions on board than a few rotten plantains. We, however, perceived a number of fish bones and pieces of fish scattered about the rafts, which induced us to believe that they were en-

CHAPTER VI.

The Gallipagos Islands ; Prizes.

On arriving opposite to Charles' Island, we could perceive no vessels ; but understanding that vessels which stopped there for refreshments, such as turtle and land tortoise, and for wood, were in the practice of depositing letters in a box placed for the purpose near the landing-place, (which is a small beach sheltered by rocks, about the middle of the bay,) I dispatched Lieutenant Downes to ascertain if any vessels had been lately there, and to bring off such letters as might be of use to us, if he should find any. He returned in about three hours, with several papers, taken from a box which he found nailed to a post, over which was a black sign, on which was painted *Hathaway's Post-office*. There were none of them of a late date, but they were satisfactory, inasmuch as they confirmed the information we had already received, both as respected the practice of vessels touching there, and cruising among the other islands for whales. From these papers I obtained information, that, in June last, the following British whale-ships had been put in there, on their way to the island of Albemarle, where they generally cruise for a year at a time, and some even for a longer period, to wit :

Ship Governor Dodswell, Captain B. Gardner, with 170 tons sperm oil.

Charlton,	Haleran, 120 bbls.
Nimrod,	Parray, 250 bbls.
Hector,	Richards, 280 bbls.
Atlantic,	Wyer, 1000 bbls.
Cyrus,	West, 600 bbls.

There were letters also from their commanders, giving information that the American ships *Perseveranda*, *Paddock*, and the *Sukey*, *Macey*, the first with two hundred, the latter with one hundred and fifty barrels of sperm oil, had touched there. Considering Captain Macey's letter as a rare specimen of orthography, I hope I shall be pardoned for giving an exact copy of it.

June 14th, 1812.

Ship Sukey John Macey 7½ Months out 150 Barrels 75 days from Lima No oil Since Leaving that Port. Spaniards Very Savage Lost on the Brazel Bank John Sealin Apprentice to Capt Benjamin Worth Fell from the fore top sail Yard In A Gale of Wind. Left Lima Capt paddock 14 day Since 250

Barrels I leave this port this Day With 250 Turpen 8 Best Load Wood Yesterday went Up to Patts Landing East Side to the Starboard hand of the Landing $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles Saw 100 Turpen 20 Rods A part Road Very Bad—Yours Forevir

JOHN MACY.

Charles' Island affords the same inducements for vessels to touch at as Hood's Island, except that the harbour is not so good. It is formed on the north-west part by a projecting point, off which lies a remarkably high, black, ragged rock, which, from its appearance, I have been induced to call *Rock Diabolical*. Shipping lie in twelve fathoms, beyond the small reef which shelters the landing; the bottom is sandy, but vessels have had their cables cut by scattering rocks. The landing here is very good; and, at the time lieutenant Downes was on shore, a torrent of very fine water, many feet deep, discharged itself near the beach; but as it was raining constantly while he was on shore, and the mountains were completely capd with the clouds, added to which, as the banks of the deep ravine, worn away by the stream, clearly showed that the torrent had subsided ten feet within a very short period, it was evident to us, that this stream owed its existence to temporary rains alone. This opinion was not only confirmed by those on board the *Essex* who had been there before, but by some person who had bountifully left on the island, near the post-office, several articles for such persons as might be there in distress, among which was a cask of water.

This island is mountainous, (as are the whole group,) and is covered with trees from fifteen to twenty feet in height, scattered with considerable regularity, as to distance and appearance, on the sides of the hills, which all have evident marks of volcanic origin; but what seems remarkable is, that every tree on the island, at least all that could be approached by the boat's crew on shore, and such as we could perceive by means of our perspectives, was dead and withered. This must have been occasioned by the prevalence of an excessive drought, which entirely deprived them of the necessary moisture. As this island is not of so great an elevation as many others, which has probably been the cause of its suffering more than the larger and higher ones, though they all seem more or less affected from the same cause; and as all the trees on the islands I have yet seen, appear much of the same size, not excepting those of the most flourishing state, it seems not improbable, that the drought has not only been recent, but that it has affected the whole at the same time. As the whole group is destitute of trees of a large size, it seems reasonable to believe, that their vegetation may be checked at different periods by very dry seasons. To this cause may be

owing their being deprived of streams of water; for although it seldom rains on shore, and never at sea here, yet the tops of the mountains are almost constantly covered with thick clouds, great part of the moisture from which, instead of being soaked up by the light and spongy soil of the mountains, would find its way in running streams to the sea, were the islands sufficiently furnished with trees to condense more constantly the atmosphere, and intercept their roots to prevent its escape into the bowels of the mountains.

These islands are all evidently of volcanic production; every mountain and hill is the crater of an extinguished volcano; and thousands of smaller fissures, which have burst from their sides, give them the most dreary, desolate, and inhospitable appearance imaginable. The description of one island will answer for all I have yet seen; they appear unsuited for the residence of man, or any other animal that cannot, like the tortoises, live without food, or draw its subsistence entirely from the sea.

Lieutenant Downes saw on the rocks with which the bay was in many parts skirted, several seals and pelicans, some of which he killed; but, on searching diligently the shore, was unable to find any land tortoises, though they no doubt abound in other parts of the island. Doves were seen in great numbers, and were so easily approached, that several of them were knocked over with stones. While our boat was on shore, Captain Randall sent his boat to a small beach in the same bay, about a mile from where our boat landed, and in a short time she returned loaded with fine green turtle, two of which he sent us, and we found them excellent. On the east side of the island there is a landing, which he called Pat's landing; and this place will probably immortalise an Irishman, named *Patrick Watkins*, who some years since left an English ship, and took up his abode on this island, and built himself a miserable hut, about a mile from the landing called after him, in a valley containing about two acres of ground capable of cultivation, and perhaps the only spot on the island which affords sufficient moisture for the purpose. Here he succeeded in raising potatoes and pumpkins in considerable quantities, which he generally exchanged for rum, or sold for cash. The appearance of this man, from the accounts I have received of him, was the most dreadful that can be imagined; ragged clothes, scarce sufficient to cover his nakedness, and covered with vermin; his red hair and beard matted, his skin much burnt, from constant exposure to the sun, and so wild and savage in his manner and appearance, that he struck every one with horror. For several years this wretched being lived by himself on this desolate spot, without any apparent desire than that of procuring rum in sufficient quantities to keep himself intoxicated, and, at

such times, after an absence from his hut of several days, he would be found in a state of perfect insensibility, rolling among the rocks of the mountains. He appeared to be reduced to the lowest grade of which human nature is capable, and seemed to have no desire beyond the tortoises and other animals of the islands, except that of getting drunk. But this man, wretched and miserable as he may have appeared, was neither destitute of ambition, nor incapable of undertaking an enterprise that would have appalled the heart of any other man; nor was he devoid of the talent of rousing others to second his hardihood.

He by some means became possessed of an old musket, and a few charges of powder and ball; and the possession of this weapon probably first stimulated his ambition. He felt himself strong as the sovereign of the island, and was desirous of proving his strength on the first human being that fell in his way, which happened to be a negro, who was left in charge of a boat belonging to an American ship that had touched there for refreshments. Patrick came down to the beach where the boat lay, armed with his musket, now become his constant companion, directed the negro, in an authoritative manner, to follow him, and on his refusing, snapped his musket at him twice, which luckily missed fire. The negro, however, became intimidated, and followed him. Patrick now shouldered his musket, marched off before, and on his way up the mountains exultingly informed the negro, he was henceforth to work for him, and become his slave, and that his good or bad treatment would depend on his future conduct. On arriving at a narrow defile, and perceiving Patrick off his guard, the negro seized the moment, grasped him in his arms, threw him down, tied his hands behind him, shouldered him, and carried him to his boat, and when the crew had arrived he was taken on board the ship. An English smuggler was lying in the harbour at the same time, the captain of which sentenced Patrick to be severely whipped on board both vessels, which was put in execution, and he was afterwards taken on shore handcuffed by the Englishmen, who compelled him to make known where he had concealed the few dollars he had been enabled to accumulate from the sale of his potatoes and pumpkins, which they took from him. But while they were busy in destroying his hut and garden, the wretched being made his escape, and concealed himself among the rocks in the interior of the island, until the ship had sailed, when he ventured from his hiding place, and by means of an old file, which he drove into a tree, freed himself from the handcuffs. He now meditated a severe revenge, but concealed his intentions. Vessels continued to touch there, and Patrick, as usual, to furnish them with vegetables; but from time to time he was enabled, by administering potent draughts of his darning

liquor to some of the men of their crews, and getting them so drunk that they were rendered insensible, to conceal them until the ship had sailed; when, finding themselves entirely dependent on him, they willingly enlisted under his banners, became his slaves, and he the most absolute of tyrants. By this means he had augmented the number to five, including himself, and every means was used by him to endeavour to procure arms for them, but without effect. It is supposed that his object was to have surprised some vessel, massacred her crew, and taken her off. While Patrick was meditating his plans, two ships, an American and an English vessel, touched there, and applied to Patrick for vegetables. He promised them the greatest abundance, provided they would send their boats to his landing, and their people to bring them from his garden, informing them that his rascals had become so indolent of late, that he could not get them to work. This arrangement was agreed to; two boats were sent from each vessel, and hauled on the beach. Their crews all went to Patrick's habitation, but neither he nor any of his people were to be found; and, after waiting until their patience was exhausted, they returned to the beach, where they found only the wreck of three of their boats, which were broken to pieces, and the fourth one missing. They succeeded, however, after much difficulty, in getting round to the bay opposite to their ships, where other boats were sent to their relief; and the commanders of the ships, apprehensive of some other trick, saw no security except in a flight from the island, leaving Patrick and his gang in quiet possession of the boat. But before they sailed, they put a letter in a keg, giving intelligence of the affair, and moored it in the bay, where it was found by Captain Randall, but not until he had sent his boat to Patrick's landing, for the purpose of procuring refreshments; and, as may be easily supposed, he felt no little inquietude until her return, when she brought him a letter from Patrick to the following purport, which was found in his hut:

SIR,

I have made repeated applications to captains of vessels to sell me a boat, or to take me from this place, but in every instance met with a refusal. An opportunity presented itself to possess myself of one, and I took advantage of it. I have been a long time endeavouring, by hard labour and suffering, to accumulate wherewith to make myself comfortable; but at different times have been robbed and maltreated, and in a late instance by Captain Paddock, whose conduct in punishing me, and robbing me of about five hundred dollars, in cash and other articles, neither agrees with the principles he professes, nor is it such as his sleek coat would lead one to expect.

On the 29th of May, 1809, I sail from the enchanted island in the *Black Prince*, bound to the Marquesas.

Do not kill the old hen ; she is now sitting, and will soon have chickens. (Signed) FATHERLESS OBERLUS.

Patrick arrived alone at Guayaquil in his open boat, the rest who sailed with him having perished for want of water, or, as is generally supposed, were put to death by him on his finding the water to grow scarce. From thence he proceeded to Payta, where he wound himself into the affection of a tawny damsel, and prevailed on her to consent to accompany him back to his enchanted island, the beauties of which he no doubt painted in glowing colours ; but, from his savage appearance, he was there considered by the police as a suspicious person, and being found under the keel of a small vessel then ready to be launched, and suspected of some improper intentions, he was confined in Payta gaol, in 1810. *

If Patrick should be liberated from durance, and arrive with his love at this enchanting spot, perhaps (when neither he nor the Gallipagos are any longer remembered) some future navigator may surprise the world by a discovery of them, and his accounts of the strange people with which they may probably be inhabited. From the source from which they shall have sprung, it does not seem unlikely that they will have one trait in their character which is common to the natives of all the islands in the Pacific, a disposition to appropriate to themselves the property of others.

We were little prepared to meet our second disappointment, in not finding vessels at Charles' Island, but consoled ourselves with the reflection that we should now soon arrive at Albermarle, and that in Banks' Bay, the general rendezvous, find an ample reward for all our loss of time, sufferings, and disappointments. As we had a fine breeze from the east, I made all sail, steering west from Charles' Island, to make the south head of Albermarle, which was distant from us about forty-five miles, and in the morning found ourselves nearly up with it. I took my boat and proceeded to Essex point, where I arrived in about two hours after leaving the ship, and found in a small bay, behind some rocks which terminate the point, a very good landing, where we went on shore, and to our great surprise and no little alarm, on entering the bushes, found myriads of guanas, of an enormous size and the most hideous appearance imaginable. The rocks forming the cove were also covered with them, and, from their taking to the water very readily, we were induced to believe them a distinct species from those found among the keys of the West Indies. In some spots half an acre of ground would be

so completely covered with them as to appear as though it was impossible for another to get in the space; they would all keep their eyes fixed constantly on us, and we at first supposed them prepared to attack us. We soon, however, discovered them to be the most timid of animals, and in a few moments knocked down hundreds of them with our clubs, some of which we brought on board, and found to be excellent eating, and many preferred them greatly to turtle.

We found on the beach a few seals, and one fine large green turtle; but as the boat was small, and the distance to row very great, I concluded on leaving it, as I did not wish to encumber her with its weight. Several of the seals were killed by our men, and proved of that kind which do not produce the fur. Nothing can be more sluggish nor more inactive than this animal while on the sand; it appears incapable of making any exertions whatever to escape those in pursuit of it, and quietly waits the blow which terminates its existence. A small blow on the nose will kill them in an instant; but when they are in the water, or even on the rocks, nothing can exceed their activity: they seem then to be a different animal altogether; shy, cunning, and very alert in pursuit of their prey, and in avoiding pursuit; they are then very difficult to take. We also found plenty of birds called shags, which did not appear alarmed in the slightest degree at our approach, and numbers of them were knocked down by our people with clubs, and taken on board. These, with the exception of some other aquatic birds, and some large lizards with red heads, and a species of crab, were the only animals we found on this spot. The rocks were every where covered with seals, penguins, guanias, and pelicans; and the sea filled with green turtle, which might have been taken with the greatest ease, had we been enabled to take them into our boat; for we sometimes rowed right against them, without their making any exertion to get out of our way. Multitudes of enormous sharks were swimming about us, and from time to time caused us no little uneasiness, from the ferocious manner in which they came at the boat and snapped at our oars; for she was of the lightest construction, with remarkably thin plank, and a gripe from one of those would have torn them from her timbers. but we guarded as much as lay in our power against the danger, by thrusting boarding-pikes into them as they came up.

Where we landed, the shore was moderately low, the soil apparently rich and moist, and the vegetation luxuriant, many of the trees being thirty feet in height, the underwood being very thick, and putting forth vigorously, and the grass as high as a man's middle. The rain appeared to be falling in torrents on the high lands, but we could see nothing that indicated the

neighbourhood of a stream of water. From the landing to Point Christopher, the shores are bounded by precipices of several hundred feet in height, which are regularly formed of strata of stones and earth, as if they had been laid by the most expert mason. The strata of stones and earth are each about two feet in thickness, and, from the base to the summit of the precipice, are laid with surprising regularity, in lines perfectly straight and parallel.

Perceiving a breeze springing up, I hastened on board, (for I had objects in view of more importance than examining the rocky coast of this dreary place, or catching guanas and seals,) where, on my arrival, I caused all sail to be made, and shaped my course for Narborough Island, which now began to show itself open with Point Christopher. In its appearance it bears some resemblance to a turtle's back. I was in hopes that the breeze would carry us clear of the northern point of that island before day-light, in order that we might have the whole of the next day for securing our prizes in Banks' Bay, which lies between Narborough and the south head of Albemarle, Cape Berkley. The Island of Albemarle is formed something like a crescent, the convex side lying to the west; and Narborough Island, which is nearly round, lies in the bend, forming Banks' Bay on the north and Elizabeth Bay on the south, leaving a safe passage inside from one bay to the other. To Banks' Bay the fishermen resort every year, between March and July, to take the whale, which come in there in great numbers at that season, in pursuit of the squid or cuttle fish, which are brought into the eddy formed there by the rapid currents that prevail. In this bay vessels are enabled to keep their stations, notwithstanding the currents and calms which prevail, and frequently lie for months between what is called the Turtle's Nose of Narborough and the North Head, without once being swept out.

We had all along calculated on reaping a rich harvest from the enemy at the Gallipagos Islands. It was the constant subject of our conversation and solicitude, and every scheme was adopted that could prove likely to secure to us every vessel in the bay, and we did not calculate on a number less than ten or twelve. Indeed, we calculated on making more prizes there than we could man, and hoped to be thus indemnified for all loss of time, fatigues, and anxieties. However, the anxiety to know as soon as possible our success or disappointment, induced me to dispatch Lieutenant Downes to take a look round the point of Narborough, and reconnoitre the bay; for the ships had been swept by the current, during the night, into Elizabeth Bay; and, as the wind was very light, we made very little head-way.

At one o'clock in the morning, Lieutenant Downes returned to the ship, which he was enabled to find by means of flashes made

from time to time by us. He reported that he did not arrive at the north point of Narborough or Turtle's Nose, until near sundown, and that he could perceive no vessels in the bay; but observed, at the same time, that the weather was hazy, and as the bay is about thirty-five miles from side to side, and about the same depth, it was possible for vessels to have been there without his being able to observe them. We did not wish to believe that the bay was destitute of vessels; and while there was room to build a hope of meeting the enemy, we kept our spirits up with the expectation of finding them, either in the bay, or at anchor in a cove called the Basin, on the Albemarle side of the passage between Elizabeth and Banks' Bay, where the whalers frequently go to refit and wood, and get tortoises. Here, at times, a small quantity of fresh water may be obtained, but never more than sixty gallons per day, and seldom so large a quantity, and this only after heavy rains. Lieutenant Downes brought with him several turtle of a very large size, and different in their appearance either from the green, hawks-bill, loggerhead, or trunk turtle. They were shaped much like the green turtle, but were of a black, disagreeable appearance and smell.

On doubling the point of Narborough, our yards were completely manned by seamen and officers, whose anxiety had taken them aloft, all examining strictly every part of the bay, but could discover no vessels. At length the cry of *sail ho!* and shortly afterwards another, seemed to electrify every man on board, and it seemed now as if all our hopes and expectations were to be realized. But in a few minutes those illusory prospects vanished, and as sudden dejection, proceeding from disappointment, took place; for the supposed sails proved to be only white appearances on the shore. Still, however, we did not despair; we had not yet examined the basin; perhaps it might contain some vessels; and, as we were now only about five miles from it, Lieutenant Downes was dispatched to reconnoitre, as well as to see if it was a suitable situation for us to refit the ship, fill up our wood, and what quantity of water could there be obtained. He did not get in until after sundown, and returned to the ship at one o'clock in the morning; and, to complete our disappointment, reported that he had seen no vessels. To remove all doubts in my mind, I determined to visit it myself; and, as the moon was now rising, directed my boat to be prepared, and started from the ship, arriving at the basin at sunrise, which I found every thing that could be desired to afford perfect security for a ship of the largest size. The art of man could not have formed a more beautiful basin, which is at the entrance about three cables' length over, and gradually enlarges to five cables' length, terminating in a round bottom. The whole is surrounded by high cliffs, except

at the very bottom, where is the only landing for boats, at a small ravine, having three fathoms water along side of the rocks, which from every side to the middle, gradually deepens to twelve fathoms, and has every where a clear, dark, sandy bottom, free from rocks and every other danger. Vessels should moor here head and stern, and when bound in should keep mid-channel, and choose their distance from the shore and depth of water. But as they may be liable to be deceived from the great height of the hills, it would be advisable to send in a boat to anchor a buoy at the spot where the ship should let go her anchor. We saw here an abundance of fish and green turtle, and on landing found both the sea and land guanas, lizards, a small grey snake, and a variety of birds; also, trees of a considerable size, which would afford wood for shipping, and among them a species, from which oozed a resinous substance, in very large quantities, dripping from the trunk and limbs. This tree produces a fruit nearly as large as a cherry; it was then green, and had a very aromatic smell and taste.

On our return we perceived a little moisture on a flat rock, about half a mile from the mouth of the basin, and with much difficulty I succeeded in landing. This I found to be the watering-place we were in search of. In this rock I found four holes, each about 14 inches square, and from six to seven deep, which had apparently been cut by some person with a pickaxe, for the purpose of catching the water as it dripped from the rocks above. The whole island is a light and thirsty soil, composed entirely of volcanic matter, and probably owes its origin to no distant period, for the volcanic cinders and other appearances lying on every part of the surface, as well as the innumerable craters, and hills composed of ashes and lava, all apparently fresh, and in most parts destitute of verdure, sufficiently prove that they have not long been thrown from the bowels of the ocean. These thirsty mountains, like a sponge, soak from the passing clouds the moisture, which serves to keep alive the scanty vegetation scattered over their sides; but they permit none of it to escape in springs or streams of water, for the support of animal life. On the side of a rock at this watering-place, we found the names of several English and American ships cut, whose crews had been there; and but a short distance from thence was erected a hut, built of loose stones, but destitute of a roof. In the neighbourhood of it were scattered, in considerable quantities, the bones and shells of land and sea tortoises. This I afterwards understood was the work of a wretched English sailor, who had been landed there by his captain, destitute of every thing, for having used some insulting language to him. Here he existed near a year on land tortoises and guanas, and his sole de-

pendence for water was on the precarious supply he could get from the drippings of the rocks; at length, finding that no one was likely to come to take him from thence, and fearful of perishing for the want of water, he formed a determination to attempt at all hazards getting into Banks' Bay, where the ships cruise for whales. With this view he provided himself with two seal skins, with which, blown up, he formed a float; and, after hazarding destruction from the sharks, which frequently attacked his vessel, and which he kept off with the stick that served him as a paddle, he succeeded at length in getting alongside an American ship early in the morning, where his unexpected arrival not only surprised but alarmed the crew. His appearance was scarcely human; clothed in the skins of seals, his countenance haggard, thin, and emaciated, his beard and hair long and matted, they supposed him a being from another world. The commander of the vessel where he arrived felt a great sympathy for his sufferings, and determined for the moment to bring to punishment the villain who had, by thus cruelly exposing the life of a fellow-being, violated every principle of humanity; but from some cause or other he was prevented from carrying into effect his laudable intentions, and to this day the poor sailor has not had justice done him.

At day-light on the morning of the 29th, I was roused from my cot, where I passed a sleepless and anxious night, by the cry of "*sail ho!*" "*sail ho!*" which was re-echoed through the ship, and in a moment all hands were on deck. The strange sail proved to be a large ship, bearing west, to which we gave chase; and in an hour afterwards we discovered two others, bearing southwest, equally large in their appearance. I had no doubt of their being British whale-ships; and as I was certain that toward mid-day, as usual, it would fall calm, I felt confident we should succeed in taking the whole of them. I continued my pursuit of the first discovered vessel, and at nine o'clock spoke her under British colours. She proved to be the British whale-ship *Montezuma*, Captain Baxter, with one thousand four hundred barrels of spermaceti oil. I invited the captain on board; and while he was in my cabin, giving me such information as was in his power respecting the other whale-ships about the Gallipagos, I took his crew on board the *Essex*, put an officer and crew in the *Montezuma*, and continued in pursuit of the other vessels, which made all exertions to get from us. At eleven A. M., according to my expectations, it fell calm; we were then at the distance of eight miles from them. I had reason from the information obtained, to believe them to be the British armed whale-ships *Georgiana*, of six eighteen-pounders, and the *Policy*, of ten six-pounders, the one having on board thirty-five, and the other twenty-six men; but that they were British ships, there could not be a doubt, and we were determined to have them at all hazards. Thick and

hazy weather is prevalent here, and, as there was every indication of it, I was fearful that, in the event of a breeze, one or the other of them might make its escape from us, as I had understood that they were reputed fast sailers. I therefore thought it adviseable to attempt them in our boats, and with this view had them prepared for the purpose, and in a few minutes they departed in two divisions. Lieut. Downes, in the whale boat, commanded the first division, consisting of the third cutter, Lieutenant M'Knight, jollyboat, sailing-master Cowell, and second cutter, Midshipman Isaacs; and Lieutenant Wilmer, in the pinnace, commanding the second division, consisting of the 1st cutter, Lieutenant Wilson, and gig, lieutenant Gamble of the marines. The heavy rowing boats occasioned considerable delay to the whole, as I had given the most positive orders that the boats should be brought into action all together, and that no officer should take advantage of the fleetness of his boat to proceed a-head of the rest, believing that some of them, from their extreme anxiety to join with the enemy, might be so imprudent as to do so. At two o'clock, the boats were about a mile from the vessels, (which were about a quarter of a mile apart,) when they hoisted English colours and fired several guns. The boats now formed in one division, and pulled for the largest ship, which, as they approached, kept her guns trained on them. The signal was made for boarding; and, when lieutenant Downes arrived within a few yards of her gangway, and directed them to surrender, the colours were hauled down. They now proceeded for the other vessel, after leaving an officer and some men on board, and as soon as she was hailed, she followed the example of the first by striking her colours. Shortly afterwards a breeze sprung up, the prizes bore down for us, and we welcomed the safe return of our shipmates with three hearty cheers. The captured vessels proved to be as I had expected, the Georgiana, Captain Pitts, of two hundred and eighty tons, and the Policy of two hundred and seventy-five tons; and these three vessels, which we had taken with so little trouble, were estimated to be worth in England upwards of half a million of dollars.

The possession of these vessels, besides the great satisfaction it produced, was attended by another advantage of no less importance, as it relieved all our wants except one, to wit, the want of water. From them we obtained an abundant supply of cordage, canvas, paints, tar, and every other article necessary for the ship, of all of which she stood in great need, as her slender stock brought from America had now become worn out and useless. Besides the articles necessary for the ship, we became supplied with a stock of provisions, as those vessels when they sailed from England were provided with provisions and stores for upwards of three years, and had not yet consumed half their stock. They

had been in at James' Island, and had supplied themselves abundantly with those extraordinary animals the tortoises of the Gallipagos, which properly deserve the name of the elephant tortoise.

Many of these tortoises were of a size to weigh upwards of three hundred weight; and nothing, perhaps, can be more disagreeable or clumsy than they are in their external appearance. Their motion resembles strongly that of the elephant; their steps slow, regular, and heavy; they carry their body about a foot from the ground, and their legs and feet bear no slight resemblance to the animal to which I have likened them; their neck is from eighteen inches to two feet in length, and very slender; their head is proportioned to it, and strongly resembles that of a serpent. But what seems the most extraordinary in this animal, is the length of time that it can exist without food; for I have been well assured, that they have been piled away among casks in the hold of a ship, where they have been kept eighteen months, and when killed at the expiration of that time, were found to have suffered no diminution in fatness or excellence. They carry with them a constant supply of water, in a bag at the root of the neck, which contains about two gallons: and on tasting that found in those we killed on board, it proved perfectly fresh and sweet. They are very restless when exposed to the light and heat of the sun, but will lie in the dark from one year's end to the other without moving. In the day-time they appear remarkably quick-sighted and timid, drawing their head into their shell on the slightest motion of any object; but they are entirely destitute of hearing, as the loudest noise, even the firing of a gun, does not seem to alarm them in the slightest degree, and at night, or in the dark they appear perfectly blind.

On examining the *Georgiana*, I found her not only a noble ship, but well calculated for a cruiser; I therefore

determined to equip and arm her completely, and mounted on her the ten guns of the *Policy*, making her whole number now sixteen, to which were added two swivels, and a number of heavy blunderbusses mounted on swivels, as well as all the muskets, pistols, cutlasses, and other military equipments we could find on board the other vessels. By these means rendering her as formidable, in point of armament, as any of the British letters of marque I could hear of in this ocean. The command of this vessel, now completely equipped for war, I gave to Lieutenant Downes, with a crew consisting of thirty-six of our own men, and five of the men who had entered from prizes, making her number altogether forty-one men. We now considered the sloop of war *Georgiana*, as she was styled, no trifling augmentation of our own force. But, taken in another point of view, she was of the utmost importance to our safety; for, in the event of any accident happening to the *Essex*, a circumstance to which she was every moment liable, while cruising in a sea with which we were little acquainted, we could calculate on relief from the *Georgiana*. On the 8th she hoisted the American ensign and pendant, and saluted the *Essex* with seventeen guns, which was returned by our crew with three cheers.

CHAPTER VII.

Gallipagos Islands; Fishery.

ON the 9th of May, we were, by lunar observation, in the longitude of $89^{\circ} 12'$ west; and on the meridian of the same day in latitude $1^{\circ} 18' 27''$ north. I found we were daily losing ground by the violence of the northwest currents, and believed that we should make more head-way by taking the dullest sailer, the *Montezuma*, in tow. But after getting a hawser fast to her, we found that the best sailers, with all the canvas they could spread, could not keep way with us, and we were frequently obliged to shorten sail for them to come up.

At four o'clock on the evening of the 12th, we very unexpectedly discovered land ahead, and on the weather bow. The wind continuing light and baffling during the night, we kept plying to the southward, and in our endeavours were greatly assisted by a strong current. In the morning we were about four leagues distant from an island of considerable height in the middle, gradually sloping off every way to long low points, and bounded on every part (within sight) by fine long sandy beaches. The island appeared covered with verdure, and had a very agreeable and inviting appearance. I at first supposed it to be James'

Island, as did all the prisoners who were acquainted with its appearance; but they all declared, that although it had some resemblance to that island, they could not recollect the sandy beaches and fine bays with which this appeared indented. As I could not find any correspondence between the position of this and other islands in sight, with those laid down on Colnet's chart, the only one which has been drawn of the Gallipagos, I felt myself much staggered in the belief of this being James'; but though it is not unlikely that the want of correspondence might be owing to the general incorrectness of the chart, as we have found it filled with errors, none of the islands being laid down agreeable to their true position: nor are the shores of any of them correctly traced; and there are also many islands in this group not noticed in his chart. But it is not to be wondered at that Captain Colnet did not make a correct chart of the Gallipagos, as he merely sailed around the group, without passing through it; and had he even passed, as we have done, twice through them, strong currents and foggy weather would have tended greatly to mislead his judgment, and baffle all calculation as to distance.

I now bore away for Charles' Island, where I anchored at four P. M., in eight fathoms water, at the distance of one and a half miles of the long sandy beach within the reef, the Devil's Rock, or Rock Dismal, bearing E. N. E., and the west point of the island S. W. by S.; the bottom, however, appeared rocky, and on a closer examination of the harbour, I found we should have lain in deeper water, with much better shelter and bottom, closer in shore. The prizes and Barclay followed us in, and anchored between us and the beach.

Early in the morning of the third day of our arrival, a sail was discovered to the westward, standing in for the island. I immediately caused preparation to be made for sending the boats after her, as the wind was very light; but on her nearer approach, when she made her private signal, discovered it to be the Georgiana. Her arrival, although unexpected, gave me much pleasure; and on Lieutenant Downes coming on board, he informed me, that, on doubling the southwest part of the island which we had supposed to be James', he had discovered several other small islands, and had experienced rapid currents, which had put the safety of the ship in jeopardy, as they had swept him very near to a high rock, which lies in a passage of about two miles wide, formed by the southwest part of the island and another smaller island. He had felt the same embarrassments as myself with respect to the island, and it was with no little difficulty that he extricated himself from the dangers of rocks and breakers, with which he was environed in this unknown navigation. After getting clear of them, and finding himself in the

neighbourhood of Charles' Island, he had determined to look in there before going to Albemarle, in hopes of meeting a prize, little expecting to find me there at anchor.

After Lieutenant Downes had been with me a short time, I dispatched him to Albemarle, in pursuit of the stranger who had touched at the island before us, directing him to stop at Charles' Island as soon afterwards as possible, and, should he not find me there, to search at the foot of the stake to which the letter-box is attached, where I should bury a bottle containing instructions for him.

The cotton plant was found growing spontaneously, and a tree of a very aromatic flavour and taste, which was no other than the one formerly mentioned, found on the island of Albemarle, and producing in large quantities, a resinous substance. This Mr. Adams declared was the alcornoque, so famous for the cure of consumptions, and is probably the same as that mentioned by Colnet, and called by him the algarrooa.

The only quadrupeds found on the island were tortoises, lizards, and a few sea guanas; the land guana was not to be found. Doves peculiar to these islands, of a small size, and beautiful plumage, were very numerous, and afforded great amusement to the younger part of the crew in killing them with sticks and stones, which was nowise difficult, as they were very tame. The English mocking-bird was also found in great numbers, and a small blackbird, with a remarkably short and strong bill, and a shrill note. These were the only birds except aquatic found here; the latter were not numerous, and consisted of teal, which frequented a lagoon on the east part of the bay, pelicans, boobies, and other birds common to all the islands of these seas. Sea turtles and seals were scarce and shy.

From this island, James', Albemarle, Norfolk, Barrington, Crossman's, Charles', and many others, were to be seen; but we could perceive none that bore the slightest resemblance, in position or appearance, to those called, by Captain Colnet, Duncan's and Jarvis' Islands. As this island was now destitute of a name, and he could perceive no traces of its having been visited before, he highly complimented me, by giving it the name of Porter's Island.

The southwest landing of this island is in latitude $0^{\circ} 42' 14''$ south, longitude $90^{\circ} 27' 9''$ west.

The northwest landing is in latitude $0^{\circ} 32' 40''$ south, longitude $90^{\circ} 23' 54''$ west.

The northeast landing is in latitude $0^{\circ} 31' 12''$ south, longitude $90^{\circ} 12' 45''$ west.

On the afternoon of the 28th, as we were standing to the northward with the Montezuma in tow, the Barclay looking out

on our starboard, and the Policy on our larboard quarter, the men on the look-out on board the Essex discovered a sail right ahead, and immediately the Montezuma was cast off, and all sail made in chase. At sunset we could see her plainly from deck, and, as she was standing from us with all the sail she could crowd, I entertained no hopes of coming up with her in the night. I directed three of the fastest rowing boats to be manned with as many armed men as they could carry, and to proceed, under the command of Lieutenant Wilmer, to the Montezuma, with orders to take three of that ship's boats, and before night to proceed to take his station astern of the stranger, so that he could keep sight of him, placing the other in a line astern of him, so that a communication could be had by signal from the headmost boat to the Montezuma, and from thence to the Essex. By this arrangement I hoped to be guided by flashes in my pursuit of the enemy, and prevent the probability of his escaping. I directed Lieutenant Wilmer not to make any attack on her, unless it should prove perfectly calm, and then to row up with muffled oars, and board her by surprise. To prevent any other mode of attack being made, I allowed them no other arms than a pistol, cutlass, and boarding-axe, each.

We were soon alongside of him, when I hoisted English colours, and directed her commander to come on board, which order was soon complied with, when at this instant another strange sail was descried from the mast-head. A few men were taken out of our prize, which proved to be the British letter of marque ship Atlantic, Obadiah Wier master, employed in whaling, and mounting six guns, (eighteen pounders.) As soon as the Montezuma came up, I threw some men on board the Atlantic, with Lieutenant M'Knight, and sent her in pursuit of the other stranger to the north-west, while I steered more northerly; for, as the Atlantic was reputed the fastest sailer in those seas, I had no doubt, by this means, of rendering her capture certain. We were soon convinced that the Atlantic deserved her character for sailing, as during the chase we had very little advantage of her, notwithstanding we had all the sail we could carry, and she the whole time without her studding-sails, having none bent. Night was now fast approaching; we were doubtful whether we were near enough to keep sight of our new chase, which our prisoners informed us was another British letter of marque. As it grew dark, we once lost sight of her; but we soon discovered her again by means of our night-glasses, and on her heaving about to elude us, on the supposition that we could no longer see her, we soon got alongside of her, and on firing a shot at her, she hove to. I directed her commander to repair on board, which he refused to do until he knew who we were. I now perceived by his lights

that he was prepared for action, and fired one shot between his masts to intimidate him, threatening him with a broadside if he did not repair on board immediately. This had the desired effect, as he soon came on board, prepared to meet in us an enemy. This vessel proved to be the British letter of marque ship *Greenwich*, of ten guns, a prime sailer, employed in the whale fishery. Her captain had taken in a good stock of Dutch courage, and, from the preparations that were made on board his vessel, there could be no doubt of his intentions to have fired into us, had he not been intimidated by the shot we gave him between his masts.

I must here observe, that the captain of the *Atlantic*, (an American from Nantucket, where he has a wife and family,) on his first coming on board the *Essex*, expressed his extreme pleasure on finding (as he supposed we were) an English frigate in those seas. He informed me that he had sailed from England under convoy of the *Java* frigate, and had put into port *Praya* a few days after the *Essex*, an American frigate, had left there; that the *Java* had sailed immediately in pursuit of her, and that it was the general belief the *Essex* had gone around the Cape of Good Hope. He parted with the *Java* after crossing the line, and on his arrival at Conception, heard she had been sunk off *Bahia* by the American frigate *Constitution*. On enquiry respecting the American vessels in the South Seas, he informed me that about Conception was the best place to cruise for them, for he had left at that place nine of them in an unprotected and defenceless state, and entirely at a loss what to do with themselves; that they were almost daily arriving there, and that he had no doubt, by going off there, we should be enabled to take the most of them. I asked him how he reconciled it to himself to sail from England under the British flag, and in an armed ship, after hostilities had taken place between the two countries. He said he found no difficulty in reconciling it to himself; for, although he was born in America, he was an Englishman at heart. This man appeared the polished gentleman in his manners, but evidently possessed a corrupt heart, and, like all other renegades, was desirous of doing his native country all the injury in his power, with the hope of thereby ingratiating himself with his new friends. I permitted him to remain in his error some time, but at length introduced to him the captains of the *Montezuma* and *Georgiana*, who soon undeceived him with respect to our being an English frigate. I had felt great pity for these two last gentlemen, and had made the evils of war bear as light on them as possible, by purchasing of them, for the use of the crew, their private adventures, consisting of slop-clothing, tobacco, and spirits, for which they were sincerely grateful. But towards this man I could not feel the same favourable disposition, nor could I con-

ceal my indignation at his conduct. He endeavoured to do away the impression his conduct had made, by artfully putting the case to myself; and with a view of rendering him easy, as I did not wish to triumph over the wretch, I informed him that I was willing to make some allowances for his conduct.

After the capture of the *Greenwich*, I informed her commander, John Shuttleworth, as well as Obadiah Wier, of the *Atlantic*, that I felt every disposition to act generously towards them. Shuttleworth was however so much intoxicated, and his language so insulting, that it was with difficulty I could refrain from turning him out of my cabin. Wier was more reserved during my presence there; but, duty requiring me on deck, he, in the presence of some of the officers, used the most bitter invectives against the government of the United States; and he, as well as Shuttleworth, consoled themselves with the pleasing hope, that British frigates would soon be sent to chastise us for our temerity in venturing so far from home. They were at length, however, shown to the apartment allotted them, where feeling, in some measure, restraint removed, they gave full vent to their anger, and indulged in the most abusive language against our government, the ship and her officers, lavishing on me in particular the most scurrilous epithets, and giving me appellations that would have suited a buccanier. They really appeared to have forgotten they were prisoners and in my power, and that it would be more to their advantage to trust entirely to my generosity, than to irritate me by such unprovoked abuse. However, I determined next day to make them sensible of the impropriety of their conduct, and did so without violating either the principles of humanity or the rules of war. I let them feel that they were dependent entirely on my generosity; and this haughty Englishman, who thought to have terrified us with the name of a Briton, and this renegado, who would have sacrificed the interests of his country, were now so humbled by a sense of their own conduct, and of what they merited, that they would have licked the dust from my feet, had it been required of them to do so.

The whole of the next day was occupied in arranging the crews of our new prizes, and getting the baggage of the prisoners out of them. It afforded me no small degree of pleasure to discover, that the *Atlantic* had on board about one hundred tons of water, an article of more value to us than any thing else; for we scarcely had water remaining on board our own ship, to take us even to the island of Cocos. Some of our prizes were very far short of the necessary supply; and none of the others had more than sufficient to answer their purpose. It was also a consolation to find, that by these two last vessels we had obtained the most abundant supply of provisions of every description, and naval

stores, such as cordage, canvas, paints, tar, &c. &c., more than we required; also seamen's clothing in considerable quantities, and of a superior quality, for our people. As these vessels had been only a few days from James' Island, we found on board them eight hundred tortoises of a very large size, and sufficient to furnish all the ships with fresh provisions for one month.

Our fleet now consisted of six sail of vessels, without including the Georgiana. On board of the last captured vessels I put a sufficient number of men to fight their guns, giving lieutenant M'Knight charge of the Atlantic, and, for want of sea officers, I put Lieutenant Gamble of the marines in charge of the Greenwich. I had much confidence in the discretion of this gentleman; and, to make up for his want of nautical knowledge, I put two expert seamen with him as mates, one of whom was a good navigator.

Volunteers continued to offer from the captured vessels, and my whole effective force in those seas now consisted of

The Essex,	mounting 46 guns,	and 245 men,
Georgiana,	16 do.	42 do.
Atlantic,	6 do.	12 do.
Greenwich,	10 do.	14 do.
Montezuma,	2 do.	10 do.
Policy,		10 do.

Making in all 80 guns, 333 men; together with one midshipman and six men on board the Barclay. My prisoners amounted in number to eighty; but as I had divided them among the different ships, allowing them full allowance of provisions on condition of their giving their assistance in working, we found them as useful as our own men in navigating the prizes. Thus our whole number, including the prisoners, amounted to four hundred and twenty, and all in good health, with the exception of some of the latter, who were slightly affected with the scurvy.

It seems somewhat extraordinary, that British seamen should carry with them a propensity to desert even into merchant vessels, sailing under the flag of their nation, and under circumstances so terrifying. But yet I am informed that their desertion while at Charles' Island has been very common, even when there was no prospect whatever of obtaining water but from the bowels of the tortoises. This can only be attributed to that tyranny so prevalent on board their ships of war, which has crept into their merchant vessels, and is there aped by their commanders. Now mark the difference. While the Essex lay at Charles' Island, one fourth of her crew was every day on shore, and all the prisoners who chose to go; I even lent the latter boats, whenever they

wished it, to go for their amusement to the other side of the island. No one attempted to desert, or to make his escape; whenever a gun was fired every man repaired to the beach, and no one was ever missing when the signal was made.

On the 6th June we were abreast the island of Narborough, and in the afternoon saw a thick column of smoke rising rapidly, as from its centre, ascending to a great height in the air, where it spread off in large white curls, and presented to us a grand and majestic spectacle. We soon discovered that one of the numerous volcanoes had burst forth; but there were various opinions as to its situation. Some supposed it to be on Narborough, others to the east of Narborough, and on the island of Albemarle. I was of the latter opinion, which was confirmed next day, when we had changed our position. At night the whole atmosphere was illuminated by it; and yet we could perceive neither flames nor sparks thrown out by the crater. I am induced to believe the irruption was of short continuance, as, on the night of the 7th, I could perceive no appearance of it, although our distance, I should have supposed, would have admitted of our seeing it, had it not become extinct.

The winds now began to freshen from the southeast, and gave us at length some hope of getting from those islands, where we had been so long and unexpectedly delayed by calms and currents. The Spaniards call them the Enchanted Islands, probably from the great difficulty vessels have found in getting from among them. The title seems well applied, and is such a one as I should have felt disposed to give them, had they been destitute of a name. We have been since the 18th April among them, and the greatest part of the time making every effort in our power to escape; and although good fortune in making prizes has well rewarded us for the time we have spent, still I think it not unlikely we should have been equally successful on the coast of Peru, had we been enabled to return there.

At each end of the longest beach, or landing-place, opposite the anchorage, in Essex Bay, is a deep ravine, formed by the torrents of water which come, during the heavy rains, from the mountains, and are bedded with a hard and porous kind of rock, or lava. We ascended each of those, to the distance of from one and a half to two miles, where we found small hollows, containing, some half a barrel of water, and others more, but seldom any that contained more than six or seven barrels.

It may also be necessary to describe particularly the route to the springs, in order that it may be found by those who have not been there before. On the west part of the island, about six miles from Essex Bay, is a dark sandy beach, called by the whalers, by way of distinction, the Black Beach, opposite to which is an anchorage

for vessels, though much exposed to the prevalent winds, and to a heavy swell which is setting in there, and I have reason to believe the bottom is foul, therefore do not consider it by any means a safe anchorage. From the aforesaid beach is a pathway, much trodden, which leads directly to the springs; and this pathway once found, there can be no difficulty in finding them. They are about three miles distant from the shore, and an abundance of water was to be had when we were there. The road here is the best in the island, though in many places steep and difficult.

CHAPTER VIII.

Arrival at Tumbez; Return to the Gallipagos.

WE passed on the 8th of June to the northward of Abington island, and from thence made the best of our way for the river Tumbez, intending, however, to touch at the island of La Plata on my way there, to leave a letter for Lieutenant Downes.

On the night of the 16th discovered the land a-head, bearing S. by E; and as we had, the preceding day, been beating up along shore, I had expected in the morning to be up with the island of La Plata. At this place, it is said, Admiral Drake anchored, and divided his plunder; and as it was reported to be a place little frequented, and furnishing both hogs and goats, I believed (should it answer the description given of it) that it would be an admirable place for a rendezvous. All British, and indeed other vessels, bound either from the Gallipagos to Tumbez, as well as those from Mexico, Panama, &c. &c., and bound to the south, pass within sight of this island, as indeed do those bound to the north from Lima and other parts of Peru, as well as those from the coast of Chili. This island was supposed to be the more suitable for our purpose, as it was represented as very high, and affording an extensive view of the horizon. At day-light I ran in for La Plata, until I supposed myself within two miles of it, when I have too. A small sail was discovered to the eastward, in chase of which I sent the Atlantic and Greenwich; then took two whale-boats, and proceeded to examine the island, giving directions to the Essex to lie off and on until my return. I soon found I had been deceived in estimation of my distance from the island, for, on my arrival there, I could scarcely see the ships. On the east side I found a soft, white, sandy beach, with smooth water, and every appearance of good anchorage and shelter. On sounding within musket shot of the shore, could get no bottom with twenty-two fathoms of line, and on the strictest examination could find no fresh water, although I went on shore

at every place where it was possible for a boat to land. I can say with safety, that the Island of La Plata affords no fresh water, except during heavy rains, which are very uncommon on this coast; nor does it afford wood in sufficient quantities to supply ships.

This island has been much frequented by the pearl-fishers, and those employed in salting fish. Of this we had sufficient testimony in the large piles of shells of the pearl oysters, as well as considerable heaps of salt, and ground cleared away, levelled, and otherwise prepared for drying fish, which are more abundant at this island than any other place I have visited in these seas, and are of the same kind as those found among the Gallipagos. The only birds we found here were boobies, and man-of-war hawks. We saw no seals on or about the island, and only two turtles at some distance from the shore. No animals or their traces were discovered on the shore; and the aspect of the whole island was the most desolate imaginable. It is about eight miles in circumference, and offers no advantages whatever, that I could discover, to induce navigators to touch there. Although it is represented to have been a favourite resort for the buccaniers, who stopped there for the purpose of watching the Spanish fleets, I am induced to believe that the want of anchorage would have prevented their using it for that purpose.

On the 19th, made the island of St. Close, or Deadman's Island. It lies in the mouth of the Bay or Gulf of Guayaquil, and owes its last name to the strong resemblance it bears to a corpse, the head lying to the westward. It is equally desolate in its appearance with the island of La Plata, is about three miles in length, extremely narrow, and is said to have anchorage on the north side. The soundings off this gulf extend out of sight of land, where you have from forty to forty-five fathoms, soft muddy bottom. We all ran in for the river Tumbez, which lies on the south side of the gulf, and anchored in a depth of five fathoms and a half water, soft bottom.

Soon after anchoring, Captain Randall proceeded to Tumbez, at my request, to sound the governor as to the reception he was disposed to give us, taking with him a handsome present, and an invitation for him to come on board.

On the 22d, observed Captain Randall's boat crossing the bar of the river, with some strangers, and soon afterwards saw one of them dressing himself in uniform. On her coming alongside, was informed that this was the governor of Tumbez, accompanied by the collector of the customs, and an old gentleman who called himself the god-father of the governor, and the governor's son. Although the appearance of the whole was as wretched as can

well be imagined, policy induced me to show them every attention; and, to impress them with a belief of my friendly disposition and respect, I gave them a salute of nine guns on their coming on board. While they remained with me, which was until the next day, I paid every attention to them in my power, although their appearance, which frequently excited the risibility of my crew, made me sometimes blush for my guests. The next day I visited the town or hamlet. It is situated about six miles from the river's mouth, on the left bank of the first rising ground you meet with. From thence to the mouth of the river the land is all low, similar to that of the Mississippi, covered with rushes, reeds, and mangroves, and here and there, on the most elevated parts, are to be found the huts where the natives have settled themselves, for the purpose of cultivating the soil, which produces, in great abundance, cocoa, corn, plantains, melons, oranges, pumpkins, sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, &c &c. Their houses are formed of reeds, covered with rushes, open at all sides, and having the floor elevated about four feet from the earth, to protect them from the alligators, which are here numerous and of an enormous size.

We saw here vast numbers of wild turkeys, which prove very troublesome to the planters, as well as parrots, vultures, hawks, herons, pelicans, white curlews, and a great variety of small birds, with beautiful plumage. The river was filled with fish, some of them of a large size, among which the saw-fish abounded. The stream ran in a serpentine manner through the low grounds, and had several outlets, where the surplus waters escaped to the ocean. Several sunken trees render the ascent as well as descent dangerous. The musquitoes were numerous and tormenting, and in almost every respect, this stream bore the strongest resemblance to the Mississippi, except in size and depth, it being not more than seventy-five yards across in its widest parts, and in many places very shallow.

I arrived at Tumbez at eleven o'clock, but took the precaution to have my boat's crew well armed, and every arrangement made to secure a retreat if necessary; for, notwithstanding their professions of friendship, I had reason to doubt their sincerity, from the innumerable instances of their treachery on this coast. While his wife (who was a handsome young native, of Indian and Spanish parents) was cooking the dinner, I strolled about this wretched place, which consisted of about fifty houses, formed in no way different from those on the banks of the river, except that the reeds were placed closer, in the manner of basket-work; and some of those of the higher class, such as that of the governor and curate, were filled in with mud. The inhabitants gave me the most friendly reception, every where invited me into

their huts, where hogs, dogs, fowls, jackasses, men, women, and children, were grouped together, and from whence, in a few minutes, I was always glad to make my escape, on account of the innumerable swarms of fleas with which they were infested. The house of the governor was no more exempt from this plague than those of the plebeians, of which his wife and naked children bore innumerable testimonies, in the large red blotches on their necks and bodies.

The men of this place seem to be of the lowest class of those who call themselves civilized; and the women, although of fine forms, animated, cheerful, and handsome countenances, are destitute of all that delicacy, the possession of which only can render the female lovely in our eyes. The inhabitants, finding that I had some presents to dispose of, came flocking to the governor's, some with a nosegay, some with a pair of fowls, a half dozen of eggs, a few oranges, watermelons, goats, or whatever else they considered most likely to extort from me something of value. Having soon got clear of the articles I had taken with me, which consisted of silk shawls, &c., and having nothing else to dispose of, I was compelled to leave them, in the expectation of my returning with a larger supply.

Our wooding and watering went on briskly, and every thing promised a speedy supply to all our wants, except vegetables. On our first arrival boats had come off to the ship; but the governor, finding by the purser's remaining in town he could monopolize the whole trade, forbade every person selling any article whatever, and placed guards at the river's mouth to prevent boats from coming off to us. Hearing nothing of the purser for two or three days, and not knowing the cause of the boats keeping aloof from us, I had some serious apprehensions for his safety. This fear was somewhat increased by the disappearance of one of my prisoners, the mate of a ship, whose absence could not be accounted for in any other way but on the supposition of his being murdered by the natives, for the few dollars he had taken with him on shore, for the purpose of procuring a few articles for the others. He had been permitted to go on parole, and had left on board a considerable sum of money, as well as clothing and other property, and his not returning at the appointed time, caused considerable suspicion to all.

On the morning of the 24th we discovered three square rigged vessels standing into the bay. They continued to approach to the distance of five or six miles of us, when the headmost vessel hove to. On nearer approach she showed the private signal of the *Georgiana*, and shortly afterwards Lieutenant Downes came on board the *Essex*.

He informed me that he had captured near James' Island, three British ships, to wit:

The Hector of 11 guns,	25 men,	270 tons
Catharine	8	29 270
Rose	8	21 220

The Georgiana and her prizes anchored near us, and our fleet now amounted to nine sail of ships. As the Atlantic was far superior to the Georgiana, in size, appearance, sailing, and every other qualification necessary for a cruiser, I immediately gave orders for twenty guns to be mounted on her, and removed Lieutenant Downes and crew to that ship, placing Mr. Adams in charge of the Georgiana. To the Atlantic I gave the name of the Essex Junior; and as I had received some additions to my crew by volunteers from prizes, I was enabled to increase her crew to sixty men, and appointed Midshipman Dashiell sailing-master of her. I also removed from the Greenwich to the other prizes all cumbrous articles, and converted that vessel into a store-ship, putting on board her, from the rest, all provisions, cordage, and other articles of value to us, and mounted on her twenty guns.

It now became necessary to think of disposing of all my prisoners, as, independent of the inconvenience they were likely to occasion by their great consumption of provisions, they were a great encumbrance to us. As repeated applications had been made to me by them to put them on shore at this place, I at length consented, furnishing them with provisions, and giving to them three boats, for the purpose of transporting them and their baggage from the river's mouth to Tumbez, which, with a large canoe and a launch which they hired for the purpose, were found fully sufficient. Previous to putting them on shore, I carefully restored to each prisoner (even to that renegado Wier and Captain Shuttleworth) every article which had been taken from them, and all entered into an obligation not to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged.

And now having no occasion to remain longer in Tumbez, I on the morning of the 30th made the signal for getting under weigh. On the 1st, got clear of the Gulph of Guayaquil, and stretched away to the westward, to fall in with the easterly trade-winds, which are seldom met with until you get from one hundred to one hundred and fifty leagues from the land.

As the Essex Junior was very imperfectly equipped for a cruise, I continued in company with her, keeping my carpenters and others constantly at work on board her, building up breastworks, and making the necessary alterations on board her. On the 4th of July a salute of seventeen guns was fired from the Essex,

Essex Junior, and Greenwich, in commemoration of the anniversary of the independence of the United States; and as we were enabled to procure from the prizes a sufficient quantity of spirits to issue to our crew, the day was spent in the utmost conviviality, their grog being doubly relished, from their having for some time past been entirely destitute.

On the 9th, having completed the equipments of the Essex Junior, and there being no necessity for my remaining longer with her, I directed Lieutenant Downes to proceed to Valparaiso with the prize-ships Hector, Catherine, Policy, and Montezuma, and the American ship Barclay. He had directions to leave the Barclay there, and to sell the others to the best advantage, leaving it discretionary with him whether to send the Policy to the United States, she having a full cargo of spermaceti oil, which cannot be sold on this coast without great loss.

And now finding myself in the latitude of $7^{\circ} 15'$ south, and nearly in the longitude of the Gallipagos, I parted company with the Essex Junior and her convoy, and stood to the eastward, until they were out of sight. I then shaped my course for the Gallipagos Islands, which I was strongly induced to visit again, as I had received intelligence of three English armed ships having sailed from Tumbez a fortnight before my arrival there. I kept with me the store-ship Greenwich and the Georgiana, intending to send the latter to the United States on my arrival at the islands, as she had her cargo of oil nearly complete, and the season was now approaching which would be most proper to despatch her. I was desirous that she should approach our coast in the dead of winter, as British ships of war could not at that season of the year, keep the sea to blockade our northern ports.

On the 12th, I made Charles' Island, hove to for the night. In the morning I ran close in with Essex Bay, and sent the boat on shore to the *post-office*. On her return was informed, that all the papers had been taken from the box; that some small kegs, which had been left through neglect by our people, when last there, had been taken away, as well as some wood we had left on the beach. Fresh tortoise shells had been found, which convinced us that some vessels had been there quite lately.

I then bore up for Banks' Bay, and arrived at midnight off the south head of Albemarle, where I hove to, for the purpose of giving the ground a good examination, and at day-light made all sail to the northward. At eleven A. M. discovered three sail off Banks' Bay, standing on a wind some distance from each other. I gave chase to the one in the centre; the others, which appeared to be fine large ships, stood on different tacks, with a view of eluding us, while the one I was in chase of bore up from us. I felt apprehensive for the safety of my prizes, which were now a

great distance astern of us. The in-shore ship tacked to windward of us, and stood for them, with a view of cutting them off; but my anxiety was considerably relieved, on seeing the Greenwich heave to for the Georgiana to come up, as I was confident it was for the purpose of getting her crew out, as she soon after stood boldly down for the stranger. We were not long in capturing the vessel we were in chase of, which proved to be the English ship Charlton, of ten guns, the captain of which informed me, that the ship now to windward was the Seringapatam, of fourteen guns and forty men, commanded by William Stavers, and that the other was the New Zealander of eight guns.

Notwithstanding the great interest I felt for the critical situation of my prizes, as well as that which every officer must feel when in pursuit of an enemy, I could not help remarking the operations of nature on the south side of Narborough and on the southern part of Albemarle. Narborough appeared to have undergone great changes since our last visit, by the violent irruptions of its volcanoes; and at this time there were no less than four craters smoking on that island, and one on the south part of Albemarle. I should have before mentioned, that a few hours after leaving Charles' Island, a volcano burst out with great fury from its centre, which would naturally lead to the belief of a submarine communication between them.

Perceiving that the New Zealander had hove about to stand towards us, I was impressed with a belief that they had got over their alarm; but from the manœuvres of the other ship, I was persuaded that she supposed us an enemy, and therefore determined to use every effort to take her first. The Greenwich continued to run down for her, while the Georgiana ran for the Essex. I soon threw a crew on board the Charlton, and gave chase. Several broadsides were exchanged between the Greenwich and the Seringapatam, when the latter hauled down her colours, but endeavoured to make her escape in a crippled state, having her sails and rigging much cut. The Greenwich kept up the pursuit close on her quarter; the Essex was coming up with her fast; when, in the dusk of the evening, seeing no possibility of escape, the enemy bore up for the Essex, and surrendered his ship. I immediately took the captain and officers on board, left the Greenwich to take care of her, and pursued the other ship, which I captured in about an hour afterwards.

It proved to be the Seringapatam, which had taken the letters, wood, kegs, &c. from Charles' Island. The capture of this ship gave me more pleasure than that of any other which fell into my hands; for, besides being the finest British ship in those seas, her commander had the character of being a man of great enter-

prise, and had already captured the American whale-ship *Edward*, of Nantucket, and might have done great injury to the American commerce in those seas. Although he had come into the Pacific on a whaling voyage, he had given but little attention to that object while there was a hope of meeting American whalers. On requiring of this man that he should deliver to me his commission, he, with the utmost terror in his countenance, informed me that he had none with him, but was confident that his owners had, before this period, taken out one for him, and he had no doubt would send it to Lima, where he expected to receive it. It was evident that he was a pirate, and I did not feel that it would be proper to treat him as I had done other prisoners of war. I therefore ordered him and all his crew in irons; but after enquiring of the American prisoners, whom I found on board the prize, as to the manner in which they had been treated by the crew of the *Seringapatam*, and being satisfied that they, as well as the mates, were not to blame for the conduct of their commander, I liberated them from confinement, keeping Stavers only in irons.

I now bore up for James' Island, at which place I was anxious to arrive, in order that I might, while at anchor, be enabled to get from my prizes such articles as we might want, such as anchors and cables, with which they were well supplied. On account of the violence of the current, which was setting to the north-west, our attempt was ineffectual; for, notwithstanding every exertion to prevent it, we were swept to the north-west as far as the latitude of $2^{\circ} 8'$ north, and seeing no hopes of succeeding in a short time, I was determined to give the *Charlton* up to the captain, (as she was an old vessel, and a dull sailer,) on condition that he should land all my prisoners at Rio de Janeiro. To this contract he, as well as the captain of the *New Zealander*, bound themselves by oath; and after taking from her a cable, and such other articles as were necessary for us, and sending all her guns and military equipments on board the *Seringapatam*, I despatched her on the 19th, with forty-eight prisoners. The mates and sailors, however, expressed their determination not to go to Rio de Janeiro with the ship, for fear of being pressed on board a British man of war. They were very solicitous that I would allow them whale-boats, and let them take their chance in them, declaring that any fate, however dreadful, would be preferable to a servitude in his Majesty's navy. To this I would not consent, lest it might be supposed I had turned them adrift in the middle of the Pacific. They then requested to remain with the *Essex*. I did not wish to be encumbered by them, and would not agree to this proposal. They, however, at length grew turbulent, and I was apprehensive I should have to use

some coercive measures, in order to restore to the captains the necessary authority to keep them in order. But, after reasoning with them on the impropriety of their conduct, they became more orderly, and made sail to the southward, giving us at their departure three hearty cheers, and many (I believe sincere) good wishes for our success, and safe return to America.

As the Seringapatam proved to be a fast-sailing ship, and was in every respect calculated for a man of war, (and indeed was built for one, in India, for Tippoo Saib,) I determined to render her as formidable as possible, that, in case of any accident happening to the Essex, our cruise might not be entirely broken up. With this view I sent the gunners and carpenters to work on her, and in a few days she was completely equipped, with twenty-two guns mounted on her. I gave her in charge to Mr. Terry, master's mate, with directions not to separate from us, and placed the New-Zealander under the charge of Mr. Shaw, the purser, with similar instructions.

We continued our ineffectual exertions to get to the south-east, and on the 22d, discovered Wenam's Island, bearing S. S. E., and Culpepper's Island, bearing W. N. W.

Wenam's Island, like the Gallipagos, is evidently of volcanic origin. It is thinly scattered on its summit with withered shrubbery; its sides are every where inaccessible; it affords no anchorage; is seven or eight miles in circuit, and has two small islets, one off the southeast, the other off the northwest parts, but neither more than one hundred yards from the island. But there is no danger, except from the rapidity of the currents, in approaching it on any side, and there is every where water enough for the largest ship to lie within a few yards of the shore. We saw here but a few turtle, and only one seal. The only birds we saw, were the man-of-war kawk, garnets, gulls, and the black petrel, all of which were very abundant. On the northwest side I discovered the mouth of a cave, very small at the entrance, into which I went with my boat, and proceeded, as near as I can judge, about one hundred yards; and, judging from the beating of the sea against the sides, and the echo from the top, I supposed it to be there, forty yards wide, and twenty yards high. We were, however, in perfect obscurity, and the apprehension of not finding my way out again prevented my proceeding farther. The water was every where of sufficient depth to float a ship of the line, and in this cavern, and at its mouth, we caught the most of our fish.

On the 24th, I determined, for several reasons, to send the Georgiana to the United States. Every arrangement being made, the Georgiana left us on the 25th of July, giving us a salute and three cheers at her departure. We had an opportunity, by this

vessel, of writing to our friends, and enjoyed, in pleasing anticipation, the effect that the news of our great success would produce in the United States.

On the 2d, being close by Abington, I had an opportunity of examining the west side of that island, and under a high and inaccessible precipice, opposite to a sandy beach, at the distance of three-quarters of a mile from the shore, found a good anchorage in twenty-two fathoms water, over a smooth sandy bottom, well sheltered from the prevailing winds by a point to the north-west of that called by Colnet, Cape Chalmers. This place, however, affords anchorage and shelter only; it is impossible to penetrate from thence into the island. But I have no doubt landing may be effected elsewhere; and, from the verdant appearance of the interior of the island, I should suppose that, like all the others, it affords tortoises. On the small beach opposite the anchorage, we found one turtle, and in the bay an abundance of fish were caught by the boat's crew. I attempted to ascend a small hill on the south point of the bay, and the only one that had the appearance of being accessible, for the purpose of taking a better view of the bay, in order to discover if there were any sunken rocks or other dangers. But I soon was compelled to desist, as the loose lava, ashes, and other volcanic substances, which were constantly giving way under me, rendered my ascent very difficult, and descent dangerous. From thence I proceeded to the north part of the island, which wholly consists of hard black lava, totally destitute of vegetation, and apparently owes its existence to an eruption of no distant period. The whole of the west as well as the north part we found to be inaccessible, and of the same dreary appearance.

CHAPTER IX.

James' Island; Fort Rendezvous.

ON the morning of the 4th, at six o'clock, we were between James' Island and Albemarle, beating up the passage, which is about eighteen miles wide, to reach the harbour, which was now in sight, when the New Zealander, being far to leeward, made a signal for a strange sail to the eastward; but on ceasing, it proved to be a rock off the east part of James' Island. This prevented our getting into the bay until half-past two, when we came to an anchor in six fathoms water, within a quarter of a mile of the middle of the beach, over a soft sandy bottom, and moored with our bower-anchor to the southward, and the stream to the northward, the southwest part of Albany Island bearing

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northwest by north; Cape Marshall, on Albemarle, northwest; and the west point of the bay southwest by south.

We here, after painting our ships, repairing our sails and boats, setting up our rigging, and doing various other jobs which could not be done conveniently at sea, began to lay in our stock of tortoises, the grand object for which every vessel anchors at the Gallipagos Islands. Four boats were dispatched every morning for this purpose, and returned at night, bringing with them from twenty to thirty each, averaging about sixty pounds. In four days we had as many on board as would weigh about fourteen tons, which was as much as we could conveniently stow. They were piled up on the quarter-deck for a few days, with an awning spread over to shield them from the sun, which renders them very restless, in order that they might have time to discharge the contents of their stomachs; after which they were stowed away below, as you would stow any other provisions, and used as occasion required. No description of stock is so convenient for ships to take to sea as the tortoises of those islands. They require no provisions or water for a year, nor is any farther attention to them necessary, than that their shells should be preserved unbroken.

The shells of those of James's Island are sometimes remarkably thin and easily broken, but more particularly so as they become advanced in age; when, whether owing to the injuries they receive from their repeated falls in ascending and descending the mountains, or from injuries received otherwise, or from the course of nature, their shells become very rough, and peel off in large scales, which renders them very thin and easily broken. Those of James' Island appear to be a species entirely distinct from those of Hood's and Charles' Islands. The form of the shell of the latter is elongated, turning up forward, in the manner of a Spanish saddle, of a brown colour, and of considerable thickness. They are very disagreeable to the sight, but far superior to those of James' Island in point of fatness, and their livers are considered the greatest delicacy. Those of James' Island are round, plump, and black as ebony, some of them handsome to the eye; but their liver is black, hard when cooked, and the flesh altogether not so highly esteemed as the others.

The most of those we took on board were found near a bay on the northeast part of the island; about eighteen miles from the ship. Among the whole only three were male, which may be easily known by their great size, and from the length of their tails, which are much longer than those of the females. As the females were found in low sandy bottoms, and all without exception were full of eggs, of which generally from ten to fourteen were hard, it is presumable that they came down from the moun-

tains for the express purpose of laying. This opinion seems strengthened by the circumstance of their being no male tortoises among them, the few we found having been taken a considerable distance up the mountains. One remarkable peculiarity in this animal is, that the blood is cold.

The temperature of the air of the Gallipagos Islands varies from 72° to 75° ; that of the blood of the tortoise is always 62° . After the most diligent search, no appearance of fresh water could be found in the neighbourhood of the place where the tortoises were taken, although some of the seamen searched to a considerable distance from the sea shore. Yet each of these animals had in its stomach or reservoir from one to two gallons, of a taste by no means disagreeable, and such as thirst would readily induce any person to use. From this circumstance, as well as from the verdant appearance of the interior, I should be induced to believe, that this island furnishes springs of water in its mountains, but that they are soaked up by the loose and thirsty lava and cinders, of which it is chiefly composed, long before they can reach the sea. The eggs of the tortoise are perfectly round, white, and of two and a half inches diameter. They are far from being a delicacy when cooked, as they are dry, tasteless, and the yolk is little better than saw-dust in the mouth.

The sea and land guanas abound at this island; flamingoes and teal of an excellent quality, may be killed in a salt lagoon, a few rods back of the beach opposite to where the ships lay; and the species of doves formerly mentioned may be killed with the greatest ease, in any numbers, in every part of the island. They are fat and delicious; and the land guana is superior in excellence to the squirrel or rabbit. Fish were caught in considerable abundance, with our seine as well as with hooks and lines, alongside the ship, and with our boats near the rocks. We did not resort to the first mentioned expedient through scarcity, but for the sake of procuring a greater variety, as we were thereby enabled to take mullet of a superior quality, and other fish that do not bite at a hook. The rock-fish did not here yield in abundance or excellence to any place we had yet been in; and among other delicacies we were enabled with ease to supply ourselves abundantly with cray-fish, at low water, among the rocks, where they were caught by hand.

We found Captain Colnet's chart of the island, as far as he surveyed it, sufficiently accurate for our purpose. But we neither found his delightful groves, his rivulets of water, nor his seats formed by the buccaneers of earth and stone, where we might repose ourselves after our fruitless search for them.

Having entirely changed the appearance of the ship, so that she could not be known from description, or taken for a frigate

at a short distance; having made all the repairs which our sails, rigging, boats, &c., required, made a new main top-sail, a considerable quantity of cordage from old rope, and supplied ourselves with such articles as we required from the prizes, as well as broken up our hold, cleansed and re-stowed it, scrubbed our bottom, on which considerable quantities of grass and barnacles had collected, and supplied ourselves abundantly with such refreshments as the island afforded, we, on the morning of the 20th August, got under weigh.

While we lay at the bay in James' Island, (which I called Cowan's Bay,) we put our goats on shore to graze, keeping a person to attend them through the day and give them water. As they were all very tame, and kept about the landing-place, we every night left them on shore. There was one young male, and three females, one of which was of the Welch breed, and was with young by a Peruvian ram with five horns, which we had taken in one of our prizes; the rest were of the Spanish breed. The sheep were also left on shore with them; but one morning, after they had been there several days and nights, the person who attended them went on shore as usual, to give them their water; but no goats were to be found; they had all, as with one accord, disappeared. Several persons were sent in different directions, for two or three days, to search for them, but without success. They undoubtedly took to the mountains in the interior, where unerring instinct led them to the springs or reservoirs from whence the tortoises obtain their supply. Owing to this circumstance, future navigators may perhaps obtain here an abundant supply of goat's meat; for unmolested as they will be in the interior of this island, to which they will no doubt confine themselves on account of the water, it is probable their increase will be very rapid. Perhaps nature, whose ways are mysterious, has embraced this first opportunity of stocking this island with a race of animals, who are, from their nature, almost as well enabled to withstand the want of water as the tortoises with which it now abounds; and possibly she has so ordained it, that the breed which shall be produced between the Welch goat and the Peruvian ram shall be better adapted to the climate than any other.

I shall leave others to account for the manner in which all those islands obtained their supply of tortoises and guanas, and other animals of the reptile kind; it is not my business even to conjecture as to the cause. I shall merely state, that those islands have every appearance of being newly created, and that those perhaps are the only part of the animal creation that could subsist on them, Charles' and James' being the only ones where I have yet been enabled to find, or been led to believe could be found, sufficient moisture even for goats. Time, no doubt, will

order it otherwise; and many centuries hence may see the Gallipagos as thickly inhabited by the human species as any other part of the world. At present, they are only fit for tortoises, guanas, lizards, snakes, &c. Nature has created them elsewhere, and why could she not do it as well at those islands?

There was one fact, which was noticed by myself and many others, the day preceding the departure of the goats, that must lead us to believe that something more than chance directed their movements. It was observed that they all drank an unusual quantity of water; the old Welch goat particularly did not seem satisfied until she had drank upwards of half a gallon, (which for a goat, it must be admitted, is an extraordinary draught,) and the others a quantity not far short of it, which seems as though they had determined to provide themselves with a supply that would enable them to reach the mountains. This fact, which bears something the appearance of the marvellous, I do aver to be as strictly true as any other I have stated, and in no one instance have I exaggerated, or gone beyond the bounds of strict veracity.

On the 22d I reached Banks' Bay, and directed the prizes to proceed into the cove.

CHAPTER X.

Gallipagos Islands; Departure for Washington Islands.

On the 24th, I stretched in towards the cove, to meet the boats which I expected off with the crews of the Seringapatam and New-Zealander, and at one o'clock discovered them on a sand beach on Narborough, where they had landed to await our coming in. About an hour afterwards they came on board, with twenty-one men from the two ships. We had now got to the entrance of the passage between Narborough and Albemarle. A steady breeze from the northwest, and a current setting from the same quarter, as well as a desire of looking into the cove, to see in what order the prizes had been secured, altogether tempted me to endeavour to go through the passage. In this I could perceive no danger whatever, nor had I ever heard of the existence of any, except what arose from the violence of the current, and a reef off the southeast part of Narborough. Accordingly, all sail was made; but, contrary to my expectations, the wind died away at sunset, and shifted a-head, leaving us nearly becalmed until after dark, when a brisk breeze sprang up from the southwest, with which, after great anxiety and uneasiness on my part, we succeeded in beating through. But this anxiety was unnecessary, as the passage is as safe as any other that is liable to sudden

shifts of wind and rapid currents. Soundings were obtained in mid-channel with eighty fathoms of line, coarse gravelly bottom. There appears no danger in lying any distance from the shores of either side, with the exception of the aforesaid reef, which we got sight of before night, and which does not extend more than a mile and a half from the shore. On the beaches of the Albemarle side, we saw vast numbers of turtle, and seals kept playing around us during the whole passage, which may properly be called a sound.

I had here an opportunity of seeing in what manner the seals are enabled to devour their prey when in the water, which had hitherto been a mystery to me, they not having feet to assist them in tearing to pieces the large fish they frequently take. One ran near the ship with a large red fish, of the snapper kind, in his mouth. This fish was still alive, and made considerable struggle; the seal reared himself out of the water as far as his breast, then throwing his head around on one shoulder, appeared to rally all his strength, and jerking it with great violence to the other, throwing the fish at a great distance from him, tearing off with a jerk a mouthful, which he greedily swallowed. By repeating this action, he in a few minutes devoured the whole fish, which, from its size, I should suppose, weighed at least ten pounds. It was in vain that the man-of-war hawks, boobies, pelicans, and other birds which hovered over him, endeavoured to seize on his prey; his activity baffled all their attempts, and prevented them even from picking up the scraps which frequently flew off from the fish as he threw it from him.

Chatham Island, like all the rest, is of volcanic origin; but the ravages appear less recent here than at most of the others. Its vegetable productions are the same, with the exception of the cotton tree, of which I saw no vestige. But, owing to the extreme drought, it may have perished in this part, and perhaps exists in the interior, where there is some appearance of verdure. At James' as well as at Charles' Island, the cotton tree grows very luxuriantly, most of the trees being from eight to ten feet high. It appears to be of the same kind as that produced on the Mississippi; but, for want of culture, the pods do not produce in such large quantities, nor is the cotton equal in quality; attention to its cultivation would, no doubt, greatly improve it. The soil of these islands, although dry and parched up, seems rich and productive; and, were it not for the want of streams of fresh water, they might be rendered of great importance to any commercial nation that would establish a colony there. They afford good harbours, are situated in the finest climate under heaven, are in the neighbourhood of the best fishing-ground for the spermaceti whales, and afford a rich supply of fresh provi-

ions, in the land tortoises and other animals with which they bound. Nothing is wanting but water; and I am still of opinion that may be found. A fine spring was discovered in Charles' Island, not far from the sea-coast, in a place by no means promising in its appearance; and I think, by a strict search, an abundance may be procured. We have seen, from what Patrick effected, that potatoes, pumpkins, &c., may be raised of a superior quality, and with proper industry the state of these islands might be much improved.

Chatham Island differs little in its appearance from all the rest: the land in the interior is high, thrown up in irregular hills by the operations of the volcanoes, and the sea-coast bounded by loose flakes of lava. On the north side of the bay is a high bluff, where Colnet states that he found a rill of fresh water. I gave it the most careful examination, and could not find the smallest quantity. The rise and fall of the tide here is about eight feet.

After scrubbing our ship, we on the 3d of September left Chatham Island, and stood over for Hood's Island, where we anchored on the 7th, in a bay on the north side, formed by a small island and some islets on the east.

This bay I called Rodgers' Bay, and the island forming it Rodgers' Island, in honour of Commodore Rodgers. The best anchorage is about the middle of the bay, in twelve fathoms water, where you lie well in the bank, and there is little or no danger of drifting off. We lay too far out, and on the edge of the bank, where it was very steep; our anchor, as I before observed, lay in nineteen fathoms, while our stern lay in twenty-seven.

I looked into Charles' Island, and stood down for Cape Essex, intending to cruise for a few days off the south part of Albemarle, and at midnight of the 14th, hove to, the southern part of Albemarle bearing north, distant nine or ten leagues. At day-light in the morning, the men at the mast-head descried a strange sail to the southward. On going aloft with my glass, I could perceive that she was a ship, and under very easy sail, apparently lying to. As she was directly to windward of us; I did not wish to alarm her by making much sail, as I believed her to be an English whaler. I consequently directed the fore and main royal-yards to be sent down, and the masts to be housed, the ports to be shut in, and the ship to be disguised in every respect as a merchantman, and kept plying to windward for the stranger under easy sail, as he continued to lie to, drifting down on us very fast. At meridian, we were sufficiently near to ascertain that she was a whale-ship, and then employed in cutting up whales. From her general appearance, some were of opinion that it was the same ship that had given us so long a chase, and put

us to so much trouble, near Abington Island. She was, however, painted very differently, and from her showing no appearance of alarm, I had my doubts on the subject. I had got possession of some of the whalemens' signals, and made one which had been agreed on between a Captain William Porter and the captain of the *New Zealander*, in case they should meet. I did not know but this might be Captain Porter's ship, and that the signal might be the means of shortening the chase, by inducing him to come down to us.

At one o'clock we were at the distance of four miles from the chase, when she cast off from the whales she had alongside, and made all sail from us. Every thing was now set to the best advantage on board the *Essex*, and at four o'clock we were within gunshot, when, after firing six or eight shot at her, she bore down under our lee, and struck her colours. She proved to be the British letter of marque ship, *Sir Andrew Hammond*, pierced for twenty guns, commissioned for sixteen, but had only twelve mounted, with a complement of thirty-six men, and commanded by the identical Captain Porter whose signal I had hoisted. But the most agreeable circumstance of the whole was, that this was the same ship we had formerly chased; and the captain assured me, that our ship had been so strangely altered, that he supposed her to be a whale-ship, until we were within three or four miles of him, and it was too late to escape. Nor did he suppose her to be a frigate until we were within gun-shot, and indeed never would have suspected her to be the same ship that had chased him before, as she did not now appear above one half the size she did formerly.

The time was now arriving for me to expect Lieut. Downes; I therefore determined to fill up my water and provisions from my prizes, and wait until the 2d day of next month, which was the period fixed for our departure. I had determined, should he not arrive in that time, to leave letters for him, and proceed to either the *Marquesas* or *Washington Islands*, where I intended to clean my ship's bottom, overhaul her rigging, and smoke her to kill the rats. These had increased so fast as to become a most dreadful annoyance to us, by destroying our provisions, eating through our water-casks, thereby occasioning a great waste of our water, getting into the magazine and destroying our cartridges, eating their way through every part of the ship, and occasioning considerable destruction of our provisions, clothing, flags, sails, &c. It had become dangerous to have them any longer on board; and as it would be necessary to remove every thing from the ship before smoking her, and probably to heave her out to repair her copper, which in many places was coming off, I believed that a convenient harbour could be found among one of the groups of

islands that would answer our purpose, as well as furnish the crew with such fresh provisions and vegetables as might be necessary during our stay there, by which means we should be enabled to save our salt provisions.

On the meridian of the 30th, a signal was made for a ship in the south bay, and shortly after another was hoisted for a boat standing in for the harbour. A fresh breeze springing up, she soon rounded the southeast point of Narborough, and from her general appearance all believed it to be the Essex Junior, which opinion was soon confirmed by the arrival of Lieutenant Downes, who had left the ship early in the morning, while she was becalmed. His arrival was welcomed by our seamen with three cheers; and at three P. M. the Essex Junior anchored near us. By this ship I received several letters from our consul-general at Valparaiso, as well as other friends there; also letters from our consul at Buenos Ayres, and newspapers, which, though of old dates, contained news of the greatest interest to us.

Lieutenant Downes had moored the Montezuma, Hector, and Catherine, at Valparaiso, but had dispatched the Policy for America, as there was no prospect of selling the ship or her cargo to any advantage at Valparaiso. An open declaration of war had taken place between Chili and Peru, and an entire stop put to commerce between the two governments, which had hitherto continued uninterrupted, notwithstanding their hostilities to each other. The Chilians showed to Lieutenant Downes the same friendly disposition which I had formerly experienced, and every facility was offered to him in procuring his supplies, as well as those wanting for the Essex. He met with some delays in consequence of the stagnation of commerce, but every assistance that the government could give him was afforded.

And now I shall notice the important services rendered by our coming into the Pacific. In the first place, by our captures we had completely broken up the important branch of British navigation, the whale-fishery of the coast of Chili and Peru, having captured all their vessels engaged in that pursuit except the ship Comet. By these captures we had deprived the enemy of property to the amount of two and a half millions of dollars, and of the services of three hundred and sixty seamen, that I liberated on parole, not to serve against the United States until regularly exchanged. We had effectually prevented them from doing any injury to our own whale-ships, only two of which have been captured, and their captures took place before our arrival. Shortly after my appearance in those seas, our whale-ships, which had taken refuge at Conception and Valparaiso, boldly ventured to sea in pursuit of whales. On the arrival of the Essex Junior at Valparaiso, four of them had returned there with

full cargoes, and were waiting for a convoy to protect them some distance from the coast, that they might be enabled to take the advantage of the winter season for getting into a port of the United States. This protection Lieutenant Downes was enabled to afford them on his departure from thence; and the four ships lying there, as well as my prize, the *Policy*, sailed in company with him until he had seen them a sufficient distance beyond the usual cruising ground of British armed ships.

CHAPTER XI.

Passage to Washington Islands.

AFTER leaving the Gallipagoes, it was my intention to have run to the westward, keeping on or in the neighbourhood of the equator, to endeavour to fall in with a group of islands said to have been discovered by the Spaniards and laid down in some charts. But, on reflection, I determined to make the best of my way for the Washington Islands.

On the 6th October, finding that some of my prizes occasioned considerable delay, I determined to dispatch the *Essex Junior* for the Marquesas. My reasons for so doing were founded on a firm belief that the *Mary-Ann*, a British ship left by Mr. Downes at Valparaiso, would touch at those islands on her way to India. Under the impression that she would touch at St. Christiana, I directed Lieutenant Downes to proceed there, and afterwards join me at Port Anna Maria, in the Island of Nooaheevah, one of the Washington Islands, which place I also appointed as a rendezvous for all the other vessels, in case of separation. Lieutenant Downes consequently made all sail, and at sunset was out of sight a head.

From the time of the departure of Lieutenant Downes until the 23d October, when we made the island of Teebooa, one of the group of the Marquesas, few circumstances of any moment took place. The weather throughout the passage was remarkably pleasant, gradually increasing in temperature as we increased our distance from the Gallipagoes; but the heat was unaccompanied by squalls, thunder and lightning, or rain. Two of my prisoners, at the time of making land, were slightly affected with the scurvy; but (with the exception of these) we had not a sick man on board. We frequently saw tropic birds, sea swallows, gulls, and other birds that indicate an approach to land, but in greater numbers between the longitude of 100° and 105° than in any other part, except in the neighbourhood of the Marquesas, where we observed vast numbers the day before making land, at

which time we also saw immense shoals of spermaceti whales, of all sizes, slowly directing their course to the northward. In this run we saw vast numbers of flying fish, and many of that kind which have red wings: they are much larger than the others, and are never seen in shoals. From the time of leaving the Gallipagoes we experienced a constant westerly set of the current, which gradually decreased in velocity until we made the land, when we found its rate to be only twelve miles in twenty-four hours. At the time of our departure from the Gallipagoes, we found ourselves set to the westward daily twenty-five miles, and this was ascertained by the difference between our dead reckoning and our lunar observations, assisted by our chronometer.

CHAPTER XII.

Washington Islands.—Roohooga.

ON the meridian of the 23rd October, the man at the masthead discovered land bearing S. W. Our latitude at this time was $9^{\circ} 6'$ south, and the longitude by chronometer $138^{\circ} 27'$ west, from which we supposed it to be Hood's Island, one of the group of the Marquesas Islands, discovered by Lord Hood, while a midshipman with Captain Cook; and from its position it could be no other. Yet the description given of this Island by the historian of that voyage, answers so little to Hood's Island, as seen by us, that I should have had my doubts as to its identity, did not its latitude and longitude both correspond with that given by Cook, Hergest, and other navigators. Cook describes Hood's Island to be mountainous, cut into valleys, and thickly covered with brush-wood, and about fifteen or sixteen leagues in circuit. On my prizes joining me, I steered a little more to the northward, under easy sail, to fall in with the island of Roohooga, one of the group discovered by Captain Roberts of Boston, in the month of May, in the year 1792. This group was called by him Washington Group, and some of the islands were named by him Adams, Jefferson, Hamilton, &c. &c. They were seen the preceding year (1791) by a Captain Ingraham, of the same place; but he had done no more than point out their situation.

On the 20th June, 1791, some of them were seen, and their position determined by a Captain Marchand, in the French ship *Solide*, bound on a trading voyage to the N. W. coast of America. Lieutenant Hergest, of the British navy, saw them on the 30th March, in the year 1792, examined their coasts, projected a chart of them, and described them more minutely than any other navigator. Captain Marchand and Lieutenant Hergest, probably

ignorant that they had been previously seen and named by Captains Ingraham and Roberts, gave to each island particular names. Those seen by the French captain, received from him the names of Isle Marchand, Isle Baux, Les Deux Freres, Isle Masse, Isle Chanal, in honour of his owners, himself and officers. The group was called by him the Revolution Islands, in honour of the French revolution. Lieutenant Hergest named them, St. Henry Martin's Island, Rion's Island, Trevanien's Island, Hergest's rocks, and (what might induce the belief of his having had a knowledge of a previous discovery) he has permitted two of them to retain the name of Roberts' Islands. Lieutenant Hergest was killed at the Sandwich Islands, on his way to join Vancouver, to whom he was sent with supplies in the ship *Dædalus*. Vancouver, in honour of his unfortunate friend, named the group Hergest's Islands. It is possible, as I before observed, that neither of the above navigators had a knowledge, at the time of falling in with the aforesaid islands, that they had been discovered and named some months before by Americans. Yet Captain Marchand obtained this knowledge at Canton, and notwithstanding, still assumes the right of naming them. Lieutenant Hergest did not discover them until near two years after they had been seen by the American Captains. His ignorance of the discovery seems less probable, and as no mention is made in the account of Vancouver's voyage, (the work which contains Lieutenant Hergest's remarks) of the discovery made by the Americans, and as the history of that voyage was not made public until after the publication of the discovery made by Ingraham, we can hardly bring ourselves to believe that the British (ever anxious to arrogate to themselves the merit of making new discoveries) were willing to allow our countrymen the barren honour of accidentally falling in with a group of islands, which before the month of May, 1791, were unknown to the world. Even Mr. Fleurien, the learned editor of Marchand's voyage, which was evidently written to rival that of Vancouver, has fallen into that error, arising from national prejudice, which he so much contemns; and notwithstanding our prior right, founded on a discovery well known to him, has attached to these islands the names given to them by Marchand. He has had the liberality, however, to admit that they had been first discovered by the Americans; but, notwithstanding this acknowledgment, he cannot divest himself of national prejudice so far as to allow them the names given by our countrymen. Yet Monsieur Fleurien makes this discovery one of the most conspicuous features of Marchand's voyage, and exults no little that they should have been seen by a citizen of France, before they had been visited by a servant of the British government. History and Geography

will, however, do justice to the discovery of Mr. Ingraham, and whatever names may be given to them by English or French partizans, posterity will probably know them only as Washington's Group.

On the morning of the 24th, discovered the island of Roohooga (so called by the natives, but by us Adams' Island) one of the Washington Group. Its aspect, on first making it, was little better than the barren and desolate islands we had been so long among. But on our nearer approach, the fertile vallies, whose beauties were heightened by the pleasant streams and clusters of houses, and groups of natives on the hills inviting us to land, produced a contrast much to the advantage of the islands we were now about visiting. Indeed, the extreme fertility of the soil, as it appeared to us after rounding the S. E. point of the island, produced sensations we had been little accustomed to, and made us long for the fruits with which the trees appeared every where loaded.

On rounding the S. E. part of the island, we saw a canoe coming off to the ship with eight of the natives, one of whom was seated in the bow, with his head ornamented with some yellow leaves, which at a distance we supposed to be feathers. They approached us very cautiously, and would not venture alongside until we had run very close in. But no persuasions of ours could induce them to come on board, although we offered them pieces of iron hoops, knives, fish-hooks, and other articles which we supposed them to hold in the highest estimation. We had a native of the island of Otaheita on board, who enabled them, but with apparent difficulty, to comprehend our wishes, and who gave them repeated assurances of our friendly disposition. They came under the stern, and after we had sent down to them, in a bucket made fast to a rope, several of the above articles, they sent up to us, by the same conveyance, a few fish and a part of their ornaments, consisting of a belt made of the fibres of the cocoa-nut, garnished with the small teeth of a hog, the only articles of exchange in their possession. They frequently repeated to us the word *taya*, which signifies friend, and invited us to the shore, where they assured us, by the most expressive gesticulations, that we should be made welcome. I was anxious to procure some refreshments, but more so to obtain a knowledge of a people with whom the world is so little acquainted. One of the canoes displayed a white flag: I caused a similar emblem of peace to be exhibited, and after waiting some time, perceiving that they were fearful of coming along side, I caused two boats to be manned and armed, and proceeded towards them. I soon approached them, and directed the Otabeitan to inform them that we were friendly disposed, and were willing to purchase of

them the articles they had to sell, which consisted of hogs, plantains, bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, &c. &c.

After remaining with these people about two hours, I proceeded to a small cove, two miles to leeward, where were assembled about fifty male natives and three females. Some of the men were highly ornamented with plumes of black feathers, large gorgets similar to those we had before purchased, and a kind of cloak formed of white cloth, in appearance somewhat like paper. Each held in his hand a handsome white fan, and had large tufts of human hair bound round the wrist, their ankles and loins, with large white oval ornaments, apparently intended as false ears, and large shells and whales' teeth hung round their neck. They made altogether no inelegant appearance. They were all highly tattooed, and supposing one of the best dressed among them to be the chief, I gave him to understand that our object was trade, and that we had come with the most friendly views, showing, at the same time, fish-hooks, iron-hoops and knives, which seemed to produce a general joy among them. They informed me that their chief, whom they called Othâûough had not arrived, and in a few minutes afterwards, pointed out to me an old man, who approached entirely naked, with the exception of a piece of cloth about his loins, and a small fillet of palm leaves about his temples. This they told me was their chief: and on his addressing a few words to them, they threw by their arms and ornaments, and plunged into the water to gain the boat. I gave to each a small present, but they had no article to offer in return but their women; and as two of them were not more than sixteen years of age, and both handsome, they no doubt considered them the most acceptable present they could offer us.

The men of this island are remarkably handsome; of large stature and well proportioned: they possess every variety of countenance and feature, and a great difference is observable in the colour of the skin, which for the most part is of a copper colour. But some are as fair as the generality of working white people much exposed to the sun of a warm climate. The old men (but particularly the chiefs) are entirely black. This is owing entirely to the practice of tattooing, with which they are entirely covered, and it requires a close inspection to perceive that the blackness of their skin is owing to this cause. On a minute examination, may be traced innumerable lines, curved, straight, and irregular, drawn with the utmost correctness, taste, and symmetry, and yet apparently without order, or any determined plan. The young men, the fairness of whose skin is contrasted by the ornaments of tattooing, certainly have, at first sight, a more handsome appearance than those entirely covered

with it; and in a short time we are induced to think that tattooing is as necessary an ornament for a native of those islands as clothing is for an European.

The young girls, which we had an opportunity of seeing, were handsome and well formed; their skins were remarkably soft and smooth, and their complexions no darker than many brunettes in America, celebrated for their beauty. Their modesty was more evident than that of the women of any place we had visited since leaving our own country; and if they suffered themselves (although with apparent timidity and reluctance) to be presented naked to strangers, may it not be in compliance with a custom, which taught them to sacrifice to hospitality all that is most estimable.

The canoes are generally about forty feet in length, thirteen inches wide, and eighteen inches deep. They are formed of many pieces of the bread-fruit tree, cut into the form of planks, and sewed together with the fibres of the outside shell of the cocoa-nut. The seams are covered inside and out with strips of bamboo, sewed to the edge of each plank, to keep in a stuffing of oakum, made of the cocoa-nut shell also, which does not prevent them from leaking sufficiently to give constant employment to one or two persons to bail the water out. The keel consists of one piece, which runs through the whole length, is hollowed out in the form of a canoe, and seems to stiffen the whole vessel, and keep it straight. Three pieces of thin plank, placed in the manner of partitions, divide the interior into four parts, and perform the office of timbers to keep the vessel from separating or closing together. Out-riggers from the bow, middle and stern, with a long piece of light wood secured to the extremity of each, keep them from upsetting, which, from their narrowness, would frequently happen were it not for this contrivance. The ornamental part consists of a flat prow, which projects about two feet, and is rudely carved on the upper surface, to represent the head of some animal. Sometimes there is attached to it a small board, supported by a rudely carved figure of a man. From the stern is a slender projection of six or eight feet in length, and in the form of a sleigh runner, or the forepart of a Holland skate. Their paddles are very neatly made, of a hard black wood highly polished. Their handles are slender, the blades of an oval form, broadest toward the lower part, and terminating in a point like a hawk's bill. They were all without sails, and did not appear to be managed with much skill or dexterity.

CHAPTER XIII.

Madison's Island.—Happah War.

At day-light next morning I bore up for the island of Noosheevah, which I shall hereafter call Madison's Island, and which bore from us W. not more than ten leagues distant. At the dawn of day I made the signal to bear up for the anchorage of Madison's Island, and stood in for the point forming the east side of the weather bay, called by Lieutenant Hergest, (who appears to be the first navigator that discovered it) Comptroller's Bay.

Shortly after anchoring, we discovered a boat coming from shore with three white men in her, one of whom was perfectly naked, with the exception of a cloth about his loins; and as his body was all over tattooed, I could not doubt his having been a long time on this, or some other island. I supposed them to be seamen, who had deserted from some vessels here, and under this impression would neither permit them to come along side of the ship, nor allow any person to have any conversation with them. I was provoked to find such characters, as I suspected them to be, in a place where I had least expected to find any but the natives. I apprehended much trouble from them; and, in a moment of vexation, refused to answer their inquiries, and directed them to leave the ship. Several canoes had come out towards us; but on the whites joining them, they all paddled to the shore; and on their reaching the beach; considerable numbers of the natives assembled around them, armed with spears and clubs, and I felt somewhat apprehensive that I had committed an error, in not treating the strangers with more urbanity. To correct my error as soon as possible, I directed four boats to be manned and armed, and with a party of marines proceeded for the shore. The beach was abandoned at our approach; but on landing, I was met by one of the persons who had come off in the boat. To my great astonishment, I discovered him to be a midshipman of the United States' navy, named John M. Maury, who had left the United States on furlough, with Lieutenant Lewis, for Canton, in the ship, *Pennsylvania Packet*; from which place he sailed for this island, to procure sandal wood. Here he remained several months; and after completing his cargo, sailed for Canton, leaving Mr. Maury with a party, and the remainder of his stock of trade, to collect a cargo for him against his return. He had been expected in about two months; but the news of the war, of which

we brought the first accounts here, destroyed all expectations of again seeing him; and as Mr. Maury and his party saw no other prospect of getting away, he requested me to take them on board. The man before spoken of, who came off to the ship naked, was named Wilson, an Englishman by birth. He had been for many years among the group of Marquesas, as well as the islands of Washington's Group. He spoke their language with the same facility as his own, and had become in every respect, except in colour, an Indian. The looks of Wilson had strongly prejudiced me against him; but I soon discovered him to be an inoffensive, honest, good-hearted fellow, well disposed to render every service in his power, and whose only failing was a strong attachment to rum. Wilson soon became a great favourite with me, as well as every other person. He proved indispensably necessary to us; and without his aid I should have succeeded badly on the island. His knowledge of the people, and the ease with which he spoke their language, removed all difficulties in our intercourse with them; and it must be understood, in all relations of future interviews and conversations, which took place between me and the natives, that Wilson is the organ of communication, and the means by which we are enabled to understand each other. I shall, therefore, in future, deem it unnecessary to say, I was assisted by an interpreter; it must always be understood that I had one. Such were my impressions of Wilson at the time; but I have since had occasion to be satisfied that he was a consummate hypocrite and villain.

On my jumping on shore, unaccompanied by any other persons, and walking up to a group of natives, who were assembled near the house where Mr. Maury resided, all their apprehensions seemed to cease. The women, who had retired to a distance, came down to join the male natives; and even the landing of the marines, as well as the rest of the party, did not seem to occasion any uneasiness among them. The drum appeared to give them much pleasure; and the regular movements of the marines occasioned much astonishment. They said they were spirits or beings of a class different from other men.

Observing the mountains surrounding the valley to be covered with numerous groups of natives, I inquired the cause, and was informed that a warlike tribe residing beyond the mountains had been for several weeks at war with the natives of the valley, into which they had made several incursions, destroyed many houses and plantations, and killed a great number of bread-fruit trees by girdling. I was also informed that they had intended paying another visit that day; but it was supposed they were deterred by the appearance of the ships. I directed one of them to proceed to the Happahs, and to tell them that I had come with a force

sufficiently strong to drive them from the island : and if they presumed to enter into the valley while I remained there, I should send a body of men to chastise them ; to warn them to cease all hostilities so long as I remained among them ; and say that if they had hogs or fruit to dispose of, they might come and trade freely with us, as I should not permit the natives of the valley to injure or molest them. While I was using measures to get together my officers and men, who had wandered away in different directions, my attention was drawn to an object, which at the moment had presented itself. A handsome young woman, of about eighteen years of age, her complexion fairer than common, her carriage majestic, and her dress better and somewhat different from the other females, approached. Her glossy black hair and her skin were highly anointed with the cocoa-nut oil, and her whole person and appearance neat and comely. On inquiry who this dignified personage might be, I was informed that her name was Piteenee, a grand daughter to the chief, or greatest man in the valley, whose name was Gattanewa. This lady, on whose countenance was not to be perceived any of those playful smiles which enliven the countenances of the others, I was informed was held in greast estimation, on account of her rank and beauty, and I felt that it would be necessary, from motives of policy, to pay some attentions to a personage so exalted. She received my advances with a coldness and hauteur which would have suited a princess, and repelled every thing like familiarity with a sternness that astonished me. Yet this lady, like the rest of the women of the island, soon followed the dictates of her own interest, and formed a connexion with one of the officers, which lasted with but little fidelity on her part as long as we remained, showing herself on the whole a most notorious jilt. Gattanewa, I was informed at the time of my landing, was at a fortified village, which was pointed out to me, on the top of one of the highest mountains. They have two of these strong places, one on the top of the aforesaid mountain, the other lower down the valley, and guarding one of the principal passes. The manner of fortifying those places, is to plant closely on end, the bodies of large trees, of forty feet in length, securing them together by pieces of timber, strongly lashed across, presenting on the brow of a hill, difficult of access, a breastwork of considerable extent, which would require European artillery to destroy. At the back of this a scaffolding is raised, on which is placed a platform for the warriors, who ascend by the means of ladders, and thence shower down on their assailants spears and stones. The one at which Gattanewa now was, is situated near a remarkable gap, cut through the mountain by the natives, to serve as a ditch or fosse, and must have required much labour in the execution ; the other

is more to the right, and, as I before observed, lower down. I had no sooner understood that they had a chief, to whom I could address myself, than I felt anxious to see him. A messenger was therefore dispatched for him; and after collecting my people, I returned on board, where shortly after our arrival, I soon found every person anxious for the ships to be got into port and secured.

When the ships were moored, the shore was lined with the natives of both sexes; but the females were most numerous, waving their white cloaks or *cahoes* for us to come on shore. Many applications were made for me to permit them to accept the invitations, and I found it impossible any longer to resist. The boats were got out, and proceeded to the shore, where, on landing they were taken complete possession of, by the women, who insisted on going to the ship, and in a short time she was completely filled by them, of all ages and descriptions, from the age of sixty years, to that of ten; some as remarkable for their beauty, as others for their ugliness. They all appeared to be of the most common kind, and many of them who had been in the habit of visiting ships, which had formerly been at this place, had been taught by the seamen, some few English words, which they pronounced too plain to be misunderstood.

No jewel, however valuable, is half so much esteemed in Europe or America, as is a whale's tooth here. I have seen them by fits laugh and cry for joy, at the possession of one of these darling treasures. Ivory, however finely wrought and beautiful in its kind, bears no comparison in their estimation. Ivory is worn by the lower and poorer classes, made into the form of whales' teeth, and as ear ornaments, while the whales' teeth are worn only by persons of rank and wealth. Some idea may be formed of the value in which they are held by the natives, when it is known that a ship of three hundred tons burthen, may be loaded with sandal-wood at this island, at the price of ten whales' teeth of a large size. For these the natives will cut it, bring it from the distant mountains, and take it on board the ship. This cargo in China, would be worth near a million of dollars. I have seen this sandal-wood, that is so highly esteemed by the Chinese; (indeed their infatuation for it, falls little short of the natives for whales' teeth) it does not appear capable of receiving a high polish, nor is its colour agreeable. The odour arising from it is pleasant, and the principal uses to which the Chinese are said to apply it, is to burn it in their temples, and to extract from it an oil, which they consider of great value.

I was informed that Gattanewa had arrived, and to show my respect for the chieftain, as well as to convince him of my friendly disposition, I sent him on shore a fine English sow; this being, as I was informed, the most acceptable present I could make him,

(excepting only a whale's tooth) as they are particularly desirous of improving the breed of that animal. Soon after I sent my present on shore, Gattanewa came on board in a boat, which I had sent for him, accompanied by Mr. Maury. I had seen several of their warriors since my arrival, many of them highly ornamented with plumes, formed of the feathers of cocks and man-of-war birds, and the long tail feathers of the tropic bird; large tufts of hair were tied round their waists, their ancles, and their loins. They wore a cloak, sometimes of red cloth, but more frequently of a white paper cloth, formed of the bark of a tree, thrown not inelegantly over the shoulders, with large round or oval ornaments in their ears, formed of whales' teeth, ivory, or a kind of soft and light wood, whitened with chalk. From their neck suspended a whales' tooth, or highly polished shell, and round their loins several turns of the stronger kind of paper-cloth, the end of which hangs before in the manner of an apron. This, with a black and highly polished spear of about twelve feet in length, or a club richly carved, and borne on the shoulders, constitutes the dress and equipment of a native warrior, whose body is highly and elegantly ornamented by tattooing, executed in a manner to excite our admiration. What was my astonishment when Gattanewa presented himself; an infirm old man of seventy years of age, destitute of every covering or ornament except a clout about his loins, and a piece of palm leaf tied about his head; a long stick seemed to assist him in walking; his face and body were as black as a negro's, from the quantity of tattooing, which entirely covered them, and his skin was rough, and appeared to be peeling off in scales, from the quantity of kava (an intoxicating root) in which he had indulged himself. Such was the figure that Gattanewa presented; and as he had drank freely of the kava before he made his visit, he appeared to be perfectly stupid. He, previous to his departure, requested me to assist him in his war with the Happahs. I told him I should not engage in any hostilities, unless the Happahs came into the valley; in which case I should protect him and his people.

Next morning he sent me a present, consisting of hogs and several boat loads of cocoa nuts and plantains, which were distributed among the crews of the different vessels. I now unbent my sails, and sent them on shore, and landed my water-casks, with which I formed a complete enclosure, sufficiently spacious to answer all our purposes. The ship was hauled close in with the beach, and we began in good earnest to make our repairs. A tent was pitched within the enclosure, and the place put under the protection of a guard of marines. In the afternoon several officers went on shore to visit the villages, when I perceived a large body of the Happahs descending from the mountains into the

valley among the bread-fruit trees, which they soon began to destroy. I immediately fired guns, and made a signal for every person to repair on board, apprehensive that some might be cut off by them, as the friendly natives had not seemed to notice this descent. The firing of the guns soon occasioned the main body to halt, and shortly afterwards the whole returned up the mountains, as the friendly tribes had turned out to oppose them. Assured from what I had already seen, that they were capable of attempting the execution of their threat, I determined to be prepared for them, and with this view, caused one-fourth of each ship's company to be landed every evening with their arms, as a guard for the camp, allowing them at the same time to stroll about the valley, and amuse themselves.

The threat of the Happahs had early induced me to reflect on the course it would become me to pursue, in order, as far as possible, to avoid hostilities with them, so long as a proper regard to the objects of my stay, and the safety of my people would permit. I therefore determined to let them see the effects of our cannon, with a view to frighten them from committing further hostilities. Gattanewa made daily applications for assistance, and I at length told him, that, if his people would carry a heavy gun, a six-pounder, up to the top of a high mountain, which I pointed out to them, I would send up men to work it, and drive away the Happahs, who still kept possession of the hills. This was unanimously agreed to by every man belonging to the valley. I landed the gun, but did not suppose them capable of carrying it half way to the place fixed on

On their first attempt to lift it with a few men, the weight seemed to astonish them; they declared that it stuck to the ground; they soon however raised it by additional numbers, and bore it off with apparent ease.

As an additional security to our camp, I landed another six-pounder, and mounted also a long wall-piece. The ship was soon stripped of her rigging; her provisions, stores, and ammunition, put on board the prizes. The carpenters were employed in caulking her seams, the coopers in setting up new water-casks, (of which our prizes afforded us an abundant supply) in place of the old, which were nearly all found rotten. Our men were occupied in overhauling and refitting the rigging, and the duty of every one allotted to him. No work was exacted from any person after four o'clock in the afternoon; the rest of the day was given to repose and amusement.

The Happahs were determined to try the effects of a battle, and if they should be beaten they would then be willing to make peace; but not before. I informed them that they would not find me so ready to make peace after beating them, as at present; and

that I should insist on being paid for the trouble they might put me to. They informed me they had an abundance of fruit and hogs, and would be willing to sacrifice the whole to purchase my friendship, if I should conquer them. Seeing that these strange people were resolutely bent on trying the effect of their arms against ours, I thought that the sooner they were convinced of their folly, the better it would be for themselves and us, as it would relieve us from the constant apprehension of an attack from them; and I believed it likely, that by giving them timely notice of our intentions, they would avoid coming so near as to permit our muskets to have much effect. Indeed it became absolutely necessary to do something; for the Happahs present informed me that their tribe believed that we were afraid to attack them, as we had threatened so much, without attempting any thing; and this idea, I found, began to prevail among those of our valley, which is called the valley of *Tieuhoy*, and the people *Havouhs*, *Pakeuhs*, *Hoattas*, &c. For the valley is subdivided into other valleys by the hills, and each small valley is inhabited by distinct tribes, governed by their own laws, and having their own chiefs and priests.

The tribes residing in the valley of *Tieuhoy* are in number six, and are called collectively *Taechs*, which signifies friends

The number of warriors, which each tribe can send into the field, is as follows:

The Taechs	- - - -	:	2,500
Happahs	- - - -	:	3,000
Maamatuhahs	- - - -	:	2,000
Typees	- - - -	:	3,500
Showneus	- - - -	:	3,000
Hatticahs	- - - -	:	2,500
Wooheahos	- - - -	:	2,500
Tatuahs	- - - -	:	200

Making in all - - - - - 19,200

Their general mode of fighting consists in constant skirmishing. The adverse parties assemble on the brows of opposite hills, having a plain between them. One or two, dressed out in all their finery, richly decorated with shells, tufts of hair, ear ornaments, &c. &c. advance, dancing up to the opposite party, amid a shower of spears and stones (which they avoid with great dexterity) and daring the other to single combat. They are soon pursued by a greater number, who are in turn driven back; and if in their retreat they should chance to be knocked over with a stone, they are instantly dispatched with spears and war-clubs, and carried off in triumph. They have two descriptions of spears which they use in their warfare. Those by which they

set the most store, are about fourteen feet in length, made of a hard and black wood, called *toa*, which receives a polish equal to ivory. These are made with much neatness, and never thrown from the hand. The other kind are smaller, of a light kind of wood, and are thrown with much accuracy to a great distance. At certain distances from their points they are pierced with holes all round, in order that they may break off, with their own weight, on entering a body, and thus be more difficult to extract. Their slings are made of the fibres of the bark of the cocoa-nut tree, and are executed with a degree of neatness and skill not to be excelled. The stones thrown from them are of an oval shape, of about half a pound weight, and are highly polished, by rubbing against the bark of a tree. They are worn in a net suspended about the waist, and are thrown with such a degree of velocity and accuracy, as to render them almost equal to musketry. Wherever they strike, they produce effect; and the numerous scars, broken limbs, and fractured skulls of the natives, prove that, notwithstanding their great dexterity in avoiding these missiles, they are used with much effect. It is no uncommon thing to see a warrior bearing about him the wounds of many spears, some of which have transfixed his body; some bear several wounds occasioned by stones; and I have seen several with their skulls so indented, as that the whole hand might have been laid in the cavity.

On the 28th of October, Gattanewa, with several of the warriors, came to inform me that the gun was at the foot of the mountain, where I had directed it to be carried, and that it would have reached the summit by the time our people could get up there. When I viewed the mountains, and imagined the difficulties they would have to surmount, I could scarcely credit the account they gave me; and yet I could not conceive any motive they could have for deception. I informed them that, on the next morning at day-light, forty men, with their muskets, would be on shore, and in readiness to march. As I supposed it would be impossible for our people to scale the mountains, when incumbered with their arms, I desired them to send me forty Indians for the purpose of carrying their muskets, and an equal number to carry provisions as well as ammunition for the six pounder. This they promised me should be done, and every arrangement was made accordingly, and the command of the expedition given to Lieutenant Downes.

On the morning of the 29th, the party being on shore, consisting chiefly of the crew of the *Essex Junior* and the detachment of marines, each man being furnished with an Indian to carry his arms, and spare Indians to carry provisions and other articles, I gave the order to march.

About eleven o'clock we perceived that our people had gained the mountains, and were driving the Happahs from height to height, who fought as they retreated, and daring our men to follow them with threatening gesticulations. A native, who bore the American flag, waved it in triumph as he skipped along the mountains—they were attended by a large concourse of friendly natives, armed as usual, who generally kept in the rear of our men. Mouina alone was seen in the advance of the whole, and was well known by his scarlet cloak, and waving plumes. In about an hour we lost sight of the combatants, and saw no more of them until about four o'clock, when they were discovered descending the mountains on their return, the natives bearing five dead bodies, slung on poles.

Mr. Downes and his men soon afterwards arrived at the camp, overcome with the fatigue of an exercise to which they had been so little accustomed. He informed me that on his arrival near the tops of the mountains, the Happahs, stationed on the summit, had assailed him and his men, with stones and spears; that he had driven them from place to place until they had taken refuge in a fortress, erected in a manner before described, on the brow of a steep hill. Here they all made a stand, to the number of between three and four thousand. They dared our people to ascend this hill, at the foot of which they had made a halt to take breath. The word was given by Mr. Downes, to rush up the hill; at that instant a stone struck him on the belly, and laid him breathless on the ground, and at the same instant, one of our people was pierced with a spear through his neck. This occasioned a halt, and they were about abandoning any farther attempt on the place: but Mr. Downes soon recovered, and finding himself able to walk, gave orders for a charge. Hitherto our party had done nothing. Not one of the enemy had, to their knowledge, been wounded. They scoffed at our men, and exposed their posteriors to them, and treated them with the utmost contempt and derision. The friendly natives also began to think we were not so formidable as we pretended: it became, therefore, absolutely necessary that the fort should be taken at all hazards. Our people gave three cheers, and rushed on through a shower of spears and stones, which the natives threw, from behind their strong barrier, and it was not until our people entered the fort, that they thought of retreating. Five were at this instant shot dead; and one in particular, fought until the muzzle of the piece was presented to his forehead, when the top of his head was entirely blown off. As soon as this place was taken, all further resistance was at an end. The friendly natives collected the dead, while many ran down to a village situated in the valley, for the purpose of securing the plunder, consisting of large quantities of

drums, mats, callabashes, and other household utensils, as well as hogs, cocoa-nuts and other fruit. They also brought with them large quantities of the plant with which they make their finest cloth, which grows nearly as thick as the wrist, and is highly esteemed by them. They came also laden with plunder, which the enemy had not time to remove; for they could not be made to believe, that a handful of men could drive them.

It was shocking to see the manner they treated such as were knocked over with a shot; they rushed on them with their war-clubs, and soon dispatched them; then each seemed anxious to dip his spear into the blood, which nothing could induce them to wipe off—the spear, from that time, bore the name of the dead warrior, and its value, in consequence of that trophy, was greatly enhanced.

I proceeded to the house of Gattanewa, which I found filled with women making the most dreadful lamentations, and surrounded by a large concourse of male natives. On my appearance there was a general shout of terror; all fixed their eyes on me with looks of fear and apprehension. I approached the wife of Gattanewa, and required to know the cause of this alarm. She said, now that we had destroyed the Happahs, they were fearful we should turn on them: she took hold of my hand, which she kissed, and moistened with her tears: then placing it on her head, knelt to kiss my feet. She told me they were willing to be our slaves, to serve us, that their houses, their lands, their hogs, and every thing belonging to them were ours; but begged that I would have mercy on her, her children, and her family, and not put them to death. It seemed that they had worked themselves up to the highest pitch of fear, and on my appearance, with a sentinel accompanying me, they could see in me nothing but the demon of destruction. I raised the poor old woman from her humble posture, and begged her to banish her groundless fears, that I had no intention of injuring any person residing in the valley of Tieuhoy: that if the Happahs had drawn on themselves our vengeance, and felt our resentment, they had none to blame but themselves. I had offered them peace; but they had preferred war; I had proffered them my friendship, and they had spurned at it. That there was no alternative left me. I had chastised them, and was appeased.

We had but little opportunity of gaining a knowledge of their language while we remained among them; but from the little we became acquainted with, we were satisfied that it was not copious; few words serve to express all they wish to say; and one word has oftentimes many significations; as for example, the word *motte* signifies *I thank you, I have enough, I do not want it, I do not like it, keep it yourself, take it*

away, &c. &c. *Mattee* expresses every degree of injury which can happen to a person or thing from the slightest harm to the most cruel death. Thus a prick of the finger is *mattee*, to have a pain in any part is *mattee*; *mattee* is to be sick; to be badly wounded is *mattee*, and *mattee* is to kill or be kill, to be broke, (when speaking of inanimate objects) to be injured in any way, even to be dirtied or soiled is expressed by the word *mattee*. *Motakee*, with slight variations of the voice, signifies every degree of good, from a thing merely tolerable, to an object of the greatest excellence; thus it is, *so, so, good, very good, excellent*: it signifies the qualities and dispositions of persons; thus they are *tolerable, likely, handsome, or beautiful,—good, kind, benevolent, generous, humane*. *Keheva*, which signifies *bad*, is as extensive in its use as *motakee*, and, by suitable modulations of the voice, has meanings directly opposite. This is the case with many other words in their language; indeed with all we became acquainted with. *Kie-kie* signifies to eat, it also signifies a *troublesome fellow*; may it not also have many other significations, with which we are unacquainted?—it may signify to *cut up, to divide, to sacrifice, to keep as trophies*; whether it has these significations I am unable to say, and Wilson could not inform me; but many circumstances induce me to believe they meant no more, when they informed me they sometimes ate their enemies. That they offer the bodies of their enemies as sacrifices to their gods, I had more than once an opportunity of seeing, while I remained on the island. Unfortunately the wars we were under the necessity of carrying on against the hostile tribes furnished them with too many subjects. Their fondness for their bones as trophies, is evident to every person. Their skulls are carefully preserved and hung up in their houses. Their thigh bones are formed into harpoons, and sometimes are richly ornamented with carvings; their smaller bones are formed into ornaments to be hung round their necks, representing figures of their gods; they are also converted into fan-handles; form a part of the ornaments of their war conchs, and in fact compose part of every description of ornament where they can possibly be applied.

I now inquired if they had heard from the Happaas since the battle: they told me one of that tribe had that morning arrived. I directed him to be sent for; he approached, trembling for safety; but on my offering my hand, which I had taught all the natives was a token of friendship, his fears seemed to subside. I learnt from him that many of the tribe were badly wounded, and that the whole were in the utmost dismay, and desired nothing more ardently than peace. I represented to him the folly of opposing their arms to ours, and to convince him of the superiority of muskets, I fired at a tree some distance off; the ball

penetrated the middle of it, about the height of a man's heart. I then called on all the warriors to try their spears and slings at the same object; but they all shook their heads, as an acknowledgement of the inferiority of their weapons. The Happah was much astonished at the correctness with which we fired, and said he should proceed to hasten his brethren to a reconciliation. I gave him a white handkerchief, which was attached to a spear, and informed him the bearer of that should be respected.

On my return to the camp, I found a large supply of hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, bread-fruit, tarra, and sugar-cane, with several roots of kava, partly the plunder of the Happahs, but chiefly the contributions of the tribe of Tieuhy.

CHAPTER XIV.

Madison's Island.

THE hogs of this island are generally of a small and inferior breed, but there are many as large and as fine as those of any part of the world. The practice of castrating the boar, at which the natives are very dexterous, greatly improves their size and appearance, as well as their flavour. The pork is remarkably sweet and delicate, many of the smaller kind of hogs were brought to us, which we rarely killed, the larger ones were brought in such numbers toward the latter part of our stay, as to enable me to feed my people entirely on fresh provisions. Of these last, six were found fully sufficient to furnish an ample daily supply to four hundred men.

According to the traditions of the natives, more than twenty generations ago,* a god named Haii visited all the islands of the group, and brought with him hogs and fowls, which he left among them. He first appeared at Hataootoa Bay, which lies on the east side of the island, and there dug for water, which he found. The tree under which he resided, during his stay, is held sacred by the natives, and is called by them Haii. They cannot tell whether he came in a ship or a canoe, nor can they tell how long he remained among them.

It may be worthy of remark here, that the natives call a white man *Othouah*, and their gods bear the same appellation, as do their priests after their death. A white man is viewed by

* It must be observed, that a man is here a grandfather at the age of fifty, and sometimes much less: hence three generations exist within that period, which would make, agreeable to their computation, about three hundred or three hundred and thirty years.

them as a being superior to themselves, but our weaknesses and passions have served to convince them that we are, like them, human. Yet in the comparison, every thing in their opinion marks our superiority.

Haii was, no doubt, some navigator, who, near four centuries ago, left the aforesaid animals among the natives. Our accounts of voyages made into this sea do not extend so far back, and even if they did, we should be at a loss to know him by the name given to him by the natives. They found it impossible to pronounce our names distinctly, even after the utmost pains to teach them, and the most repeated trials on their part. They gave me the name of *Opotee*, which was the nearest they could come to Porter. Mr. Downes was called *Onou*; Lieutenant Wilmer, *Wooreme*; Lieutenant M'Knight, *Muscheetie*, and the name of every one else underwent an equal change. These names we were called by, and answered to, so long as we remained with them; and it is not improbable that we shall be so called in their traditionary accounts. If there should be no other means of handing our names down to posterity, it is likely we shall be as little known to future navigators as *Haii* is to us. Although we know not the navigator who, at that early period, (it is possible, however, that there may be some error in the chronology of the natives) visited these islands, yet we cannot be so much at a loss to discover the nation to which he belonged. The natives call a hog *bouarka*, or rather *Pouarka*; and it is likely that they still retain the name nearly by which they were first known to them. The Spaniards call a hog *porca*, giving it a sound very little different from that used by the natives of these islands; and as the Spaniards were the earliest navigators in these seas, there is scarcely a doubt that they are indebted to one of that nation for so precious a gift.

The cocoa-nuts grow in great abundance in every valley of the island, and are cultivated with much care. This tree is too well known to need a description; yet the mode used to propagate it may not be uninteresting. As the cocoa-nuts become ripe, they are carefully collected from the tree, which is ascended by means of a slip of strong bark, with which they make their feet fast a little above the ankles, leaving them about a foot asunder. They then grasp the tree with their arms, feet, and knees, and the strip of bark resting on the rough projections of the bark of the tree, prevents them from slipping down. In this manner, by alternately shifting their feet and hands, they ascend with great apparent ease and rapidity the highest tree, whence they send down the fruit, which is then hung together in bunches to a cocoa-nut tree, situated near their dwelling, at a sufficient height from the ground to place them in perfect security. Here they

are left to dry and cure, to be laid up afterwards for a season of scarcity. In this state many are found to sprout near the stem, and all such are collected together for planting. This is done after the shell is broken, and a greater part of the inside is taken out, which, in their spouting state, consists of a soft spongy substance, with which the inner shell in time becomes filled. This is very sweet and agreeable to the taste, and is much esteemed by them. After this the shell is buried in the ground and a small enclosure of stones is made round it to prevent the hogs from rooting it up. This tree bears in about five years after it is planted. The cocoa-nut is said to have been brought from an island called Ootoopoo, by a god named Tao, many generations since. This island is supposed by them to lie somewhere to the windward of La Magdalena, one of the group of Marquesas. While I am on this subject, I must beg leave to mention several islands which are supposed by the natives to exist, and which are entirely unknown to us. So fully are they impressed with the belief, that large double canoes have frequently left this and other islands of this group to go in search of them. The grandfather of Gattanewa sailed with four large canoes in search of land, taking with him a large stock of provisions and water, together with a quantity of hogs, poultry, and young plants. He was accompanied by several families, and has never been heard of since he sailed. Temaa Tipee and his whole tribe, about two years since, had many large double canoes constructed for the purpose of abandoning their valley, and proceeding in search of other islands, under the apprehension that they would be driven off their land by other tribes. But peace took place, the canoes were taken to pieces, and are now carefully deposited in a house, constructed for the purpose, where they may be kept in a state of preservation to guard against future contingencies.

More than eight hundred men, women, and children, Wilson assures me, have, to his knowledge, left this and the other islands of the Washington and the Marquesas Groups in search of other lands. None have ever been heard of except in one instance. Four canoes sailed from Nooaheeva, or Madison's Island, in search of land to leeward; they fell in with Roberts' Islands to the N. W. where the natives go annually to collect the tail feathers of the Tropic bird, which there resort. Here one of the canoes remained, the others proceeded on their voyage, running before the wind. After remaining some time on the island, which produces only cocoa-nut and some few other trees, they determined to return to Nooaheeva. One man and one woman remained on the island, and built a hut. The canoe was

never after heard of. The man died, and the woman was found, and taken back by a canoe, which arrived there in search of feathers. Three or four days after the departure of the canoes, on these voyages of discovery, the priests come lurking to the houses of the inhabitants of the valley, whence they sail, and in a squeaking affected voice, inform them that they have found a land abounding in bread-fruit, hogs, cocoa-nuts, every thing that can be desired, and invite others to follow them, pointing out the direction to sail, in order to fall in with this desirable spot. New canoes are constructed, and new adventurers commit themselves to the ocean, never to return.

Ask them how they obtained their knowledge of those islands, and they tell you from their gods. They name six islands, two have already been mentioned, to wit, Vavao and Ootoopoo. The others are Hitahee, to the south of St. Christiana, which is said to be a small island. Nookuahee and Kappenooa, to leeward of Madison's Island, four days' sail distant; and Pooheka, a fine island, said to lie to the westward of Roberts' Islands, the existence of which is not doubted by them.

Of bananas they count upwards of twenty different kinds, some approaching very near the plantain in their appearance, but it is certain that they have none of the latter on the island. The manner of ripening the banana is as convenient and simple as it is expeditious. They dig in the ground a round or square hole, of about three feet in depth, made perfectly level at the bottom, and of the size suited to the quantity of bananas intended to be put into it. They then collect an oily nut, much resembling our common walnut, which is also used by them instead of candles. These are broken, mixed with dirt, and strewed about the bottom of the hole. On this is laid a layer of grass, with which the sides are also carefully lined; after which the bunches of green bananas are packed in, and covered with grass, to prevent the dirt from coming in contact with them. The whole is covered with dirt, and left four days, at the expiration of which time, they are taken out, perfectly ripe and of a beautiful yellow colour.

The *tarra* is a root much resembling a yam, of a pungent taste, and excellent when boiled or roasted. The natives, by grating it, and mixing it with cocoa-nut oil, make of it a paste which is highly esteemed by them. It grows in a nut soil, and much pains is taken in its cultivation.

The sugar-cane grows to an uncommon size here, it being no unusual thing to see the stalks fourteen feet in length, and ten or twelve inches in circumference. The only use they make of it is to chew and swallow the juice.

The *kava* is a root possessing an intoxicating quality, with

which the chiefs are very fond of indulging themselves. They employ persons of a lower class to chew it for them, and spit it into a wooden bowl; after which a small quantity of water is mixed with it, when the juice is strained into a neatly polished cup, made of a cocoa-nut shell, and passed round among them. It renders them very stupid and averse to hearing any noise; it deprives them of their appetite, and reduces them almost to a state of torpor; it has also the effect of making their skin fall off in white scales, weakens their nerves, and no doubt brings on a premature old age. They applied the word kava to every thing we ate or drank of a heating or pungent nature. Rum and wine was called kava; pepper, mustard, and even salt, with the nature and use of which they are entirely unacquainted, were called kava, as was also our spittle. A mineral water of a strong taste, several springs of which are to be found on the island, and are held in high estimation by the natives for the cure of scrofulous and some other complaints, is called *vic kava*.

The bread fruit tree has been so often and so minutely described by other voyagers, that a description of it here may be thought by some superfluous. Their fruit-trees, except those which are tabooed, are without enclosure; their smaller and more delicate plants, as well as their roots, have only a wall to prevent the depredations of hogs. Their houses are open in front, and their furniture, many parts of which are of great value to them, is entirely exposed. Their hogs are wandering in every part of the valley; their fishing nets and their clothes are left exposed on the beach, and spread on the grass; no precautions are taken to guard against theft, and I therefore conclude that thefts among themselves are unknown.

During our operations at the camp, where carpenters, coopers, armourers, sail-makers, &c. were employed, it is natural to suppose that small tools, and articles of great value, were exposed to the natives. As from sunrise to sunset the camp was perfectly invested with them, it would have been impossible to prevent, or to have detected thefts, had they been so inclined. But as numerous as they were, constantly assisting us in our labours, mixing with our men, sitting for hours, eyeing with the greatest attention the different works, carrying, or handling and examining tools of every description, entering our tents and houses, performing for us many domestic services, assisting us in our wars, carrying for us our arms, our clothing, and provisions, being absent from us whole days with those precious things, still, during our stay, no article was ever missed by any person, except some trifles which were pilfered from the sailors by the girls, and this was, in all probability, in retaliation for the tricks which

had been played on them. The clothing of the officers and men, which was washed at a stream, much frequented by the natives of both sexes, at the distance of about half a mile from the camp, was frequently exposed, and might easily have been carried off unperceived. But none of it was ever lost, and I am inclined to believe that a more honest, or friendly and better disposed people does not exist under the sun.

They have been stigmatized by the name of savages; it is a term wrongly applied; they rank high in the scale of human beings, whether we consider them morally, or physically. We find them brave, generous, honest, and benevolent, acute, ingenious, and intelligent, and the beauty, and regular proportions of their bodies, correspond with the perfections of their minds. They are far above the common stature of the human race, seldom less than five feet eleven inches, but most commonly six feet two or three inches, and every way proportioned. Their faces are remarkably handsome, with keen, piercing eyes; teeth white, and more beautiful than ivory; countenances open and expressive, which reflect every emotion of their souls; limbs which might serve as models for a statuary, and strength and activity proportioned to their appearance. The skin of the men is of a dark copper colour, but that of the youths and girls is of a light brown. The first are as beautiful as those of any part of the world; but the latter, although possessing open and intelligent countenances, fine eyes and teeth, and much acuteness and vivacity, are far from being as handsome as the men. Their limbs and hands, (particularly the latter) are more beautifully proportioned than those of any other women; but a graceless walk, and a badly shaped foot, occasioned by going without shoes, take greatly from their charms. They possess much cunning, much coquetry, and no fidelity: the first proves a mind filled with intelligence, and susceptible of improvement; the second is said to be natural to the sex in every part of the world; and the third they do not consider as necessary; it is not expected of them by their husbands. Go into their houses, you might there see instances of the strongest affection of wives for their husbands, and husbands for their wives, parents for their daughters, and daughters for their parents; but at the camp they met as perfect strangers. Every woman was left at her own disposal, and every thing pertaining to her person was considered as her own exclusive property.

The dress of the women is handsome, and far from being immodest; it has already been in part described, but a more minute description may not be unsatisfactory. It consists of three parts only: the head-dress, the robe, and the part worn as the petticoat: the first is called *pahhee*, the second *cahu*, and the third

ahuruahee. The *páhlee* consists of a remarkably fine and white piece of paper cloth, of open texture, and much resembling a species of fine gauze, called by us spider's web; this is put on in a very neat and tasty manner, and greatly resembles a close cap. The hair is put up gracefully in a knot behind, and the head, when dressed in this manner, bears no slight resemblance to the prevailing fashion of the present day in America. The *cahu* consists of a long and flowing piece of paper-cloth, of a close and strong texture, which envelopes the body, extending to the ankles, and has its upper corners tastily knotted on one shoulder, having frequently the whole of the opposite arm, and part, and sometimes the whole, of the breast exposed. They display many graces in the use of this part of the dress, sporting the knot sometimes on one shoulder, and sometimes on the other, at times carefully concealing, and at others exposing their charms. Sometimes the knot is brought in front, when the whole bosom is exposed to view; at other times it is thrown behind, to display a well-formed back and shoulders, or a slender waist.

Agreeably to the request of the chiefs, I laid down the plan of the village about to be built. The line on which the houses were to be placed was already traced by our barrier of water casks. They were to take the form of a crescent, to be built on the outside of the enclosure, and to be connected with each other by a wall twelve feet in length and four feet in height. The houses were to be fifty feet in length, built in the usual fashion of the country, and of a proportioned width and height.

On the 3d November, upwards of four thousand natives, from the different tribes, assembled at the camp with materials for building, and before night they had completed a dwelling-house for myself, and another for the officers, a sail loft, a cooper's shop, and a place for our sick, a bake-house, a guard-house, and a shed for the sentinel to walk under. The whole were connected by the walls as above described. We removed our barrier of water casks, and took possession of our delightful village, which had been built as if by enchantment.

Nothing could exceed the regularity with which these people carried on their work, without any chief to guide them, without confusion, and without much noise. They performed their labour with expedition and neatness. Every man appeared to be master of his business, and every tribe appeared to strive which should complete their house with most expedition, and in the most perfect manner.

When the village was completed, I distributed among them several harpoons, and as usual gave them an opportunity of contending for old iron hoops. All were perfectly happy and contented, and it was the cause of great pleasure to Gattanewa and

his people that I praised the house they had built above all the rest.

It seems strange how a people, living under no form of government that we could ever perceive, having no chiefs over them who appear to possess any authority, having neither rewards to stimulate them to exertion, nor dread of punishment before them, should be capable of conceiving and executing, with the rapidity of lightning, works which astonished us. They appear to act with one mind, to have the same thought, and to be operated on by the same impulse. They can be compared only to the beavers, whose instinct teaches them to design and execute works which claim our admiration. Of all the labours, that which most surprised me was, carrying the gun to the mountains. I have since, with much difficulty, and at the hazard of breaking my neck, travelled the path by which it was carried, or rather I have scrambled along the sides of the precipices, and climbed the almost perpendicular rocks and mountains, to the summits of which they succeeded in raising it; and I never should have believed it possible that a people so devoid of artificial means of assisting labour, should have been able to perform a task so truly herculean. I inquired by what manner they had divided the labour among themselves, in order that each might share his proportion of it. They told me they had carried it by valleys, that is, the people of one valley had agreed to take it a certain distance, when it was to be received and carried on by those of another valley, and so on to the top of the mountain. This was all the information I could obtain on the subject. No doubt they had recourse to some mode of apportioning the labour among themselves; for it was observed that they, from time to time, relieved each other, and that some were occupied solely in the transportation of the carriage. The gun was brought down again, without any desire being expressed on my part, when it was no longer expected to be of use. I had felt indifferent about the gun, as we had an abundance of them, and if I had any wish on the subject, it was that it should remain on the mountains as a monument of their great exertions.

As I before remarked, they have no chiefs who appear to assume any authority over them. They have only patriarchs, who possess solely the mild and gentle influence of a kind and indulgent father among his children. Gattanewa owns much land, and his tenants pay him in kind. When presents are to be made, he calls upon them for his due in hogs, cocoa-nuts, bananas, or bread-fruit; other landholders follow his example, the contributors assemble before his house, one with two or more cocoa-nuts, a bunch of bananas, one or two bread-fruit, a hog, a stalk of sugarcane, or a root of tarra. When all are collected, Gattanewa, his

son, or grandson, takes the lead, and they march in one line for the camp, to the number of two or three hundred. In the same manner we received the contributions of all the other tribes, with this difference only, that all the tribes except those of the valley of Tieuhoy were always preceded by a person bearing a white flag. When I asked Gattanewa why this practice was not adopted by the people of his valley, his reply was, that every body knew we were friends.

Although no external marks of respect were shown to Gattanewa; although he mixed unnoticed in the crowd; although he steered, and sometimes paddled, his own canoe, caught fish for his family, assisted in the construction of canoes, in the formation of household and other utensils, and bore the reputation of being one of the most ingenious and industrious mechanics on the island, still Gattanewa had his rank, and that rank was known and respected. To touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and as free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing which had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway. The mat on which Gattanewa reposed was held in such respect, that it could not be touched by a female, not even by his wife and family, whose mats in turn were tabooed for those of an inferior class. Indeed there are women, and some of the handsomest on the island, whose parents are considered wealthy and respectable, but they dare not walk or sit on a mat. They are not of royal blood, and this is a prerogative which seems confined to them.

Gattanewa has his servants, who perform for him and his family many domestic services, such as cooking, bringing water, &c. It does not appear, however, that he has any claims on their services; he gives them food, and as long as it suits them they stay. They mix with his family, occupy the same room, and a stranger, on entering the house of Gattanewa, would not know him from one of his domestics.

By the time our village was completed, every thing had been taken out of the frigate, and the powder and provisions deposited on board the prizes. The ship had been thoroughly smoked with charcoal, to destroy the rats, which, on opening the hatches, were found in great numbers dead about the large pots in which the fires were made. Several tubs full of them were collected

and thrown overboard, and it was supposed that, exclusive of the young, which were killed in the nests, and could not be found, we had not destroyed a less number than from twelve to fifteen hundred. The caulking and other repairs of the ship went on with much expedition and regularity, and among other defects we found our main-topmast in a very decayed state. We were however enabled to replace it with a spare one on board, and every thing promised that we should not meet with many embarrassments or delays. As soon, however, as our painting commenced, we felt the want of oil. We caught two remarkably large sharks, and endeavoured to substitute the oil extracted from their livers, but found it would not answer. We next tried black-fish oil, but it did not succeed. Fortunately, having a small quantity of the oil of the black whale on board our prizes, we found it answered nearly as well to paint as that which is extracted from flax-seed, and generally known by the name of linseed oil. With this we were enabled to improve the external appearance of the ship, but had not a sufficient quantity to paint her inside. We afterwards, however, found that this island affords an excellent substitute for linseed oil, in the oily walnuts, formerly mentioned as being used by the natives in ripening bananas, and for candles. The oil, of which they afford a large quantity, is easily expressed, and is no respect inferior to the best paint oil. As such, it is used not only by the natives of the Sandwich Islands, where it abounds, for painting their clothes, but by vessels touching there, which need a supply of that article.

Temaa Tipee, of the valley of Shoueme, had not been so punctual as the other tribes in sending his supplies, and his example had in some measure occasioned a falling off on the part of the others. I therefore found it necessary to let him know that I had noticed his neglect, and consequently sent a messenger to him to enquire whether he was disposed to remain on friendly terms with me, as he might take his choice, either peace or war. On the return of the messenger, he informed me, that Temaa Tipee desired nothing more ardently than peace, and that he should have been more punctual in the performance of his engagements, had not the Happahs refused to permit him and his tribe a passage through their valley. I suspected this to be false: I knew that the Happahs dare not act so contrary to my wishes. He, however, promised to bring his supplies by water in future punctually, and in the course of the day after the return of the messenger, landed at the beach in front of the village with six large canoes laden with hogs and fruit. His complaint of the Happahs had induced me to send a messenger immediately to that tribe, with a threat of punishment, in case of future difficulties between them and the tribes with whom I was at peace.

They denied positively having refused him a passage, and strengthened their assertions with fresh supplies.

Some time after this I sent a messenger to the Typees to inquire if they wished to be at peace with us, and to say that we were strongly disposed to be at peace with all the tribes on the island; but that this disposition did not proceed from fear, as I had strength enough to drive their united forces into the sea; but if they were disposed to be at peace, I was willing to meet them on the same terms as the other tribes, and only required an exchange of presents as a proof of their friendly disposition. In reply, they required to know why they should desire a friendship with us, or why they should bring us hogs and fruit? If I was strong enough, they knew I would come and take them; that my not doing so was an acknowledgment of my weakness; and that it was time enough to think of parting with them when they could no longer keep their valley.

I now inquired of Gattanewa the number of war canoes which he could equip and man; he informed me ten, and that each would carry about thirty men, and that the Happahs could equip an equal number of equal size; he told me it would be six days before they could be put together and got in readiness; but if I wished it, his people should set about it immediately. I directed them to do so, and dispatched a messenger to the Happahs directing them to prepare their war canoes to be in readiness to go to war with the Typees, and await my further orders. I gave them as well as the Tæehs to understand, that it was my intention to attack them both by sea and by land, and that I should send a large body of men in boats, and a ship to protect the landing of them and the war canoes, and that the remainder of the warriors of both tribes must proceed by land to attack them in the part where they were most assailable. I had hoped now to terrify the Typees by the formidable armament which was coming against them, and was glad to fix on some distant period for the commencement of hostilities, anxious to put them off as long as possible.

The war canoes of this island differ not much from those already described as belonging to the natives of the island of Ooahoo, or Jefferson's island. They are larger, more splendid, and highly ornamented, but the construction is the same, and like them they are furnished with outriggers. They are about fifty feet in length, two in width, and of a proportionate depth; they are formed of many pieces, and each piece, and indeed each paddle, has its separate proprietor. To one belongs the piece projecting from the stern, to another the part forming the bow. The pieces forming the sides belong to different persons, and when a canoe is taken to pieces, the whole is scattered throughout the

valley, and divided, perhaps, among twenty families. Each has the right of disposing of the part belonging to him, and when she is to be set up, every one brings his piece, with materials for securing it. The setting up a war canoe goes on with the same order and regularity as all their other operations. These canoes are owned only among the wealthy and respectable families, and are rarely used for the purposes of war or for pleasure, or when the chief persons of one tribe make a visit to another. In such cases they are richly ornamented with locks of human hair intermixed with bunches of gray beard, strung from the stem projection to the place raised for the steersman. These ornaments are in the greatest estimation among them, and a bunch of gray beard is in their view what the feathers of the ostrich, or heron, or the richest plumage would be in ours. The seat of the coxswain is highly ornamented with palm leaves and white cloth; he is gaily dressed and richly ornamented with plumes. The chief is seated on an elevation in the middle of the canoe, and a person fancifully dressed in the bow, which has the additional ornaments of pearl-shells strung on cocoa-nut branches raised in the forepart of the canoe. She is worked altogether by paddles, and those who use them are placed, two on a seat, and give their strokes with great regularity, shouting occasionally to regulate the time and encourage one another. These vessels, when collected in a fleet and in motion, with all their rowers exerting themselves, have a splendid and warlike appearance. They were paraded repeatedly for my inspection, and in all the reviews they appeared greatly to pride themselves on the beauty and splendour of their men of war. They are not, however, so fleet as might be expected, as our whale boats could beat them with great ease.

Their fishing canoes are vessels of a larger and fuller construction, many of them being six feet in width, and of an equal depth. They are managed with paddles more resembling an oar, and are, in some measure, used as such, but in a perpendicular position, the fulcrum resting on the outriggers projecting from each side. With those they proceed to the small bays on the coast, where they fish with the scoop net, and with the hook and line. They have also smaller canoes, which are commonly nothing more than the hollow keels of the large ones, after the upper works are taken off; these are furnished with outriggers, and are used for fishing about the harbour. The canoes used for the purpose of navigating from one island to another, a navigation very common, are similar in their construction to the larger kind of fishing canoes, and are secured two together by beams lashed across. These are called double canoes, and are furnished with a triangular sail made of a mat, simi-

lar to that generally called a shoulder-of-mutton sail, but placed in an inverted position, the hypotenuse forming the foot of the sail, to which is secured a boom. These are also worked during a calm with paddles, and appear capable of resisting the sea for a long time. The canoes formed for the sole purpose of going in search of new lands are of a still larger construction, and are rigged in the same manner. They use also occasionally a kind of catamaran, which they construct in a few minutes, and a kind of surf board, similar to that of the natives of the Sandwich Islands. These, however, scarcely deserve to be enumerated among their vessels, as they are used chiefly by the boys and girls, and are intended solely for paddling about the harbour.

LETTER XV.

Madison's Island.—Typee War.

THE Taeahs, the Happahs, and Shouemes, now made fresh complaints of the insults and aggressions of the Typees; one tribe they had threatened to drive off the land; they had thrown stones at, and otherwise insulted individuals of the other tribes. The Taeahs and Happahs became very solicitous for war, and began to utter loud complaints that (as all the other tribes in the island had formed an alliance with me) they should be tolerated in their insolence, and excused from supplying us as the rest had done. The more distant had now discontinued bringing in their supplies, and the other tribes had fallen off considerably, complaining that we had nearly exhausted all their stock, while the Typees were enjoying abundance. Lead us to the Typees, said they, and we shall be able to furnish you from their valley; you have long threatened them; their insults have been great; you have promised to protect us against them, and yet permit them to offer violence to us; and while you have rendered every other tribe tributary to you, you permit them to triumph with impunity. Our canoes are in readiness, our warriors impatient, and for less provocations, had you not been here, we should have been engaged in hostilities. Let us punish those Typees; bring them on the same terms to which we have agreed, and the whole island will then be at peace, a thing hitherto unknown, but the advantages of which we can readily conceive. These were the sentiments expressed by the chiefs and warriors of the Taeahs and Happahs. Tavee seemed determined to keep aloof from all quarrels; he was separated from us by the valley of the Typees, and they had it in their power to retort on him at pleasure. He and his people concluded it, therefore, the wisest to

bear their insults, and escape their stones in the best manner they could; not however without complaining occasionally to me on the subject. But they seemed determined to take no active part with us in the war.

Finding that it was absolutely necessary to bring the Typees to terms, or endanger our good understanding with the other tribes, and consequently our own safety, I resolved to endeavour to bring about a negotiation, and to back it with a force sufficient to intimidate them.

We arrived at the Typee landing at sunrise, and were joined by ten war canoes from the Happahs; the Essex Junior soon after arrived and anchored. The tops of all the neighbouring mountains were covered with the Taceh and Happah warriors, armed with spears, clubs, and slings; the beach was lined with the warriors who came with the canoes, and who joined us from the hills. Our force did not amount to a less number than five thousand men, but not a Typee or any of their dwellings were to be seen; for the whole length of the beach, extending upwards of a quarter of a mile, was a clear level plain, which extended back about one hundred yards. A high and almost impenetrable swampy thicket bordered on this plain, and the only trace we could perceive, which, we were informed, led to the habitations, was a narrow pathway which winded through the swamp. The canoes were all hauled on the beach, the Tacehs on the right, the Happahs on the left, and our four boats in the centre.

We soon came to the place for fording a river; in the thick bushes of the opposite banks of which, the Typees, who were here very numerous, made a bold stand, and showered on us their spears and other missiles. Here our advance was for a few minutes checked, the banks of the river being remarkably steep, but particularly on the side we were, which would render our retreat difficult and dangerous in case of a repulse. The stream was rapid, the water deep, and the fording difficult and hazardous on account of the exposed situation we should be in while crossing. We endeavoured in vain to clear the bushes of the opposite banks with our musketry. The stones and spears flew with augmented numbers. Finding that we could not dislodge them, I directed a volley to be fired, three cheers to be given, and to dash across the river. We soon gained the opposite bank, and continued our march, rendered still more difficult by the underwood, which was here interlaced to that degree, as to make it necessary sometimes to crawl on our hands and knees to get along. We were harassed as usual by the Typees for about a quarter of a mile through a thicket which, at almost any other time, I should have considered impenetrable. On emerging from

the swamp, we felt new life and spirits; but this joy was of short duration, for on casting up our eyes, we perceived a strong and extensive wall of seven feet in height, raised on an eminence crossing our road, and flanked on each side by an impenetrable thicket. In an instant afterwards we were assailed by such a shower of stones, accompanied by the most horrid yells, as left no doubt in our minds that we had here to encounter their principal strength, and that we should here meet with much resistance in passing this barrier. It fortunately happened, that a tree which afforded me shelter from their stones, enabled me, accompanied by Lieutenant Gamble, and Doctor Hoffman, a very valuable officer, to annoy them as they would raise above the wall to throw at us. These were the only muskets which could be employed to any advantage. Others kept up a scattering fire without effect. Finding we could not dislodge them; I gave orders for pushing on and endeavouring to take it by storm. But some of my men had by this time expended all their cartridges, and there were few who had more than three or four remaining. This discouraging news threw a damp on the spirits of the whole party. Without ammunition our muskets were rendered inferior to the weapons of the Typees, and if we could not advance, there could be no doubt we should be under the necessity of fighting our way back; and to attempt this with our few remaining cartridges, would be hazarding too much. My number was now reduced to nineteen men; there was no officer but myself; the Indians had all deserted me except Mouina; and to add to our critical and dangerous situation, three of the men remaining with me were knocked down with stones. We retreated for a few paces, and in an instant the Indians rushed on us with hideous yells. The first and second which advanced were killed at the distance of a few paces, and those who attempted to carry them off were wounded. This checked them, they abandoned their dead, and precipitately retreated to their fort.

Not a moment was now to be lost in gaining the opposite side of the river. Taking advantage of the terror they were thrown into, we marched off with our wounded. Scarcely had we crossed the river before we were attacked with stones. But here they halted, and we returned to the beach much fatigued and harassed with marching and fighting, and with no contemptible opinion of the enemy we had encountered, or the difficulties we should have to surmount in conquering them.

The behaviour of the friendly natives, and particularly the Hap-pahs, after this supposed defeat of my party, convinced me I had now no alternative, but to prove our superiority by a successful attack upon the Typees. It was obvious that the whole of the tribes would join the conquering side, as is always the case with savages,

and I became fully convinced that the safety of my people, as well as the interests of my government, would be compromised by any delay in the renewal of hostilities. Accordingly, the next day I determined to proceed with a force which I believed they could not resist, and selected two hundred men from the *Essex*, the *Essex Junior* (which had now arrived,) and from the prizes. I directed boats to be prepared to start with them before daylight next morning, and cautioned every one to be secret as to my intentions, not wishing to be annoyed by the noise and confusion of either of the tribes of Indians, whom we had always found useless to us. In the evening, the boats being leaky and unable to carry the men, I caused the party to be sent on shore, and determined to go by land. We had a fine moonlight night, and I hoped to be down in the Typee valley long before daylight. We had guides which we believed could be depended upon for their knowledge of the road, and supposing we should be unaccompanied by many Indians, calculated by our silence to take them by surprise, and make several prisoners, the possession of which would probably bring them to terms and save the necessity of bloodshed, which I wished to avoid if possible. The *Essex's* crew composed the main body, the rest being divided into scouting parties, headed by their respective officers. Added to this, I was desirous of impressing them with a high idea of our force, and by this means, terrify them into terms without farther effusion of blood. I accordingly directed my men to assemble on the ridge and to fire a volley; the Typees had not until then seen us, nor had they the least suspicion of our being there. As soon as they heard the report of our muskets, and discovered our numbers, which, with the multitude of Indians of both tribes who had now assembled, was very numerous, they shouted, beat their drums, and blew their war conchs from one end of the valley to the other. And what with the squealing of the hogs, which they now began to catch, the screaming of the women and children, and the yelling of the men, the din was horrible.

After firing our volley which went off better than I expected, we descended, with great difficulty, into the village of the Hap-pahs, and were shown into the public square. Around this place were several vacant houses, which had in all appearance been vacated on our account. In these I quartered my officers and men, assigning to each ship's crew their abode, after which I took possession of the one I had chosen for myself, in front of which the American ensign was hoisted.

When night approached, proper look-outs were placed, and fires made before each house. Those of the tribe of Tayeeks remained with us, the Hap-pahs retired. All not on guard devoted themselves to sleep, and at daylight, next morning, we

equally divided our ammunition and the line of march was formed. All had put their arms in a good state for service, and all were fresh and vigorous; each being supplied with a small quantity of provisions for the day.

On ascending the ridge, where we had passed such a disagreeable night, we halted to take breath, and view, for a few minutes, this delightful valley, which was soon to become a scene of desolation. From the hill we had a distant view of every part, and all appeared equally delightful. The valley was about nine miles in length, and three or four in breadth, surrounded on every part, except the beach, where we formerly landed, by lofty mountains. The upper part was bounded by a precipice of many hundred feet in height, from the top of which a handsome sheet of water was precipitated, and formed a beautiful river, which ran meandering through the valley, and discharged itself at the beach. Villages were scattered here and there, the bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees flourished luxuriantly and in abundance; plantations laid out in good order, enclosed with stone walls, were in a high state of cultivation, and every thing bespoke industry, abundance, and happiness. Never in my life did I witness a more delightful scene, or experience more repugnancy than I now felt, for the necessity which compelled me to make war against this happy and heroic people.

A large assemblage of Typee warriors were posted on the opposite banks of the river (which glided near the foot of the mountain) and dared us to descend. In their rear was a fortified village, secured by strong stone walls; drums were beating and war conchs were sounding in several parts, and we soon found they were disposed to make every effort to oppose us. I gave orders to descend; Mouina offered himself as our guide, and I directed him to lead us to their principal village. But finding the fatigue of going down the mountain greater than I expected, I gave orders to halt before crossing the river, to give time for the rear to close, which had become much scattered, and that all might rest. As soon as we reached the foot of the mountain we were annoyed by a shower of stones from the bushes, and from behind the stone walls; but as we were also enabled to shelter ourselves behind others, and being short of ammunition, I would not permit any person to fire.—After resting a few minutes, I directed the scouting parties to gain the opposite bank of the river, and followed with the main body. We were greatly annoyed with stones, and before all had crossed, the fortified village was taken without any loss on our side. Their chief warrior and another were killed, and several wounded. They retreated only to stone walls situated on higher grounds, where they continued to sling their stones and throw their spears. Three of my men

were wounded and many of the Typees killed before we dislodged them. Parties were sent out in different directions to scour the woods, and another fort was taken after some resistance; but the party, overpowered by numbers, were compelled to retreat to the main body after keeping possession of it half an hour. We were waiting in the fort first taken for the return of our scouting parties—a multitude of Tayees and Happahs were with us, and many were on the outskirts of the village seeking for plunder. Lieutenant M' Knight had driven a party from a strong wall on the high ground, and had possession of it, when a large body of Typees, which had been lying in ambush, rushed by his fire, and darted into the fort with their spears. The Tayees and Happahs all ran, the Typees approached within pistol shot, but on the first fire retreated precipitately, crossing the fire of Mr. M' Knight's party, and although none fell, we had reason to believe that many were wounded. The spears and stones were flying from the bushes in every direction, and although we killed and wounded in this place great numbers of them, we were satisfied, from the opposition made, that we should have to fight our whole way through the valley.

We continued our march up the valley, and met in our way several beautiful villages, which were set on fire, and at length arrived at their capital, for it deserves the name of one. We had been compelled to fight every inch of ground, as we advanced, and here they made considerable opposition; the place was, however, soon carried, and I very reluctantly set fire to it. The beauty and regularity of this place was such, as to strike every spectator with astonishment, and their grand site, or public square, was far superior to any other we had met with. Numbers of their gods were here destroyed, several large and elegant new war canoes, which had never been used, were burnt in the houses that sheltered them; many of their drums, which they had been compelled to abandon, were thrown into the flames, and our Indians loaded themselves with plunder, after destroying bread-fruit and other trees, and all the young plants they could find.

We at length came to the formidable fort which checked our career on our first day's enterprise, and although I had witnessed many instances of the great exertion and ingenuity of these islanders, I never had supposed them capable of contriving and erecting a work like this, so well calculated for strength and defence. It formed the segment of a circle, and was about fifty yards in extent, built of large stones, six feet thick at the bottom, and gradually narrowing at the top to give it strength and durability. On the left was a narrow entrance merely sufficient to admit of one person's entering, and serving as a sally-port. But to enter this from the outside, it was necessary to pass directly

under the wall for one half its length, as an impenetrable thicket prevented the approach to it in any other direction. The wings and rear were equally guarded, and the right was flanked by another fortification of greater magnitude, and equal strength and ingenuity.

On my arrival at the beach, I met Tavee and many of his tribe, together with the chiefs of the Happahs. Tavee was the bearer of a white flag, and several of the same emblems of peace were flying on the different hills around his valley. He was desirous of knowing whether I intended going to their valley, and wished to be informed when he should again bring presents, and what articles he should bring. He inquired if I would still be his friend, and reminded me that I was Temaa Typee, the chief of the valley of Shoueme, and that his name was Tavee. I gave him assurances of my friendship, requested him to return and allay the fears of the women, who, he informed me, were in the utmost terror, apprehensive of an attack from me. The chiefs of the Happahs invited me to return to their valley, assuring me that an abundance of every thing was already provided for us.

When I had reached the summit of the mountain, I stopped to contemplate that valley which, in the morning, we had viewed in all its beauty, the scene of abundance and happiness. A long line of smoking ruins now marked our traces from one end to the other; the opposite hills were covered with the unhappy fugitives, and the whole presented a scene of desolation and horror. Unhappy and heroic people, the victims of your own courage and mistaken pride. While the instruments of your own punishment shed the tears of pity over your misfortunes, thousands of your countrymen (nay, brethren of the same family) triumphed in your distresses!

The day of our return was devoted to rest; a messenger was, however, dispatched to the Typees, informing them I was still willing to make peace, and that I should not allow them to return to their valley until they had come to terms of friendship with us. The messenger, on his return, informed me, that the Typees, on his arrival, were in the utmost consternation; but that my message had diffused the most lively joy among them. There was nothing they desired more than peace, and they would be willing to purchase my friendship on any terms. He informed me that a flag of truce would be sent in next day to know my conditions.

On the arrival of the Typee flag, which was borne by a chief, accompanied by a priest, I informed them that I still insisted on a compliance with the conditions formerly offered them, to wit, an exchange of presents, and peace with myself and the tribes who had allied themselves to me. They readily consented to these

terms, and requested to know the number of hogs I should require, stating that they had lost but few, and should be enabled to supply us abundantly. I told them I should expect from them four hundred, for which they would receive the customary presents in return. These they assured me should be delivered without delay.

CHAPTER XVI.

Madison's Island—Religious Ceremonies, Customs, &c.

HAVING now nothing to occupy me but the refitting my ship, which went on with expedition, and the loading the New-Zealander with the oil from the Greenwich, Seringapatam, and the Sir Andrew Hammond, I was enabled to make little excursions occasionally into different parts of the valley, and visit the natives at their houses, which was what I had not been enabled to do heretofore, as my various occupations had kept me much confined to our village. On these occasions I always met the most hospitable and friendly reception from the natives of both sexes. Cocoa-nuts, and whatever else they had, were offered me, and I rarely returned home without several little *tis ties* as a token of their regard. I generally took with me seeds of different descriptions, with which I was provided, such as melons, pumpkins, peas, beans, oranges, limes, &c. together with peach stones, wheat and Indian corn, which were planted within the enclosures, in the most suitable places for them, the natives always assisting in pulling up the weeds and clearing the ground for this purpose. The nature of the different kinds of vegetables and fruit that each kind of grain would produce was explained, and they all promised to take the utmost care of them, and prevent the hogs from doing them any injury.

I endeavoured to impress them with an idea of the value of the seeds I was planting, and explained to them the different kinds of fruit they would produce, assuring them of their excellence; and as a farther inducement to attend to their cultivation, I promised them that, on my return, I would give them a whale's tooth for every ripe pumpkin and melon they would bring me. To the chiefs of the distant tribes, to whom I distributed the different kinds of seed, I made the same promise. I also gave them several English hogs of a superior breed, which they were very anxious to procure. I left in charge of Wilson some male and female goats; and as I had a number of young Gallipagos tortoises, I distributed several among the chiefs, and permitted a great many to escape into the bushes and among the grass.

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1b. All-r.

In one of those excursions, I was led to the chief place of religious ceremony in the valley. It is situated high up the valley of the Havvous, and I regret extremely that I had it not in my power to make a correct drawing of it on the spot, as it far exceeds in splendour every thing of the kind described by Captain Cook, or represented in the plates which accompany his voyage. In a large and handsome grove formed by bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and toa-trees (the tree of which the spears and war clubs are made) and a variety of other trees with which I am not acquainted, situated at the foot of a steep mountain by the side of a rivulet, and on a platform made after the usual manner, is a deity formed of hard stone, about the common height of a man, but larger proportioned every other way. It is in a squatting posture, and not badly executed. His ears and eyes are large, his mouth wide, his arms and legs short and small; and, on the whole, is such a figure as a person would expect to meet among a people where the art of sculpture is in its infancy. Arranged on each side of him, as well as in the rear and front, are several others, of nearly equal size, formed of the wood of the bread-fruit tree. They are not more perfect in their proportions than the other, and appear to be made on the same model. Probably they are copies, and the stone god may serve as a model of perfection for all the sculptures of the island, as their household gods, their ornaments for the handles of their fans, their stilts, and, in fact every representation of the figure of a man is made on the same plan. To the right and left of those gods are two obelisks, formed very fancifully and neatly of bamboos and the leaves of the palm and cocoa-nut trees interwoven. The whole is handsomely decorated with streamers of white cloth, which give a picturesque and elegant appearance. The obelisks are about thirty-five feet in height, and about the base of them were hung the heads of hogs and tortoises, as I was informed, as offerings to their gods. On the right of this grove, distant only a few paces, were four splendid war canoes, furnished with their outriggers, and decorated with ornaments of human hair, coral shells, &c. with an abundance of white streamers. Their heads were placed towards the mountain, and in the stern of each was a figure of a man with a paddle steering, in full dress, ornamented with plumes, ear-rings made to represent those formed of whales' teeth, and every other ornament of the fashion of the country.

I believe, from what I have seen and learnt of these people, that their religion is the same as that of the Society and Sandwich Islands; a religion that not only perplexed Captain Cook, but all the learned men who accompanied him, and as may be naturally supposed, has greatly perplexed me. Their priests are their oracles; they are considered but little inferior to their gods;

to some they are greatly superior, and after their death they ~~rank~~ with the chief divinity. Besides the gods at the burying-place or morai, for so it is called by them, they have their household gods, as well as small gods, which are hung round their necks, generally made of human bones. Others are carved on the handles of their fans, on their stilts, their canes, and more particularly on their war clubs. But these gods are not held in any estimation; they are sold, exchanged, and given away with the same indifference as any other object, and indeed the most precious relic, the skulls and other bones of their relations, are disposed of with equal indifference.

In religion these people are mere children; their morais are their baby-houses, and their gods are their dolls. I have seen Gattanewa with all his sons, and many others, sitting for hours together clapping their hands and singing before a number of little wooden gods laid out in small houses erected for the occasion, and ornamented with strips of cloth. They were such houses as a child would have made, of about two feet long and eighteen inches high, and no less than ten or twelve of them in a cluster, like a small village. By the side of these were several canoes, furnished with their paddles, seines, harpoons, and other fishing apparatus, and round the whole a line was drawn to show that the place was tabooed. Within this line was Gattanewa and others, like overgrown babies, singing and clapping their hands, sometimes laughing and talking, and appearing to give their ceremony no attention.

It remains for me now to say something of their domestic economy, their furniture, utensils, and implements. I have already described their houses, from which it will be seen that their apartments are few, and that however numerous may be the family, they have but one common sleeping place. This is covered with dry grass, on which mats are spread for the chief persons; the servants and others sleep on the grass alone, or on mats if they have them. It has been represented by former voyagers, that the women of this great nation distributed among the South Sea Islands, are not permitted to sit at meals with the men, or allowed to eat pork on any occasion. Those people are an exception; men, women, and children eat together, although each have their messes in separate dishes, and the women are not prohibited from eating pork, except during the existence of taboos. Even then they eat it, if the men are not present, or if they will only have the complaisance to turn away their faces, and not seem to notice them; which they generally do.

Among tribes not tabooed I have seen men and women eating pork together, which was the case at Lewis's Bay, as I before mentioned. The men and women are both remarkably fond of

pork, and from their desire to eat it one would suppose that it was an article of great rarity and scarcity among them, as in fact it is. For although the island abounds in hogs, the natives seldom kill them for the use of their families, but keep them for their feasts; and, on such occasions, they will frequently kill five or six hundred at a time. If a relation die, they have a feast on the occasion; and they will save their hogs for years, in order to make their feast abundant, in which consists its chief splendour.

When a marriage takes place, they also have a feast, and in this consists the whole ceremony. The union is not binding, and the parties are at liberty to separate when they no longer like each other, provided they have had no children. The girls are seldom married before they are nineteen or twenty years of age, and their licentious life prevents them from having children before that period; they therefore preserve their beauty to an advanced age. Before marriage they are at liberty to indulge themselves with whom they please, but after marriage the right of disposing of them remains with the husband. The women, different from those of almost every other Indian nation, are not subjected to any laborious work. Their occupations are wholly domestic; to them belongs the manufacturing of cloth, also the care of the house and children. The men cultivate the ground, catch fish, build canoes and houses, and protect their families; they are all artificers, and as they have but few wants, they are perfect in the knowledge necessary to supply them. To be sure there are certain professional trades, which they are not all so perfect in, such as tattooing, and the manufacturing of ornaments for the ears; for those objects there are men who devote their whole attention to render themselves perfect. There are also professed barbers, and their doctors are, in some measure, professional men. Their furniture consists of mats of a superior workmanship, calabashes, baskets, kava cups, formed of the cocoa-nut, and cradles for their children, hollowed out of a log, and made with great neatness, some small chests, also hollowed out of a solid piece, with covers to them, wooden bowls, and stands, calculated to hang different objects on, so contrived that the rats cannot get on them. Their plumes and other articles of value, which would otherwise be injured by the rats, are suspended in baskets from the roofs of their houses, by lines passing through the bottom of an inverted calabash, to prevent those animals from descending them. Agricultural implements consist only of sharp stakes for digging the ground; those for fishing consist of the net, bone and wooden harpoons, the rod and line, and fish-hooks formed of mother-of-pearl, of which, as well as of the bone and wooden harpoons, particular descriptions may be necessary.

They shave their heads, or rather their barbers shave them,

with a shark's tooth, or shells, but now most commonly with a piece of iron hoop ground down to so sharp an edge as to remove the hair without giving much pain. The beard of the young men, and the hair under the arms of both men and women, is plucked out by means of shells, and there are certain other parts of the body where the females pay as little respect to the works of nature. The females at times, on what occasion I do not know, shave their heads close; but I am induced to believe such occasions are rare, as some wear their hair long, some cut short, and some cropped close, while others are close shaved. They have such varieties in wearing their hair, that I could not discover any fashion which seemed to prevail over the others, except among the young men, to which class it seemed wholly confined. Their custom is to put it up in two knots, one on each side of the head, and they are secured with white strips of cloth, with a degree of neatness and taste which might defy the art of our best head-dressers to equal. The old men wear it sometimes cut short, sometimes the head is shaved, and they occasionally have their heads entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But this latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, &c. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise. Besides the shark's tooth and iron hoop razors, they make use of a brand of fire to singe off, and shells as tweezers to pluck out the beard and hair on different parts of the body.

Tattooing is performed by means of a machine made of bone, something like a comb, with the teeth only on one side. The points of the teeth are rubbed with a black paint, made of burnt cocoa-nut shell ground to powder, and mixed with water. This is struck into the flesh by means of a heavy piece of wood, which serves the purpose of a hammer. The operation is extremely painful, and streams of blood follow every blow, yet pride induces them to bear this torture, and they even suffer themselves to be tied down while it is performing, in order that their agony may not interrupt the operator. The men commence tattooing as soon as they are able to bear the pain; generally at the age of eighteen or nineteen, and are rarely completely tattooed until they arrive at the age of thirty-five. The women begin about the same age; but have only their legs, arms, and hands tattooed, which is done with extraordinary neatness and delicacy. Some slight lines are drawn across their lips. It is also the practice with some to have the inside of their lips tattooed, but the object of this ornament I could never find out, as it is never seen unless they turn out their lips to show it. Every tribe in the island I observed, was tattooed after a different fashion, and I was in-

formed that every line had its meaning, and gave to the bearer certain privileges at their feasts. This practice of tattooing sometimes occasions sores which fester, and are several weeks before they heal; it however never produces any serious consequences, or leaves any scars behind.

Their implements for the manufacture of cloths consist only of a beater and a smooth log. They are both of that kind of hard wood of which the war clubs are made. The beater is about eighteen inches in length, one end of which is rounded for the handle, the rest is squared, and slightly grooved the length of the square. The whole operation of making the cloth consists in beating the bark out on the log to the size required, keeping it wet and gently stretched with one hand, while the other is employed with the beater. This employment is left to the old women, who will make three outer garments or cahoes in the course of a day. The cloth is remarkably neat and regular, nearly as strong as fine cotton or linen, but will not bear washing more than once. It is worn about a week before washing; after being washed it is beat out again to give them a gloss and strength. Thus a woman, with moderate labour, will in one day make for herself outer garments to last her six weeks. If the garment should be torn in wearing, or by any accident, it is only necessary to wet the edges of the rent, and gently beat the parts together. They are entirely unacquainted with the use of the needle; this simple mode of repairing their dresses does not require it, nor is it requisite in their formation, as each part of their clothing consists of square pieces.

Their coffins are dug out of a solid piece of white wood, in the manner of a trough; the size is just sufficient to cram the body in, and it is polished and otherwise finished in a style which proves they pay great respect to the remains of their friends. When a person dies, the body is deposited in a coffin, and a stage erected, either in a house vacated for the purpose, in which the coffin is placed, or a small house of sufficient size to contain the coffin is built in front of a *tattooed* house, on the platform of stones, in which the coffin is deposited. The former is practised with the bodies of women, the latter with those of men; guardians are appointed to sleep near and protect them. When the flesh is mouldered from the bones, they are, as I have been informed, carefully cleansed: some are kept for relics, and some are deposited in the morais.

Their fans, of which they are very careful, are made with surprising neatness, and consist of a curious piece of mat work, of a semi-circular form, attached to a handle, generally representing four figures of their gods, two above and two below, squatting back to back. The fans are made of a stiff kind of grass, or

perhaps the palmetto leaf, and the handles either of sandal wood, toa, ivory, or human bones, neatly carved into figures of their gods. These fans are held in high estimation, and they take much pains in preserving them clean, whitening them from time to time with chalk, or some other similar substance.

CHAPTER XVII.

Fruit—Departure from the Island.

PINK apples, of an inferior quality, for the want of proper cultivation, and the castor-oil bean, are to be found on the island. The first is confined to a few tabbood spots in the valley of Tieuhoy, the latter grows in the most flourishing manner, and in the greatest abundance. These two plants were introduced, as Wilson informed me, by an English missionary, who, about five or six years ago, remained a short time here with a view of converting the natives to Christianity. I could not learn that he had any success in his undertaking; if, however, he had while he remained, all traces of it were completely worn off when I arrived. It seems he first endeavoured to convert Gattanewa's wife, as being the most intelligent woman on the island. She appeared to have a perfect recollection of some conversations he had with her on religion, through the medium of Wilson, and among other things, related to me, that he had informed her that our God was the only God that every one should worship; that he made the island of Nooaheevah, and had sent down his Son to let us know that he was the true and only God. He ridiculed their gods as blocks, and stones, and rags, which, said Taiea-taiaa was not right, for we did not ridicule his God, who, if he wished us to be convinced that we should worship only him, would also send his Son to instruct us. We would not kill him, as did the tribe of which the missionary informed me; we would thank him for his good intentions, and give him, as we gave the missionary, shelter and food while he remained among us. Our gods supply us with bread-fruit and cocoa-nuts, bananas and tarra in abundance; we are perfectly contented, and we feel satisfied there is no other such island to be found as Nooaheevah, nor a valley more happy than the valley of Tieuhoy. You who reside in the moon come to get the produce of our island; why would you visit us, if your own gods and your own island could supply all your wants? The gods of white men, we believe, are greater than our gods, because white men are themselves superior to us. The gods of white men were intended for them alone. The gods of Nooaheevah were intended solely for us. I must here remark that these people are fully persuaded that we reside in the moon, and that we

owe the fairness of our skin entirely to the colour of that luminary. They are sensible that England and America are two distinct countries, or rather islands, or *valleys* situated in the same island; and they were astonished, that while the two *tribes* were at war we should suffer our prisoners to live.

No people are more strongly attached to their soil than the natives of Nooaheevah; no persuasions whatever, no offers of reward (not even of whales' teeth) can induce them to leave their beloved island, their friends, and relations. And the only times that I ever discovered anger strongly marked on their countenances, was when, for my amusement, I proposed to their children or brothers to take them to America. Indeed I should have been glad that one or two of their young men would have consented to go with me, if I had been certain of having it in my power to return them to their native island. But the apprehension that this might not be the case, prevented my being so solicitous as I otherwise should have been. It is true, they have not the same aversion to leaving their island to search for other lands. But they are taught by traditions that those are not the countries of white men, they are islands abounding in bread-fruit, cocoanuts, tarra, kava, and such other productions as are to them in higher estimation than any other; they are the lands belonging to the great nation of which they make a part, who speak the same language, with slight variations, have the same religion and customs, use the same arms and ornaments, and are disseminated among the innumerable islands scattered about the Pacific Ocean. A Nooaheevan, a Sandwich islander, an Otaheitan, and a New Zealander, are all of the same nation, and their language and appearance do not differ so much as those of the people of the different counties of England.

It has been seen by the traditionary accounts given me by Gattanewa, that Oataia and Ovanova his wife came from an island called Vavao (somewhere below Nooaheevah) and peopled this island. It is said he brought with him a variety of plants, and that his forty children, with the exception of one, (Po, or night,) were named after those plants. Among the group of the Friendly Islands is a fine island called Vavao, which produces every thing in common with Tongataboo, and the other islands of the group; the productions of which differ little from those of Nooaheevah.

On the 9th of December, I had all my provisions, wood, and water on board, my decks filled with hogs, and a most abundant supply of cocoanuts and bananas, with which we had been furnished by the liberality of our Nooaheevan friends, who had reserved for us a stock of dried cocoanuts, suitable for taking to sea, and calculated for keeping three or four months.

The prizes, Seringapatam, Sir Andrew Hammond, and Greenwich, were safely moored under the fort, and placed under charge of Lieutenant Gamble, of the marines, who, with Midshipman Feltus and twenty-one men, volunteered to remain with them until my return, or until they could receive further orders from me. In my orders to Lieutenant Gamble, I exhorted him to pay every regard to the most friendly intercourse with the natives, and to endeavour to introduce among them the cultivation of seeds of different kinds, which I left with him. My views in leaving him with these vessels were to secure the means of repairing my ships in case of an action on the coast. And to avoid his being unnecessarily detained here, I gave him orders to leave the island in five and a half months from the time of my departure, if he should not hear of me before the expiration of that period.

Shortly after leaving the port, a circumstance took place which caused me much sorrow. The Otaheitan I had on board had received a blow from the boatswain's mate, the first probably which he had ever received, as his gentle disposition, his activity, and desire to give satisfaction, had endeared him to every person in the ship. Tamaha was ever lively and cheerful, constantly at work during working hours, and after the work was over, his chief employment was in amusing the crew by dancing after the manner of his own country, or in imitating the dancers, and the exercise of ours; he was with all a favourite. Tamaha could not bear the shame of a blow; he shed a torrent of tears, and declared that no one should strike him again. We were about twenty miles from the land, night was coming on, and it was blowing fresh with a considerable sea. Tamaha jumped overboard undiscovered, and was seen no more. Whether he took with him an oar, or small spar, to buoy himself up; whether he hoped to reach the shore; or whether he determined to put an end to his existence, I cannot pretend to say; the distance, however, was so great, and the sea so rough, that I cannot entertain a hope of his surviving. His loss was greatly lamented by us all, and his melancholy fate caused a general dejection.*

CHAPTER XVIII.

Events at Valparaiso, previous to the Capture of the Essex.

ON the 3d of February I anchored in the bay of Valparaiso, exchanged salutes with the battery, went on shore to pay my respects to the Governor, and the next day received his visit under

* He, however, reached the Island, after swimming and floating two nights and a day.

a salute. The Governor was accompanied by his wife and several of his officers.

On the evening of the seventh, I invited the officers of the government, their families, and all the other respectable inhabitants, to an entertainment on board the *Essex*. To give Lieutenant Downes an opportunity to participate in these gaieties, I directed him to anchor his vessel, but so as to save a full view of the sea.

The dancing continued until midnight; after which Lieutenant Downes repaired to his vessel, got her under way, and proceeded to sea. We had not yet taken down the awnings, flags, &c. which we usually employed on these occasions for the decorations of ships of war, nor got clear of the confusion which so large a company naturally occasioned, before the *Essex Junior* made a signal for two enemy's ships in sight.

On my return to the *Essex*, at half-past seven, one hour and a half only after the enemy came in sight, I found the ship completely prepared for action, and every man on board, and at his post. We had now only to act on the defensive. At eight o'clock the two ships came into the harbour; the frigate, which proved to be the *Phoebe*, Captain Hillyar, ranging up alongside of the *Essex*, and between her and the *Essex Junior*, within a few yards of the former. The *Phoebe* was fully prepared for action. Captain Hillyar very politely inquired after my health; to which inquiry I returned the usual compliment.

Finding the *Phoebe* was approaching nearer than prudence or a strict neutrality would justify me in permitting, I observed to Captain Hillyar, that my ship was perfectly prepared for action, but that I should only act on the defensive.

Captain Hillyar and Captain Tucker, the day after their arrival, paid me a visit at the house of Mr. Blanco, where I generally staid while on shore. Their visit was soon returned, and a friendly intimacy established, not only between the commanders and myself, but the officers and boats' crews of the respective ships. No one, to have judged from appearances, would have supposed us to have been at war, our conduct towards each other bore so much the appearance of a friendly alliance. At our first interview, I took occasion to tell Captain Hillyar, it was very important that I should know of him, whether he intended to respect the neutrality of the port? He replied, with much emphasis and earnestness: "You have paid so much respect to the neutrality of the port, that I feel myself bound in honour to respect it." I told him, the assurance was sufficient, and that it would place me more at ease, since I should now no longer feel it necessary to be always prepared for action.

The *Phoebe*, agreeably to my expectations, came to seek me at Valparaiso, where I was anchored with the *Essex*, my armed prize the *Essex Junior*, under the command of Lieutenant

Downes, on the look-out off the harbour. But, contrary to the course I thought he would pursue, Commodore Hillyar brought with him the Cherub sloop of war, mounting twenty-eight guns, eighteen thirty-two pound carronades, eight twenty-fours, and two long nines on the quarter-deck and fore-castle, and a complement of a hundred and eighty men. The force of the Phoebe is as follows: thirty long eighteen pounders, sixteen thirty-two pound carronades, one howitzer, and six three pounders in the tops, in all fifty-three guns, and a complement of three hundred and twenty men; making a force of eighty-one guns and five hundred men—in addition to which, they took on board the crew of an English letter of marque lying in port. Both ships had picked crews, and were sent into the Pacific in company with the Racoon of twenty-two guns, and a store-ship of twenty guns, for the express purpose of seeking the Essex, and were prepared with flags bearing the motto "God and our country; British sailors' best rights; traitors offend both." This was intended as a reply to my motto, "*Free trade and sailors' rights*," under the erroneous impression that my crew were chiefly Englishmen, or to counteract its effect on their own crews.—The force of the Essex was forty-six guns, forty thirty-two pound carronades, and six long twelves, and her crew, which had been much reduced by prizes, amounted only to two hundred and fifty-five men. The Essex Junior, which was intended chiefly as a store-ship, mounted twenty guns, ten eighteen pound carronades, and ten short sixes, with only sixty men on board. In reply to their motto, I wrote at my mizen—"God, our Country, and Liberty; tyrants offend them."

On getting their provisions on board, they went off the port for the purpose of blockading me, where they cruised for near six weeks; during which time I endeavoured to provoke a challenge, and frequently, but ineffectually, to bring the Phoebe alone to action, first with both my ships, and afterward with my single ship, with both crews on board. I was several times under way, and ascertained that I had greatly the advantage in point of sailing, and once succeeded in closing within gun-shot of the Phoebe, and commenced a fire on her, when she ran down for the Cherub, which was two and a half miles to leeward. This excited some surprise and expressions of indignation, as previous to my getting under way, she hove too off the port, hoisted her motto flag, and fired her guns to windward. Commodore Hillyar seemed determined to avoid a contest with me on nearly equal terms, and from his extreme prudence in keeping both his ships ever after constantly within hail of each other, there were no hopes of any advantages to my country from a longer stay in port. I therefore determined to put to sea the first opportunity which should offer; and I was the more strongly

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induced to do so, as I had gained certain intelligence that the *Tagus*, rated thirty-eight, and two other frigates, had sailed for that sea in pursuit of me. I had also reason to expect the arrival of the *Raccoon* from the north-west coast of America, where she had been sent for the purpose of destroying our fur establishment on the *Columbia*. A rendezvous was appointed for the *Essex Junior*, and every arrangement made for sailing, and I intended to let them chase me off, to give the *Essex Junior* an opportunity of escaping. On the 28th of March, the day after this determination was formed, the wind came on to blow fresh from the southward, when I parted my larboard cable and dragged my starboard anchor directly out to sea. Not a moment was to be lost in getting sail on the ship. The enemy were close in with the point forming the west side of the bay; but on opening them I saw a prospect of passing to windward, when I took in my top-gallant sails, which were set over single reefed top-sails, and braced up for this purpose. But on rounding the point a heavy squall struck the ship and carried away her maintop-mast, precipitating the men who were aloft into the sea, who were drowned. Both ships now gave chase to me, and I endeavoured in my disabled state to regain the port; but finding I could not recover the common anchorage, I ran close into a small bay, about three-quarters of a mile to leeward of the battery, on the east side of the harbour, and let go my anchor within pistol shot of the shore, where I intended to repair my damages as soon as possible. The enemy continued to approach, showing an evident intention of attacking us, regardless of the neutrality of the place where I was anchored. The caution observed in their approach to the attack of the crippled *Essex* was truly ridiculous, as was their display of their motto flags, and the number of jacks at their mast heads. I, with as much expedition as circumstances would admit, got my ship ready for action, and endeavoured to get a spring on my cable, but had not succeeded when the enemy, at fifty-four minutes after three P. M. made his attack, the *Phœbe* placing herself under my stern, and the *Cherub* on my starboard bow. But the *Cherub* soon finding her situation a hot one, bore up and ran under my stern also, where both ships kept up a hot raking fire. I had got three long twelve pounders out at the stern ports, which were worked with so much bravery and skill, that in half an hour we so disabled both as to compel them to haul off to repair damages. In the course of this firing, I had by the great exertions of Mr. Edward Barnewall, the acting sailing master, assisted by Mr. Linscott, the boatswain, succeeded in getting springs on our cables three different times—but the fire of the enemy was so excessive, that before we could get our broadside to bear, they were shot away, and thus rendered useless to us.

tual, almost every gun being disabled by the destruction of their crews.

I now sent for the officers of divisions to consult them ; but what was my surprise to find only acting Lieutenant Stephen Decatur M'Knight remaining, who confirmed the report respecting the condition of the guns on the gun-deck—those on the spar deck were not in a better state. Lieutenant Wilmer, after fighting most gallantly throughout the action, had been knocked overboard by a splinter while getting the sheet anchor from the bows, and was drowned. Acting Lieutenant John G. Cowell, had lost a leg ; Mr. Edward Barnewall, acting sailing master, had been carried below, after receiving two wounds, one in the breast and one in the face ; and acting Lieutenant W. H. Odenheimer, had been knocked overboard from the quarter an instant before, and did not regain the ship until after the surrender. I was informed that the cock-pit, the steerage, the ward-room, and the birth-deck, could contain no more wounded ; that the wounded were killed while the surgeons were dressing them, and that unless something was speedily done to prevent it, the ship would soon sink from the number of shot holes in her bottom. And, on sending for the carpenter, he informed me that all his crew had been killed or wounded, and that he had been once over the side to stop the leaks, when his slings had been shot away, and it was with difficulty he was saved from drowning. The enemy, from the smoothness of the water, and the impossibility of our reaching him with our carronades, and the little apprehension that was excited by our fire, which had now become much slackened, was enabled to take aim at us as at a target ; his shot never missed our hull, and my ship was cut up in a manner which was, perhaps, never before witnessed—in fine, I saw no hopes of saving her, and at twenty minutes after six P. M. gave the painful order to strike the colours. Seventy-five men, including officers, were all that remained of my whole crew, after the action, capable of doing duty, and many of them severely wounded, some of whom have since died. The enemy still continued his fire, and my brave, though unfortunate companions, were still falling about me. I directed an opposite gun to be fired, to show them we intended no further resistance ; but they did not desist ; four men were killed at my side, and others in different parts of the ship. I now believed he intended to show us no quarter, and that it would be as well to die with my flag flying as struck, and was on the point of again hoisting it, when about ten minutes after hauling the colours down he ceased firing !

Soon after my capture, I entered into an agreement with Commodore Hillyar to disarm my prize, the *Essex Junior*, and proceed with the survivors of my officers and crew to the United

States, taking with me her officers and crew. He consented to grant her a passport to secure her from re-capture. The ship was small, and we knew we had much to suffer, yet we hoped soon to reach our country in safety, that we might again have it in our power to serve it. This arrangement was attended with no additional expense, as she was abundantly supplied with provisions and stores for the voyage.

Soon after the capture of the *Essex*, I was sent on board the *Phoebe*, by the officer who took possession of the *Essex*. I had no cause to complain of my treatment while there. Captain Hillyar's conduct was delicate and respectful. The instant of my anchoring at Valparaiso, I was allowed to go on shore on parole, and the same privilege granted to my officers, as well as those of my crew who were wounded. The rest were placed under guard, on board a Spanish merchant ship, hired by Captain Hillyar for that purpose.

The remainder of my brave crew were accordingly embarked in the *Essex Junior*; and on leaving Valparaiso, every effort was made to reach home in time to fit out ships to proceed to the British channel, for the purpose of intercepting the *Phoebe* and her prize; and, favoured by the wind, of which we took every advantage, we arrived off Sandy Hook, in seventy-three days. Here we fell in with the *Saturn*, a British ship of war, commanded by Captain Nash, who treated me in the first instance with great civility; examined the papers of the *Essex Junior*; furnished me with late newspapers; and sent me some oranges—at the same time making offers of his services. The boarding officer endorsed my passport, and permitted the ship to proceed. She stood on in the same tack with the *Saturn*; and about two hours afterwards, was again brought to—the papers examined, and the ship's hold overhauled by a boat's crew and officer. I expressed my astonishment at such proceedings; and was informed that Captain Nash had his motives. It was added, that Captain Hillyar had no authority to make such arrangements; that the passport must go on board the *Saturn* again, and the *Essex Junior* be detained. I insisted that the smallest detention would be a violation of the contract on the part of the British, and declared I should consider myself a prisoner to Captain Nash, and no longer on my parole. I then offered my sword; assuring the officer, I delivered it with the same feelings I surrendered it to Captain Hillyar. He declined receiving it; went on board the *Saturn*; and returned with the information, that Captain Nash directed the *Essex Junior* to remain all night under the lee of the *Saturn*. I then said—I am your prisoner; I do not consider myself any longer bound by my contract with

Captain Hillyar, which has thus been violated, and shall act accordingly.

At seven the next morning, the wind being light from the southward, and the ships about thirty or forty miles off the eastern part of Long Island, within about musket shot of each other, I determined to attempt my escape. There appeared no disposition on the part of the enemy to liberate the *Essex Junior*, and I felt myself justified in this measure. A boat was accordingly lowered down, manned and armed; and I left with Lieutenant Downes the following message for Captain Nash: "that Captain Porter was now satisfied, that most British officers were not only destitute of honour, but regardless of the honour of each other; that he was armed, and prepared to defend himself against his boats, if sent in pursuit of him; and that he must be met, if met at all, as an enemy." I now pulled off from the ship, keeping the *Essex Junior* in a direct line between my boat and the *Saturn*, and got nearly gun shot from her before they discovered me. At that instant, a fresh breeze sprang up, and the *Saturn* made all sail after us. Fortunately, however, a thick fog came on, upon which I changed my course, and entirely eluded further pursuit. During the fog, I heard a firing; and on its clearing up, saw the *Saturn* in chase of the *Essex Junior*; which vessel was soon brought to. After rowing and sailing about sixty miles, I at last succeeded, with much difficulty and hazard, in reaching the town of Babylon, on Long Island, where, being strongly suspected of being a British officer, I was closely interrogated; and, my story appearing rather extraordinary, was not credited. But on showing my commission, all doubts were removed, and from that moment, all united in affording me the most liberal hospitality.

On my arrival by land at New-York, the reception given me by the inhabitants, as well as by those of every other place through which I passed, it becomes not me to record. It is sufficient to say, it has made an impression on my mind, never to be effaced!

The *Essex Junior*, after being detained the whole of the day following my escape and ransacked for money, her crew mustered on deck under pretence of detecting deserters, her officers insulted, and treated with shameful outrage, was at length dismissed, and arrived next day at New-York, where she was condemned and sold.

THE END.

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TRAVELS
IN THE
ISLAND OF CRETE,
IN THE YEAR 1817.

By F. W. SIEBER.

**MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY OF MUNICH, OF THE IMPERIAL
RUSSIAN ACADEMY OF MOSCOW; CORRESPONDING MEMBER
OF THE SOCIETY OF NATURAL HISTORY AT PARIS, &c. &c.**

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TRAVELS

IN THE

ISLAND OF CRETE.

THE long wished for day of my departure from Trieste at length arrived, on the 22d December, 1816. The wind having become favourable, we were requested to put our luggage on board, and hastened with it to the Lazaretto, to pass through it to our ship, which before the time of its quarantine was expired, had already obtained a fresh cargo, and was ready to sail. The guardian, or superintendent, led us through the magazines to a grate door, through which we saw our captain and his people ready to receive us. As soon as it was opened, the guardian made a sign to the sailors to retire, the porters laid down our luggage, and when they withdrew, the sailors took it into their boats to convey them on board. We might still have returned; but when the captain had given us his hand, we were subject to the laws of quarantine, having touched a person liable to suspicion of having the plague.

The following morning we were opposite Pola, the southern point of Istria: the weather was fine; the fog soon dispersed, and unveiled to our view the magnificent amphitheatre built in the time of Augustus. By the aid of good telescopes, we had the pleasure of observing all the details, and likewise other ruins situated in the vicinity. But a tempestuous wind blowing from the bay of Guarnero, soon obliged us to go below deck. The destruction of the crockery and glasses, the dancing about of every piece of furniture in the cabin, the vain efforts of the cabin boy to save some articles, while he himself was thrown from side to

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side, would have appeared ludicrous enough; had not the increasing sea sickness damped our mirth; nor were we much consoled when the cabin boy came tumbling in with a burning lamp, which he hung up before the image of the Virgin, upon which he closed the shutters, and carried two candles in lanterns upon deck, while the crew commenced a most disharmonious litany in the Italian language, intermixed with loud lamentations and various prayers, which made us feel our forlorn situation. The boy came back, and the lamentation had ceased; but the sea raged with still greater fury. When I took courage to ask the boy how matters stood, I found, to my sorrow, that he understood only the Maltese language; but the captain soon came and removed our apprehensions, wishing the storm might long continue, if the wind would only blow half a quarter more northerly.

The Guarnero was passed; the wind changed as the captain wished; the sea became more calm; and the following morning we were off the coast of Spalatro, but did not see the ruins of the celebrated palace of Diocletian.

We kept along the Dalmatian coast, passing by the numerous islands; and on the fourth day, at sun-set, the weather being very fine and serene, came in sight of Monte Gorgano in Apulia, where I had spent some agreeable days a few years before, in the month of May, in studying its very rich Flora. The fine oak forests (*Querceta Gargani*) which Horace celebrates, do not now exist. The coast of Dalmatia affords a very interesting prospect, on account of the numerous groups of islands, which divide at Spalatro into two great branches, consisting of narrow, long, and parallel islands. Few of them indeed have any wood, and they are chiefly covered with shrubs and bushes; but this affords a constantly varying view of those lying beyond, which is peculiarly agreeable. Most of them are deficient in population, on account of the danger arising from the pirates that infest these seas. Travelling on the coast is very difficult, from the mountainous nature of the country, and because the facility of the communication by water causes the roads to be neglected. The soil is very fruitful, and the climate, especially that of Ragusa and Cattaro, excellent. The Dalmatians are skilful sailors, and all the considerable towns have owed their former and present prosperity to navigation. It would be as easy immediately to man a large fleet with the ablest seamen, as to raise a good body of troops on the continent. The common Dalmatians are rather rude, but this is chiefly applicable to the mountaineers of the interior, those on the coast having most of them travelled. They are robust and well made, patriotic, peaceable and honest. The measures of administration pursued

by the present government are eminently calculated to raise them in a short time to a state of civilization, more on a level with that of the provinces nearer to the capital.

Off the most southerly point of the coast of Dalmatia, near to the first Turkish town, Antivari, the horizon was again overcast and the sea troubled. An unsteady variable wind, accompanied with slight showers, seemed to indicate something uncommon; the horizon all round looked as if it were twilight, and heavy dark clouds, with an edge as even as if they had been cut, sank lower and lower, and seemed suspended over us. It was about noon, but very dark, when all at once a point, and then another, seemed to issue from the cloud like a hanging dagger, and so on in succession, all differing in thickness and length, to the number of twenty perhaps, when the sea itself assumed a singular appearance. As the tapering clouds descended lower, the surface of the water became agitated, a vapour appeared to come from the sea, which suddenly rose with a spiral motion, like dust in a whirlwind. Through our telescopes we saw the surface foam and boil, and rise spirally with incredible rapidity, drawing up more and more water from the bottom, the black points of the clouds becoming also thicker and longer, till they united with the water below, appearing like an hour-glass. Thus we were surrounded with water-spouts (the name of which is a terror to the mariner), which advanced nearer and nearer to the vessel, while not a breath of wind was stirring. The captain looked serious, and the pilot went into the cabin and fetched a book. The sailors leaned against the ropes and masts, and we, anxiously expecting what was to come, looked alternately at the captain and the pilot. The latter opened the book, turned towards the nearest water-spout, and read some sentences to himself, while no one spoke a word. The captain pointed to the cloud, and observed that the water-spout began to disperse; in fact, I thought it seemed to diminish; and the pilot repeated several times the blessing of St. John. In less than half an hour the wind rose, the water-spouts gradually dissolved, the black cloud itself dispersed, and the wind blowing stronger, accompanied with heavy rain, we quickly proceeded on our voyage, to the great joy of our captain, who was happy to have escaped such imminent danger.

In the neighbourhood of Corfu I made an interesting observation.—A sailor having taken up some sea water in a pail, which I had asked for to wash my face and hands, at a time when a cold wind was blowing, I was much surprized to find it quite warm, as if it had been taken from a warm spring. I convinced myself that this warmth was diffused over the whole surface of the sea on which we were sailing, and that it was not merely

relative, as contrasted with the coldness of the atmosphere, but proceeded from the violent agitation of the waves. The sailor told me, that after a violent storm the seamen preferred bathing amongst the rocks on the coast, because the water was there warmer than in the open sea. This confirmed my observation, that the water is in fact heated by motion and the dashing of the waves, and that this increase of temperature really proceeds from the friction of the water; for soon after a storm, the warmth of the sea water is often three or four degrees above what it is on calm days. This is, however, true only to a certain depth, for below forty-five feet, the sea is always tranquil, even during the greatest storms, as divers and pearl fishers unanimously agree, and as experiments have proved. I fetched my thermometer, and found the warmth of the atmosphere to be twelve degrees and a half (Reaumur), and that of the sea water fourteen and one third, or nearly two degrees more. It is incredible how much the water is heated by the beating of the waves; for when the cold, and violent north wind, called Bora, blows at Trieste, (which we found by experiment to pass over at least forty feet in a second) and according to the laws of evaporation ought to cool the sea, which is in the most violent commotion, we on the contrary find the water to be more heated the longer the storm continues. This warmth cannot be communicated to the water from the atmosphere, but is to be ascribed to the friction of the parts of the water against each other, and against the various obstacles on the coasts. The saltness of the sea water, and its greater specific gravity, may likewise tend to increase the friction, and consequently the production of heat. Unfortunately I had not afterwards a favourable opportunity of examining the increase of the warmth of the sea water after a storm, its decrease below the surface, and the relative warmth of the part of the surface further from the sea shore, which had remained less agitated, because such experiments always attract attention in Turkey.

A glorious night, in which the agreeable motion of the gently agitated vessel had lulled me in the fairest dreams, the consequences of the cheerful recollections of a day passed in enjoyment, connected the departing eventful year with a new one pregnant with hopes, the accomplishment of which every passing day was to favour; when I awoke from a half slumber, and the first ray of the sun falling on my couch, joyfully saluted me with the new year. I was soon dressed, and hastened upon deck.

If ever any thing struck me with surprise, it was the scene that awaited me. The sun had just risen in his usual splendour. Not a cloud obscured the azure sky, and no vapour diminished its lustre. The lofty mountains of Greece, now covered with

snow, from Pindus to the remote Taygetus, were stretched out before our view. Long steep ridges ran in parallel lines to the south, in uninterrupted succession; here and there a side branch diverged, divided again, and ran into the sea, forming a steep promontory. On examining some maps of ancient Greece, I was convinced that what lay before us comprehended the whole continent of Greece. We beheld, with delight, Achaia and Elis, Naupactus and Phocis, the district of Olympia, through which the Alpheus flows, and the mountains of Arcadia, where it rises. On the left, the Island of Cephalonia, and on the right Zante, terminated this unrivalled picture. At length we descried Parnassus, (the situation of which was easily found in the map) and a moderate north-wind allowed us long to enjoy this fine scene. The further we removed from the island, the more indented did the coast appear, and the more beautiful was the appearance of the branching mountains of the Peloponnesus. The Taygetus came nearer; the Pentedactylon rose, declining towards Messenia and Sparta, and convinced us of the propriety of its name. Mount Pylon appeared near Methone, and the lofty snow-covered Alps of Thessaly and Boeotia sunk lower and lower in the horizon. It is a peculiarity of our nature rapidly to pass from pleasing to melancholy feelings. The past had furnished the memory with nations, events, persons, and deeds. Fancy had ordered them, and pleased herself with the variety of the passing images, and now she imperceptibly came nearer to the present times, which unhappily deprived these scenes of great part of their charm.

Towards noon, an extremely gentle wind seemed to be dying away into a perfect calm. I was leaning on the stock of the anchor, contemplating the beautiful country before me, when, all at once, the ship trembled violently, and a hollow sound proceeded from the hold. The captain, who stood near me, was embarrassed, and knew not what to think. I fancied that some small quantity of powder, perhaps a musket, had gone off in the hold, when a second and a third weaker shock succeeded, and put an end to our silence; the sailors declaring it was only an earthquake, and we had nothing to fear. We were besides too far from land to dread a shoal or sand bank; and the phenomenon was scarcely over, when the wind violently increased, which proves that this slight earthquake had some influence on the atmosphere. This circumstance gave rise to much conversation on board, and reminded me of the revolutions which volcanoes and earthquakes have produced, in ancient and modern times, on the coasts of the Mediterranean, from Asia Minor to Portugal.

We had the Oenusean islands (now Le Sapienze) in sight, and

descried Cape Matapan, the most southern point of Europe. A simple mountain chain, with an almost even ridge, branched out from Taygetus, which appeared on the north-east, and imperceptibly lost itself in this point, beyond which lies the island of Cythera, now Cerigo.

The Mainotes, a rude quarrelsome people of Greek origin, constantly engaged in petty feuds with each other, but closely united in common danger, always armed, rapacious, dangerous to merchant ships during a calm, are said to be the only genuine descendants of the ancient Spartans, which, however, may be doubted as far as personal descent is concerned, and almost wholly denied with respect to their moral character. Implacable enemies to the Turks, they have never yet been subdued in their fastnesses in Mount Taygetus, and pay no tribute. Travellers, however, who have resided among them, praise their hospitality and other good qualities. They are detested by the other Greeks, who in their turn are contemned by the Mainotes.

The mean heat at noon since our departure from Trieste, had been always 14° of Reaumur in the shade in the forenoon, never below 12° , and in the evening nearly the same as at noon. The following days in this month were rainy, with little sun-shine; the nights calm; the rain water which was caught uncommonly warm, viz. 11° R. It is remarkable that the seamen are acquainted with certain points in the Mediterranean, in which there are either violent winds or total calm. As soon as you have passed them opposite winds are met with. A ship may be for days in such a point, and either not advance at all, or run the greatest danger; but the first is the most common.

The wind became again unfavourable, and in the afternoon wholly died away. At twilight, while we were all on deck, and the captain had complained of the calm, and was walking up and down in a very ill mood, the crew set up a cry of joy. He had scarcely looked up when he gave the word of command, and they immediately began to set the sails as if they had a good wind, though there was a perfect calm. The captain, with a cheerful countenance, shewed me an almost violet-coloured misty cloud, sweeping along the surface of the sea from the north-west, saying—"There is wind." I went to the stern, and it rapidly approached like a black circle; the sea was ruffled before it rose in small waves, which soon increased, and before they reached the ship a favourable wind swelled the sails. It however soon ceased: the night was calm. At five in the morning the wind rose again; but as it was south-east our progress was slow, not above three miles an hour; yet if it had continued the night through, we should certainly have descried this fine morning the lofty mountains of Crete. Precautions were now

taken, as they had been before, on account of the vicinity of the Mainotes. A double watch was placed on deck, that we might not be taken by surprize. I offered, in case of an attack, to place myself by the sand basket, proving that we might much better defend ourselves by throwing sand in the eyes of our assailants, than with rusty sabres and muskets.

On Saturday the 4th of January, (the 12th day of our voyage). in the morning, we still saw the Island of Cythera (Cerigo) and Cape Matapan. The clouds that hung round Mount Taygetus sunk down, and the weather soon became gloomy and rainy. In a short time, however, the horizon was clear—the mists and clouds vanished, and we again approached the island of Cythera, which rose majestically from the waves. Previously, only, the tops of its mountains were visible, and formed on the water so many single and separate islands, but as we approached these islets became higher and broader, till their bases united and formed one large island. This is a deception not uncommon at sea, when you fancy you have an archipelago of little islands before you, which, on a nearer approach, are found to be only one. I looked up to the eminence, where the fine temple of Cythera once stood, but which had been ruined with the progress of barbarism.

On Sunday, January 5, 1817, we passed the channel of Cerigo and Cerigotto, or rather of the two rocky islets (Scogli) Ovo and Pori, and sailed close by the latter, the surface of which was already clothed in the finest verdure, with flocks of sheep and goats, that are brought thither with their shepherds, and find green pastures during the winter. We were soon opposite a mass of clouds, which at length rose, and shewed us Cape Spoda, till we beheld before us the colossal snow-covered Alps of Crete, the Leucaori or white mountains, called by the modern Greeks Asprowna; which, when viewed from the sea, presented a most striking appearance, the clouds dispersing at once, as if they had withheld this majestic prospect, only to heighten our pleasure, by shewing it in the most favourable light.

The Leucaori grew lighter, clearer, and more defined, and at last old father Ida shewed his head, covered, like the others, with snow. I was astonished at its height, and comparing it with mountains on the continent, which I knew to be 1200 or 1300 toises high, I estimated that Ida could not be lower. This explained why Crete was so rich in plants, for its mountains were far higher than all those of Greece that we had hitherto seen. The barometrical measurements made in the sequel confirmed the previous estimate. By means of the Octant, I took the altitude of the mountains, endeavoured to measure the distance on the map, and fixed the height at 7800 feet.

We approached Cape Grabusa, and then Cape Spoda. I thought the captain would put into Canea, according to our agreement; but he endeavoured to raise a quarrel, to find a pretext to refuse me something to which he felt himself bound. As I perceived, however, that it would cost him two or three days, and detain him from his business in Candia, I would not insist on his putting into Canea; and on the whole, I was not sorry first to view a considerable part of the island from on board the ship. I took Homann's map, the most complete that we hitherto possess, turned over Tournefort's travels, and looked with pleasure through the telescope at the verdant spots, which every where appeared upon the promontories.

The whole night, from eleven o'clock till day-break, the ship tacked. Though the situation was not favourable, Cape Sassoso at length showed us the great and extensive city of Candia (called in Greek Castro, or the Fortress) in the morning dawn.

Above the vapour that involved the houses of the town, only the minarets and a few lofty date trees rose; on our right the summit of Ida (now called *Psiloriti*, the high mountain) was tinged with red, while Dicta, on the left, was still dark, which is a proof that Ida is higher; for Dicta is besides more to the east, and its top should therefore be sooner illumined by the sunbeams.

The island of Dia lay before us. It is now called *Standia*. We cast anchor in the most convenient place, and soon made an excursion to this beautiful island, which, though apparently deserted, was covered with verdure, and afforded me a rich harvest of rare plants; two ferns were particularly remarkable, one of which was quite covered with a silky wool, namely, Desfontaine's *Acrostichum lanuginosum*. The island is bounded on the north side by perpendicular inaccessible walls of rock, but gradually declines to the south. It is about four English miles in length, and a quarter of a mile broad in the broadest part. We were obliged by the contrary wind to lie some days near this island, and it was not till the 9th of January that we were able to enter the harbour, which is not above sixty or seventy fathoms in breadth, defended on one side from the waves by a mole, with a castle on it, and on the other by a long wall, with a round tower, which stands opposite the castle.

Every where we see the winged lion, the arms of Venice, and the figure of St. Mark on the old buildings still in perfect preservation, as a proof that all this is the work of the industrious Venetians. The Turks have taken no pains to efface these evident testimonies of the former government of the Venetians; they have only mutilated the heads and faces, and left the arms, dates, &c. untouched, while the works themselves go to ruin. The

Türks love to boast of their victories, and of having taken those possessions from the powerful Venetians. They even preserve entire the arsenal and all the trophies, the armour and weapons of the Venetians; and a Greek smith is paid to keep them constantly in good order; nay, even the corn, salt, and in short, every thing that the Venetians left, is preserved by them in their childish pride at their good fortune. Cannons of the largest size, nearly two hundred and fifty in number, lie on the ramparts without carriages; but they are now quite unserviceable, and the Mahometans smile at these proofs of their own ignorance.

Our ship had been observed when she fired a salute, and hoisted the flag on our arrival off Candia, and a crowd of people now came to see us land. The various Mahometan dresses were an agreeable sight to me; and as the Jews have a peculiar physiognomy, so I found in the same manner a characteristic feature in all these heterogeneous faces, which was so distinctly marked, that I ever after was able to recognise a Musselman.

The captain and the pilot went to the house of a Mr. Domenico, whither I followed them, curious to learn what they intended; for I plainly perceived that they were plotting something together. Their agent, M. Domenico di St. Antonio, a native of Messina, the son of an apothecary, physician to the Pacha of Candia, received me in a friendly manner, urged me to remain with him, caused all my effects to be brought to his house, and shewed more civility than I liked. He forbade a Maltese captain, with whom I chiefly conversed, to take me to the houses of the French consul and other Europeans. On my asking him (the captain) whether there was an Austrian consul here, he gave me an evasive answer; and an European, with a white cockade, spoke to me at the gate, where I was walking with Domenico's brother, and seemed to reproach me for not having applied to him, but offering his assistance if I should want it,—he merely said he was from the house of the French consul. He took an opportunity, however, of informing me in an indirect manner, of the prohibition laid upon him. I immediately suspected Domenico, for whom our captain had brought many articles from Trieste. The next day my remaining effects arrived; when Domenico, assuming a very friendly manner, asked me if I had any written agreement about my passage? I replied that I had the bills of lading in my trunk on board the ship, and would shew them to him as soon as I opened it. The captain, convinced by this that I had only bills of lading, asked the double of what we had agreed for, besides the freight for the bales, to which my bills of lading referred. He grew insolent, and fancied he had outwitted me; but I had perceived, before I left Trieste, that he was a rogue, and had taken the precaution, the evening before

I sailed, to obtain from the merchant who recommended him, a written statement of the agreement he had made with him for me, of which transaction the worthy captain knew nothing. Having learnt from the Maltese Captain, Vincenzo, that the European above-mentioned was a Mr. Booze, secretary and interpreter to the French consul, to whom the Austrian consul at Canea usually confided what he had to do, and that he would therefore, without doubt, assist any Austrian traveller, I slipped out of Domenico's house, where I was watched like a prisoner, and proceeded to the French consulate, where I met Mr. Booze, to whom I stated the case in a few words, saying, I feared to show my agreement with the merchant at Trieste, unless he was present, as the captain might deny the signature or destroy the paper. I was soon missed in the house of Domenico, who rightly guessing where I was, hastily came with his brother to seek me, and endeavoured to find out what conversation had passed, by artful questions, but which appeared very singular to the consul to whom I had been talking of the object of my visit to Crete, but who knew nothing of my conversation with Mr. Booze. I smiled; Booze frowned; and Domenico was on thorns. Making a sign to Mr. Booze to follow me presently, I took leave of the consul, and withdrew with Domenico. As soon as Mr. Booze arrived at Domenico's, I opened my trunk which had been brought from on board, took out the bills of lading, and gave them to Domenico, but handed the written declaration to Mr. Booze. He read it half aloud; Domenico looked confused; the captain grew pale; and Mr. Booze handing the paper to Domenico, who read it over with much attention, said coolly, I had better give the captain the money immediately, as he had many purchases to make. I cheerfully counted down the dollars required; for I paid only half of the demand so unjustly made. The worthy captain seemed ready to burst; swore; cursed, and implicated Domenico. I, however, threw over the whole affair the cloak of Christian charity, and took no further notice:—But to do my duty to travellers who might have to do with this captain, I drew up a concise statement of the transaction, had it certified by the consul at Canea, and, as the captain had taken a cargo for Trieste, sent it by a Turkish vessel bound to the same port, to his Excellency Count Von Chotek, the governor, who, on the arrival of the captain, caused him to be properly reprimanded for his illegal conduct.

The same evening I took a walk with Domenico on the ramparts, where I found the *Palma Christi* as thick as a man's body, from twenty to twenty-five feet high, the bunches of flowers from two to three feet in length, and uncommonly large: on heaps of rubbish in the town ditch was the *Physalis somnifera* in full blossom, and *Hyosciamus aureus* on all the walls; but what

most pleased me, was a branch of the *Capparis Egyptiaca*, without leaves or flowers indeed, but which I recognised to be a *Capparis* by the wood, and by the two gold coloured bent thorns, to be of the Egyptian kind, the existence of which in Europe was not before known. On the way Domenico tried to persuade me send my firman to Canea, and not to go with it myself, fearing, as I thought, that I should complain about my captain.

On Sunday the 13th of January, the New Year's Day of the Greeks, Mr. Domenico, who had married a Greek woman, gave an entertainment, by which he intended to distinguish himself; besides some Greek merchants and relations, he had invited the French consul and his lady. Our pilot was also present, but not our captain, who said that he did not like such fine company, and preferred dining off a pickled herring on board his own ship. The truth was, that he was afraid his bad conduct would have been mentioned in my presence. A square table was laid with plates, knives, and forks, as with us, which is the custom of the Greeks when they are in company with Europeans, and are not obliged to conform to the manners of the Turks.

Before dinner was brought up, a servant went round to each guest, holding in his left hand a basin, which had a conical lid with holes in it, upon which lay a soap ball, which he wetted, while the servant at the same time washed his hand, the dirty water running through the lid into the basin. After this ceremony a prelude was played upon the admirable lyre which the captain had brought with him, and some Greeks sung to it. The entertainment, with a few differences, was entirely European; but what struck me the most, were the nosegays, which I at first supposed to be artificial, considering the season of the year, and the more so as the hyacinths and narcissuses were remarkable for their size and beauty, but their perfume convinced me they were natural, and I was told that the neighbouring peasants brought them to market at this time, and cultivated them in their gardens, without particular care. Among them were jessamine, orange and lemon flowers, and the *ornithogalum Arabicum*, a very beautiful liliaceous flower.

After dinner dances were executed first in the European and then in the Candiot manner. In the latter, a performer on the guitar took his station in the middle of the room, and the spectators seated themselves on the low sofas next the wall. A row of twelve or thirteen Grecian women, with one man at their head, joined hands, and moving their bodies backwards and forwards, advanced at every note, half a step in the circle. The playing on the guitar was a monotonous recitative, which at last became tiresome. The strictness of etiquette did not allow any

other dance; but in the islands of the Archipelago there is less constraint. I here became acquainted with the Missionary of Canea, who intended soon to return to that city. He is uncommonly well skilled in the Grecian jargon of this country, and offered to bear me company to Canea, which I gladly accepted, and approved of his advice to go in my boat instead of going by land.

Another entertainment, which Mr. Stephanaki, a rich Greek merchant, who with his father, an old man of eighty, was afterwards a sacrifice to the popular fury, gave to our captain, who had brought him Styrian planks and other timber from Trieste, was remarkably well arranged and agreeable. On this occasion I became acquainted with the principal native physician, Mr. Giovanni Eleothereo, a very well-informed man, who spoke Italian and French with great ease, and Latin (which is very rare,) with fluency and elegance; and was perfectly well acquainted with ancient Greek. He also spoke Persian and Arabic uncommonly well, and it was generally allowed that in the Turkish, nobody in the whole island excelled him, for which reason he was often sent for, to explain the meaning of the firmans from Constantinople, and many obscure passages in the language of the Divan. He received his education from his father, who took his degree at Padua. He possessed the works of Fr. Hoffman, Frank, Haller, Morgagni, &c.; and it was surprising what accurate anatomical knowledge he had acquired by means of copper-plates, without ever having dissected a body, which is considered as a great crime in this island. He communicated to me much interesting information.

At table every one was called upon to repeat a distich, the final syllables of which frequently rhymed, and which was to be in honour of the host or any other person. On the following day Domenico took me to see the gardens of some Turkish inhabitants, who, as he was the Pacha's physician, and also theirs, admitted him as soon as possible after they had shut up the women. The gardens were simply laid out; roses, hyacinths, narcissuses, tulips, some imperial-crowns, the jessamine which blossoms the whole year, rivalled the perfume of the orange and lemon trees, which were loaded at the same time with flowers and fruit. In each garden there were one or two large moss-rose trees, the cypress stood in one corner, and a date tree generally overshadowed the favourite seat. In the middle of the garden there was, for the most part, an open summer-house, with a basin and fountain in the centre of it, and couches all around. The great scarlet-bean climbed up it; the vine and blue violet were common, and the whole garden was surrounded by a wall. On a sudden I heard the Muezin proclaim the hour of noon from a high

minaret. His cry did not appear to me so inharmonious and disagreeable as the noise of the Turkish music, which began to play in the neighbourhood. The beauty and size of the oranges in one garden excited my astonishment. On a single stem there was a cluster of seven oranges which weighed four pounds. The trees with their golden fruit shone in the sun, and I seemed to be in the gardens of Hesperia. The loaded trees bent to the ground, and heaps of the fallen fruit lay scattered on the earth. The finest oranges may be bought for a penny a dozen. There were also sweet lemons, with a peculiar taste of raspberries, sweet oranges, with thick and thin rinds, large rough bitter ones, large citrons weighing five or six pounds, and many varieties of oranges, about twelve on the whole, all equally excellent. At the end of the garden stood a wild prickly citron tree, with small fruit. In the whole Archipelago, there is no island which produces such fine oranges and lemons as Crete. A thousand of the latter often cost less than a dollar.

On leaving the garden I perceived marjoram in pots, and the *jasminum sambac*. I here first saw the Egyptian goat, (*capra mambrica*), which differs from our goat, by its pointed head, short horns bent backwards, and extremely long hanging ears, resembling those of the European hound. It comes from Egypt, whither it was probably brought from some other country, and is much esteemed on account of its fecundity and excellent milk, and preferred to the common goat.

Having visited with Domenico, several gardens which nearly resembled each other, we made an excursion out of the gates. We found many rare plants and fine insects. Here, for the first time, I saw the Lepers, who occupy a separate suburb, before the fortress of Candia, and are never permitted to enter the town. I shuddered at the sight of so much misery; most of them had lost their hands and feet, and showed their crippled stumps, soliciting compassion and alms, in a squeaking voice, or in almost unintelligible words spoken through the nose. I had afterwards an opportunity of making important observations, which I shall mention in the sequel. We viewed the excellent fortifications of the City of Candia, the fruitless siege of which, cost the Turks so many lives, till it was surrendered to the Porte by capitulation. All my motions were watched by the idle Turks, and I scarcely dared to look up at the walls, but while I was gathering plants, I was able to look sideways at them.

Nothing is more agreeable to the traveller than the sight of the date-palm when it has a high stem, its rustling in the wind is peculiar, and very pleasing to hear. The long leaves crowd together on one side, and when the wind abates, they extend in a picturesque manner on every side, resuming their former position.

The crown bends with the stem and again rises majestically. If it is in flower the male trees are surrounded by a white dust which flies to the female trees, and the most delightful smell of violets perfumes the air. Even the smoke in the cities is odorous and surprising to the stranger, not like the burning resinous smell of our pine and fir, or that of sea-coals; here they burn nothing but sage, thyme, cistus, cypress wood, marjoram and lavender; bundles of these articles, brought by the country people for sale, are piled up in all the streets, and if in our country we guard against the morning fog, here we willingly open the windows to admit the perfume of the wood just lighted in the kitchen, and await, with the more appetite, the excellent breakfast.

It is in truth a happy country, in whose pure balsamic air flowers blossom during the whole year, and which even the fog and smoke render more agreeable. However, the smoke of tobacco is not unwelcome even in Candia, to the lovers of that excellent plant. It is indeed frequently cultivated in this island, but the best comes by way of Cyprus, from Beirout, and Saida, in Syria.

Dealers in tobacco sit in the market, having before them a block of wood, and a large knife, with which they cut the tobacco as fine as down, and pile it up so neatly that it tempts one to purchase. Whole bales lie in the magazines. It is smoked out of low wide clay bowls with long tubes, which come from the north of Turkey; the longer the tube of the pipe, the greater is its value. Most of them are said to be made of cherry tree, jessamine, and Turkish hazel. The length of the tube and the ornaments upon it are in proportion to the rank of the possessor, but the poor man never smokes out of a tube less than two feet long. The bowls of the pipes are of clay, burnt to a dark red colour, pretty, not durable, and are the same for rich and poor.

The Turk sets the highest value on the mouth-piece, which is composed of one, or at the most, of three pieces of amber, and often costs from twenty to fifty dollars; in smoking it is not even taken between the lips, but only put to the mouth. The smoke is said to taste more agreeable out of long pipes. They hate short tubes, and therefore asked my servant to lay aside his short pipe, and use theirs.

On visits the handsomest pipe is offered to the guest, ready filled, and a small brass plate set before him, upon which the head of the pipe is laid. The servant then brings a burning coal, having previously taken off his slippers, lets it lie on the pipe till the tobacco is kindled, and then takes it away. Politeness requires you to accept a pipe, and take some whiffs, and then return it to the servant; it would be unpolite to have a second pipe

filled, and still more so to refuse the first. The tobacco pouches are made of silk, or other materials, and sometimes of leather; but at home they use tin boxes to keep it in. Tobacco pays only a moderate duty, and the cultivation, as well as the trade, is free. Women smoke but little, and boys often before they are twelve years of age. The Turks do nothing but smoke all the day long, and it would be interesting to know how they passed their time before the discovery of tobacco.

The Ecclesiastic of Canea was not yet inclined to depart, and Domenico detained me. He employed me as he could. Sicilian good-nature could not be denied him; I was formally settled in his house, he carefully sought to avoid further misunderstanding, in order to give me a good opinion of himself. He wished to have a barometer and a thermometer; I gave them to him, also the chart of the Archipelago; but this I very unwillingly parted with; he plundered my library,—I looked on patiently. He made excursions with me almost every day, and visited many patients; he also spoke to me of a dropsical patient, of high rank, whom he promised to show me, but never did. He had much practice, especially as he was physician to the Pacha; from whom he received a considerable salary and many emoluments. He had his laboratory in his house, and the medicines were made up either by himself or his brother, a goldsmith. This connection gave him many advantages. He was *Magister Chirurgiæ*, and had served in the army; he had moderate knowledge, but was very superficial, and had not studied much. He gave me but little information. He had a fine Latin edition of Matthiolus, and requested me to write under the wood-cuts, the Linnean and common names. I examined his stock of medicines, and in the walks which he took with me, made his servant gather the plants he wanted, such as thyme, mint, &c.; but particularly great quantities of the fruit of the *Palma Christi*, which he intended to use for making castor oil.

On Sunday, the 19th of January, we visited the Greek Metropolitan Church, the largest in the whole island of Candia; it resembled a large room with an antichamber. Silver lamps and candlesticks, reflected the lights in the chapel, which was black with smoke. It was extremely crowded. Nobody was able to kneel; one papa or priest after the other pressed forward with great difficulty, with his large silver dish, to collect oblations; each following dish was smaller, and less valuable than the preceding one. There was no end to the rattling of the money, for thirteen dishes past me. When the first dish came, Domenico kindly advised me not to give too much, because many others would follow, when I should have nothing left. These fine dishes were meant to attract silver, and I lamented that they

could not be made magnetical to increase the effect. Every body threw in their para, and only a woman, who was quietly praying, laid it without noise on the edge of the plate; it fell in, and put me in mind of the poor widow in the Gospel. Not one of the dishes was filled, and perhaps the whole sum collected, on all the Sundays and Holidays in the year, may not equal the intrinsic value of the dishes. On account of the crowd, and confined space, no regard could be paid to propriety. The metropolitan sat in the first seat, and saw the service performed; Domenico was in the second seat, and I occupied the third. Soon after, a priest brought a large silver basin, quite piled up with little square pieces of bread, which he handed about; first to the metropolitan, who took three pieces; and, to my surprise, very politely gave one to Domenico, and the third to me. This is, however, not the holy supper, but only a ceremony of the Greek church. Where the priest could not reach, he gave the nearest person a handful, who immediately distributed it to those behind. A deacon read the Gospel and the Epistle; he had a fine countenance, his hair hung down in curls before, and floated over his shoulders, and his appearance exactly resembled that of St. John the Evangelist, as he is usually painted. I preferred looking at him when he was silent. He spoke in a constrained nasal tone, drawled out the close of every period, contracting his nostrils, and for want of example and instruction, had no declamation; and the comment, which was shorter than the Gospel itself, had neither introduction nor conclusion. He had but little action, and seemed only to repeat by rote. The singing of the congregation, which echoed in the walls, was entirely destitute of harmony, expression, and regularity. There were no instruments; for though the organ is a Greek invention, they hate that noble instrument, without knowing that they depreciate themselves; and this merely from their inveterate hate to the Latin church, which uses it. They have no bells, except hand-bells. The people in the church were continually making the sign of the cross, and bowing; but very few were absorbed in silent prayer.

When service was over we followed the metropolitan, and Domenico requested me to kiss his hand. I perceived the reason of this request—remained a little behind, and entered a short time afterwards. The ceremony of kissing hands was over, and I respectfully saluted a man, of a dignified appearance, becoming his rank. As usual at visits, we took our seats round the room on the divan. Small cups of black coffee, with the grounds, and no sugar, were handed round by a servant. The saucer is generally of thin silver plate: the cups, called *fixani*, are hardly a third part the size of a large coffee-cup. Whoever comes in, if he is invited to sit upon the divan, is entitled to a cup of coffee.

It is drank without sugar, on the pretext that it is not agreeable, when tobacco is smoked with it!

The pipes were filled with Syrian tobacco, and after a few whiffs, the servant took them away again, upon a sign being given him. None but deacons were employed to do all this, as the metropolitan has nobody else in the room. We took leave in the expectation of meeting the whole company in the evening at the French Consul's, who gave an entertainment.

He appeared, attended by his clergy, at a splendid repast of forty-eight covers, and as many dishes, as Metropolitan of Gortyna, though his See was at Candia. He was accompanied by the Bishop of Gnossus, a venerable old man, and the Bishop of Girapetro, his nephew. His health was drank by the whole company with a couplet (Brindisi). They choose two words which rhyme, and endeavour to connect them together: on this occasion the poetic talent of every guest shewed itself at the second bottle of the good Arcadian wine. Thus, for instance, a Brindisi may be made upon the words *Creta* and *Metropolita*. The Missionary forgot all religious differences, and said—

[Tanto celebre che è fra tutte le isole la isola Creta

Tanto più vien stimato fra tutti i Vescovi, il venerabile Metropolita.

Every one endeavoured to shew, in the same manner, his regard for the esteemed guest. After midnight the Grecian ladies present executed a national dance, which unfortunately only shewed more evidently their constrained and affected behaviour. A young Greek sat down in the middle, with a two-stringed guitar, with which he marked triple time, for I cannot call it music. The women, nine in number, who with their hands alternately joined behind, moved slowly in a circle, were led by a man, always taking two steps forwards and one backwards. This unvaried dance, and monotonous music, seemed to amuse them extremely, and considered as a Grecian custom, is the only free motion which their notions of propriety allow the women in the presence of the men, but which is very different from the free dances of ancient Greece. Thus half the night was passed, and the company broke up. The metropolitan mounted, in the court-yard, a small Cretan horse, and rode home by torch-light, attended by two Janissaries.

These two entertainments at Domenico's and the French Consul's, for which preparation had long been making, being now over, there was nothing to hinder me and the Missionary from setting out on our journey. Mr. Booze had the kindness to order a small vessel for us, which was to take us and our effects by way of Cape Sassoso and Maleca to Canea; but the Turk repented

of his bargain, and refused to take us. However, the next day we found a better and more reasonable captain, and embarked on the 20th of January, in high spirits. The Capuchin followed us, and it was agreed that we should lodge in his roomy convent.

I had provided myself with bread, excellent wine, cheese, lemons, oranges, &c. In the gate, I saw two uncommonly large sheep; the wool was very long, fine and silky, and as white as snow. The Janissaries on duty were playing with these sheep, which they seem to keep for pleasure. They were quite at their ease, smoking their pipes, and did not even look at my things, to see if there were any prohibited goods among them, but took my word, and let all pass untouched.

With a faint north-east wind, we sailed slowly towards Cape Sassoso, or the Stony Cape, which has this name from the fine scattered groups of masses of stones, smooth rocky walls, projecting banks of earth, covered with shrubs and trees, which have been burst, sunk, and undermined by the storm and fury of the waves. The whole presented, in the moonlight, an enchanting scene, heightened by the snowy top of Ida at a distance: this incomparable prospect affected us all; and even the Turks seemed to feel it, for they remarked, with pleasure, the interest we took in it.

Among the many charts of Candia all are very faulty; yet, in spite of all the pretended improvements, the old one of Homann is the best; but it can hardly be otherwise, because it is difficult correctly to determine local positions, merely by observations made on board, and no nation has ever been permitted to make a chart of the Archipelago. We shall scarcely obtain an accurate topographical knowledge of it, till Greece falls into the hands of a civilized nation.

After midnight, the thermometer was at $12\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ R., a degree of warmth superior to many summer nights in Germany. We slowly approached Rettimo, and saw, in the morning twilight, the beautiful environs of that place. Ida lay on the east, and on the right the White Mountains. The wind was faint. Towards evening we reached Cape Drepano, and steered towards the Bay of Suda by moonlight. We had seen no spot so striking as this: enclosed by steep grotesque cliffs, projecting rocks, mountains piled upon mountains, and the Leucaori rising in the background, the whole was worthy of the pencil of a Poussin, a Claude, a Hackert, or a Salvator Rosa.

A pretty strong west wind setting in, we were not able to double Cape Maleca till the following morning, when the wind becoming favourable, we soon reached the Port of Canea.

The line of snow on the White Mountains came down very low, bordered the terraces of the houses, and the mosques rose

above them on the white back-ground. The wind having died away, the swell of the water brought our boat into the mouth of the harbour, and a circle of houses, with balconies, terraces, and steps, surrounded us, among which we sought the residence of the Consul. The Capuchin invited us to come first to his convent, which lies in the middle of the city; on the right hand from the castle, to the palace of the Pacha, there stood round the port an uninterrupted row of the best houses, three or four stories high, and a broad footpath, which is the public walk of Canea, and was crowded with company.

The houses of the consuls are distinguished from the others by the wooden stage, with a high staff in the middle, on which the national standard is hoisted every Sunday and holiday, on the arrival of ships of their nation, or on other important occasions. The Turks are offended at the hoisting of the flag: the flag, they say indicates triumph, and the infidels have no right to either arms or flags. They do not like the French flag; they call it in ridicule a sheet, and say that the Consul once made use of it as such.

Our boat rowed towards a mosque, behind which lay the Custom-house, near which we afterwards lived: the terraces along the harbour were filled with Europeans, and we recognized every house in which a Frank lived, for they every where appeared at the windows. They are happy to see strangers arrive: at a distance from their country all intelligence is welcome. Wherever I landed, they all came to bid me welcome, as if I had been an old acquaintance of every one.

It was already known that Austrian travellers had arrived in Candia. The French were pleased that I visited the island in a botanical view, they being great lovers of natural history, and offered me their friendship; but I found it necessary to declare, upon every occasion, that I had not been sent by any government, for every one had read Tournefort, and thought that I must be similarly situated. They thought too, that it was not possible I could sacrifice my small property on a literary expedition. But this opinion caused my journey to be more expensive than it would have been, for they said that as the Expedition to Brazil was so liberally equipped, the same might be supposed of my enterprise: it was whispered that I only wanted to fill my purse, and lived in a meaner style than I ought to do.

I had scarcely landed when the Austrian interpreter came up to me, and informed me that the plague had appeared to-day for the first time, after an interval of several months, desiring me not to touch people in the streets, particularly peasants, as it still raged in the western part of the island, in the neighbourhood of Kissamo, and daily carried off above twenty persons. But the Turkish government had already adopted judicious precautions.

The peasants, on their arrival, were detained, and guarded out of the city gates: they were permitted to sell their provisions, and immediately sent home. This, however, only delayed the breaking out of the contagion.

My effects were permitted to pass without examination, on the assurance of the interpreter that they contained no merchandize; for in Turkey, which is so poor in manufactures, there are few or no forbidden goods. The convent, which is occupied only by one monk and a Roman capuchin, afforded us the best abode in the total want of an inn or other lodging. It was formerly, when under the French protection, inhabited by well educated and universally respected French ecclesiastics, but since the revolution it has been necessary to supply these missions from Rome, and since that time there are mostly Italians both here and in the Archipelago.

Father Agidius received us very kindly. Our things were unpacked; our cells assigned us; and on the following day I made an excursion with Mr. Serra-Longa and Mr. Balaste, French merchants, settled here, accompanied by Mr. Sonnerat, nephew of the celebrated French naturalist of that name. On this occasion I found many interesting plants; my attention was particularly attracted by the fields surrounded by prodigious aloes, several of which had ripe fruit. The leaves were about nine feet long, and the flower-stalk, on which more than two thousand blossoms could be counted, was a pyramid 5° or 6°* high, which rises from the earth in a single year like a thick asparagus stalk, and blossoms; but is entirely exhausted by this effort.

The town has a fine harbour, which is more accessible than that of Candia, and six times as extensive. The entrance into it is rather dangerous, and part of it is much exposed to the swell of the sea. The whole island of Candia possesses only one natural, good, and safe harbour, for ships of every description; but it is a very fine one, namely, that of Suda, which runs very far into the land, by which the tongue of land, half a league long between Cape Maleca and Canea, is formed. Canea is only about a fourth or fifth part of the size of the city of Candia, but the streets, which have no shops, are broader and handsomer, with houses of two or three stories. It has only one gate on the land side, with a hornwork, and the entrance from the harbour on the sea-side. There are hardly any gardens within the walls, nor any market places. Candia is stronger, surrounded with towers and walls, with entrenchments: it has many market places, and large gardens: the houses being built on a larger surface, they have only one story, very seldom two, and the fronts are

* So the author writes; we know not whether he means feet or not, or what other measure.

turned towards the garden, so that the streets seem to consist of walls, with doors and gates at certain distances. The environs of Candia are beautiful. Close to the city is the favourite promenade of the Mahometans, their burying-ground, surrounded with low white walls, and each grave ornamented with a tombstone. Pines, cypresses, oranges, olives, and even mimosas (*Mimosa Farnesiana*) grow here.

I had scarcely returned with my companions to dinner, when the Consul, who had caused my firman from Constantinople to be presented to the Pacha by his interpreter, informed me that he had most unexpectedly received an answer, refusing the permission I solicited to visit the interior of the island. The Consul excused himself, by saying, that he had not read the firman, supposing that its contents were conformable to my intentions. The Pacha was in an ill humour when the interpreter waited upon him, because the Director of the customs had neglected to inform him of the arrival of foreigners, and received a severer reprimand, because the Pacha himself had accidentally witnessed our landing. He, however, listened calmly to the interpreter, and began to read the firman; but he soon appeared displeased, and gave it back, coldly saying, that the firman was not addressed to him, but to his subalterns; that it did not contain a word of my request to visit the island, and to follow my occupations, which required a special permission from the Porte. He was sorry, he said, that he could not comply with mine and the Consul's wishes, and that I had not taken care to procure a proper firman.

The interpreter returned trembling to the Consul with this answer, which the latter communicated to me. I formed various conjectures on the motives of the Pacha; but the sequel proved that he had acted in this manner on account of the presence of many Candiot Turks, and I afterwards, to my great surprise, found in him a more zealous friend and patron than I could have expected. Various plans were proposed to me; one was to go to Candia, and apply to the Seraskier of the island, to whom Domenico was physician, who out of vanity would certainly have done every thing for me, as really happened afterwards; but I judged it better to stay where I was and wait the event.

The following day a captain of a ship, who was mistaken for me, was hindered by the Turkish guard at the gate from going into the country, and I was just told of it, when the servants of the Pacha went to the Consul's to look for me, and told him that their master wished to speak to me, one of his women being ill.

I was sent for, and also the interpreter, who after the Consul had communicated his conjectures to me, accompanied me together with the two servants. The French were pleased, for they were really sorry for my situation, and requested me to take

particular notice of the Seraglio, which I should certainly see; and even the elder ones congratulated me on obtaining a sight of the Seraglio within a few days of my landing, whereas they had not found, in forty years, an opportunity to satisfy their curiosity.

The guards in the anti-chamber desired me to pull off my boots; but I observed that I could by no means comply, and the interpreter told him that I would not tread upon the carpet. The guards were satisfied with this promise. I certainly should not have complied. The Pacha seemed either to foresee this, or not to intend requiring it, for he did not sit in his usual place, in the back ground on the Divan, but near the railing, in order, as I must come near him, not to oblige me to tread upon the carpet. The Pacha received me very graciously, and enquired after my country and my intentions, of which I made no secret. But I found from his confused questions, that he had not much studied the geography of the land of the infidels. He soon rose, made a sign to the attendants to withdraw, and followed by me and the interpreter, who trembled from head to foot, passed through a secret door, (which he very carefully shut and bolted again) into his harem or seraglio. We went through passages, and up short stair-cases, which were all covered with the finest Persian carpets. A few lamps lighted the passage, till we arrived at a saloon, the wide entrance of which was hung with heavy carpets. A splendid branch of lamps of a peculiar appearance hung from the ceiling, which diffused a kind of sombre light: the Pacha took a large wax taper, lighted it, gave it to the trembling interpreter, and clapped his hands three times; meantime the saloon was lighted, which had only one lofty window, through which the moon shone: broad elegant sophas were raised all round, and the walls were hung with the richest tapestry. I surveyed this favourite apartment, when, at a signal given by the Pacha, a boy, eleven or twelve years of age, of uncommon beauty, dressed in a very becoming manner, in a wide robe in the ancient Greek fashion, appeared, and having received the Pacha's commands, gave with uncommon grace, an answer which sounded agreeably, and then vanished like a zephyr.

The Pacha took the light from the interpreter: his countenance, to which a long brown beard gave an expression very striking to an European, his well formed features, marked by calm prudence and dignity, illumined by the bright light of the taper, might have served an artist as a model of ideal perfection. In a short time the Genius appeared at the side of a Grace, held the long veil of this light ethereal being, who passed us and stopped, without speaking, in the middle of the room, opposite

the Pacha, and the little Genius looked smiling on the old man. The Pacha raised the veil, and we saw (properly speaking, only I, for the Jew was much too old and too timid, and did not look up) the most beautiful creature that Circassia, by the happiest union of art and nature, could ever have produced. The fine figure heightened the effect of her features, and a magical amalgam of an Apollo and a Venus, which I had once seen in the capitol, in marble, appeared to be here realized and animated, as if by enchantment.

With pleasure I let the Pacha speak without interrupting him. While the interpreter translated from the Turkish into the Italian, I had time to consider of my answers, and to attribute it to the unskilfulness of the interpreter if they were unintelligible. In truth I understood nothing of the stuff he spoke, for a physician has need of a well-educated interpreter. The conversation proceeded slowly: I spoke Italian to the interpreter; he translated it into Turkish for the Pacha; the Pacha then asked the girl, who answered him; the interpreter received the reply in Turkish and translated it into Italian. By the repeated translations I at length received answers, which might have puzzled an Oedipus. I remarked too that the girl was not sincere with us, for the answers did not correspond with the questions. It was all one; the disorder appeared to be a common inflammatory fever, which required proper treatment in the evening, when it was rather more violent: I found her forehead hot, the tongue not so dry, strong palpitation in the breast, but no pain: I made use of the opportunity to look at her more particularly, and pitied a being for whom nature had done so much, but whose mind was wholly uncultivated. The contradictory statements, various evasions and vague answers, gave me a suspicion which the hastiness of the Pacha, who was so eager to know the name and nature of the disease, further confirmed. I seemed to take no notice, called it a simple fever arising from a cold, till I perceived the increasing vexation of the Pacha, who at length exclaimed that she had had no natural relief for these four months, since the time that he had come here from Constantinople. This, however, was contradicted by the healthy appearance of the Circassian, and the kind of fever; it was but too probable that there was another cause, for I would not ask after the last sign of pregnancy, in order by no means to draw attention that way. My suspicion that violence had been used, was indeed confirmed; but I had no reason to communicate it to the Pacha, for I could never have thought of gaining, in this manner, his favour which I so much wanted, even if it had been attended with no dangerous consequences to the handsome girl. Though angry, he contained himself; and

after I had prescribed for this evening some rice water with a little lemon-juice, he put on her veil, and she withdrew with her little page. We took leave, promising to call again, as he wished, on the following day.

Meantime the Consul brought me acquainted with the city physician, Reynieri, a native, but descended of a Venetian family: he had studied for some years in an hospital at Marseilles, and now united the occupations of city physician and merchant. I communicated to him the wish of the Pacha, and my own conjecture, and the affair was cleared up. The Pacha had come from Constantinople on board his own ship, and had brought all his women with him. During the embarkation and landing, much confusion might have taken place on board the ship itself, especially from the cunning of the Greeks, who know how to carry on the most intricate love intrigues, by taking out part of the wooden partitions of the chambers. This and other details turned the scale on this side, so that in our visit the following day, when Reynieri, at my suggestion, asked the Pacha various questions tending that way, without seeing the girl herself, he received such confirmation in every respect, that he did not venture to look at me for fear of betraying himself. The Pacha asked him for medicines, and I relieved him from his embarrassment by whispering tamarinds, which he gave with tartar. The Pacha asked him what the disorder was, but he gave him the same answer; for the physician has need to know every thing, but he must never, by a suspicion of this kind, give cause for any thing unpleasant; and if prudence and caution are necessary, they are peculiarly so to a physician in Turkey. Though he was dissatisfied, he had coffee brought, and dismissed me very graciously. Thus I had receded from the attainment of my object: instead of acquiring the favour of the Pacha, I had lost ground, and the hopes that had been entertained were disappointed. The Consul seemed inclined to blame me, but I asked him what he would have done in my place? to this he returned no answer.

Meantime I acquired much useful information, and passed my time agreeably. Reynieri took me to see his sick daughter, who, in an insurrection which happened about ten years before, when the Turks stormed his house, had remained alone and concealed herself. The family fled, but forgot the little girl, who had hid herself, and whose fright brought on a dangerous illness. She was now eighteen years old, and generally allowed to be the handsomest girl in Canea. The diagnosis was easy, but relief hardly possible—the enlargement of the heart, the existence of a polypus in it, more probably an aneurism, and lastly,

a **chronical dropsy in the pericardium, were the causes of the**
oppression and the other symptoms: her debility increased,
and the swelling of her legs ascended: her pulse was weak,
and thus, in the tenth year of her disease, art was vain.

It is a general prejudice that what comes from strange
countries must afford relief; and for this reason I was applied
to. I could not explain any thing to the women, but Rey-
nieri knew the state of the case. Gentle stimulants, cautiously
administered, procured her some relief, and ease, in breathing:
that was all that we could venture to do. She lived only a
few days, and six hours after her death she was already buried.
How hard it is when one cannot give relief, but a comfort
when one has done one's duty. *Woe to those to whom the*
health of mankind is intrusted, if they look upon it with in-
***difference.* Unhappily this is the case with the physicians in**
the Levant, of which I shall have occasion to mention instances
in the sequel. How humane is the custom in Europe, not to
carry away the beloved deceased instantly, but to allow those
whom they have left behind some days to part from them;
their grief is far milder, for it has subsided, and the image of
death is not immediately connected with the grave. But in
the Levant, where, especially if the patient dies suddenly, they
carry the still warm body to the grave, the despair of the
relations rises to the highest pitch, because they see the soul
departed, and the body taken from them. Silent consternation
seizes the whole family; they caress the deceased with frantic
gestures; all who knew him desire to see him once more; the
whole house is crowded; all press to the grave; all are sud-
denly deprived of him. We in Europe, on the contrary, have
more consulted our convenience; there it is fashionable imme-
diately to leave the house in which a member of the family has
died, to seek amusement, that our nerves may not suffer too
much; for, says selfishness, of what use is lamenting and
grieving—he is dead. The corpse is carried to the grave,
attended only by strangers.

The opening of the dead body is not to be thought of in this
country, where the living are not esteemed, but the dead are
considered as sacred. The reproaches and the insults which
he would have to bear, who by any means deprived a person
of life, are trifling in comparison with those which would be
the lot of him who should open a dead body, to learn the
nature of the disease, for his instruction in similar cases. The
Greeks seem to have learnt from the Turks, or rather it has
descended to them from antiquity, to revere the dead as sacred.
The Turks, particularly the Candiots, who are all descended
from renegadoes, with the exception of a few, who have come

to fill the public offices, and, like proselytes in general, are the most zealous and enthusiastic adherents of their new doctrine, murder in cold blood a fellow-creature, who appears sacred to them as a corpse. The Turk seems to hold nothing sacred but the harem, the dead, and the insane; even the mob, in a state of insurrection, seldom violate the harem of their hated victim; and in general, most of the objects of their pursuit find an asylum in the apartments of their women. It is extremely seldom that women are ill treated, though the slightest suspicion is sufficient to put them to death. They consider an insane person as one favoured by God, and the Turk never allows himself to vex him, but only smiles now and then at his absurdities, and always gives him alms: hence the insane, instead of being confined, are always seen in Turkey at liberty in the streets; and eight or ten individuals whom I observed, were at all times calm and composed. I asked in vain after the period when their fits of madness returned in which it was necessary to confine them: but a very few are said to have a guard over them. The manner in which lunatics are treated, must therefore greatly contribute to their permanent state of composure; and here the Turk points out to the European physician the way, by unparalleled kindness, gentle treatment, and amusement, to prevent the effervescence of an exalted and confused brain: not a few gradually recover, and become more tranquil.

The precipitate burial of the dead is excusable in this country, as the plague often rages, and it is necessary to prevent the increase of contagion by their rapid dissolution, and is general, because in a hot climate exhalations are more injurious than in a cold one. Whether persons, only apparently dead, have been buried, cannot be known, because the Turks never open a grave, but always choose fresh places. Considering the possible danger of the production of plague by imprudent or precipitate opening of the graves, as many instances in ancient and modern history shew, the loss of fertile land is not to be attended to; but this custom is deserving of praise. On the other hand, it is a circumstance productive of serious danger, that the dead are not buried deep, and are less covered than is necessary, and that the Turks of both sexes, on all holidays, frequent the burying-ground, which looks more like a park than a mournful repository of the dead. To this may be added the situation of burying-grounds near the roads, particularly in the sandy tracts of Egypt, where the burning heat of the sun easily penetrates the thin layers of sand, and draws out the exhalation of the corpse in a state of decomposition. This is easily perceived on approaching such a place in a calm

summer evening; the lungs are sensibly affected by it. This is probably the foundation and origin of the Plague, which is not a little promoted by the carelessness and uncleanness of the Turks, with respect to shambles, manufactories, &c., and the entire want of regulations for removing filth in the cities. As a proof of what has been said, we may mention the origin of the Yellow Fever, which has become so formidable, and which owes its beginning and its malignity to the incautious opening of a new grave. The history of this disease shews that it always commences in Egypt, after an interval of some years, and then spreads itself to the chief cities, Alexandria, Constantinople, Smyrna, and Salonichi. The accumulation of filth, the crowded manner in which the people live, greatly promote the plague. Give to the East, European civilization and government, and the evil will lose, with its causes, its dangerous character, and the disease will come under the class of ordinary epidemic and endemic nervous fevers, the cure of which is not attended with any difficulty.

The Consul in vain exerted himself to induce the Pacha to let me travel about the island, representing that I came here to collect plants, which would go out of blossom, and I should lose a whole year. However, several patients applied to me, to whom, especially those belonging to the Pacha's household, I gave also the necessary medicines gratis. Reynieri had maintained his ground against many physicians, who had come from other countries. My presence, however, gave him some uneasiness, as he had never experienced any thing of the kind. It was necessary to go prudently to work, for it might have been a great disadvantage to him, if I relieved some patients whom he had given up. I accidentally mentioned to him one day, that I thought to stay here some months, and practice, and to send to Smyrna for the necessary medicines. He very artfully offered to procure them, and urged me to give him a list of what I wanted, because a ship would sail the following day. Perhaps he thought from my behaviour that I did not trust him, for I did not give him the list, because I was not serious about it; however, he was afraid that I saw through him, and had ordered them by another channel. I had now worked for my own advantage without knowing it. Reynieri wished to get the list of medicines from me, intending not to send it away, but to put me off from time to time, and to keep me from hurting him for want of medicines. Fancying that he had failed, and that I might soon receive them from Smyrna, it was his interest to procure me permission to travel through the island. He became my best friend, introduced me into the principal houses, procured me the best patients, in short, did

every thing possible, by solicitations to persons of consequence, to obtain the permission I requested through their influence, but in vain. This stratagem failing, he persuaded Turks of rank, who lived out of the town, to send for me: when, I objected, that I was not allowed to go out of the city, they answered, the Pacha had nothing to do with it, and the guard at the gate received notice beforehand to let me pass. He invited me to remain there, and to botanize at pleasure. I sent my plants into the city, and remained some days in the country. This was indeed some indemnity, but I could not venture upon more distant excursions. Though the Pacha knew all this very well, he took no notice; some months must pass before I could receive a new firman from Constantinople, and Reynieri, who was reported to have done so much for me, and of whose motives nobody, not even myself, had at first any notion, could do no more. Dispirited at the delay, I begged the Consul to send the interpreter to the Pacha on purpose, formally to request him in my name for permission. He came back unsuccessful, with an answer to this effect, that "the Pacha was surprized the doctor should ask a civility from him, after he had been unable to obtain one from his own countrymen; that if the doctor had but got somebody to read the firman to him, and convinced himself, that it contained nothing favourable to him, and if he had not shewn the firman, but only expressed his wish, the Pacha would have granted it with the greatest pleasure, but as he had shewn it, the Pacha could only follow his instructions." This was the worst of the business: this polite but very positive answer destroyed all my hopes. The scene, however, suddenly changed, and I obtained, through an accident, what all our efforts had been unable to procure. A Greek, who spoke pretty good Italian, and had been frequently requested to act as an interpreter to patients, came and asked me to visit the Iman of a neighbouring mosque. I went with him, and when I had questioned this hypochondriacal Iman, I declared, on his desire that I would give him medicines, that I had not yet obtained explicit permission to travel through the island. The verdant slopes of the snow-crowned mountains of Leucaori were just then to be seen free from clouds out of his window; I pointed to them, and said, "there alone grow the herbs which would cure him, and he must therefore obtain me permission to go thither." I had said this merely to satisfy him, and to get rid of a hypochondriacal old man, whom I could not relieve. The good old man looked at me for a moment, and seemed to be reflecting; when he called for pen and ink, wrote directly to the Pacha, sealed the letter, and sent it off in my presence. His expression, "that he must

write because he could not walk," did not give me any very great hopes, for it seemed to me, that he expected an effect from his paper, which, as matters stood, I did not think probable, even from his personal application. But about an hour afterwards, I called upon the Consul, who received me with the greatest satisfaction, and informed me, that the Pacha had sent about half an hour before for the interpreter, who, quite astonished at such an unusual circumstance, had gone with fear and trembling. The Pacha had received him in a most friendly manner, and given him the following message: "He sent his compliments to the Consul, and let him know that the doctor might go without any hindrance through his whole Pachalik; and if he wished to go into that of Rettimo, he would give him a letter to the Motsallem, that I might have the same freedom there. He knew that I wrote and drew. I should, however, pursue without interruption all my avocations, only not undertake any thing in the neighbourhood of fortresses and city walls, that the Candiot Turks might make no complaints to him about it; and he had already given orders to let me pass every where without obstacle."

I was really delighted at this generous proceeding, not merely because I had obtained the permission, but because the Pacha, whom I had always felt inclined to respect, had behaved with such kindness, and on the first written application appeared to take pleasure in granting my request, though he could not accede to verbal solicitations. Every body thought it was owing to Reynieri, and I did not contradict it. Our Consul was extremely delighted, as I was myself.

The following anecdote caused me to remove from the convent, and take a house for myself. An Albanian captain of the Pacha's guard wished me to prescribe for him, and came to the convent, accompanied by his interpreter. Two soldiers attended him. They remained in the hall, went afterwards into the missionary's kitchen, where they lighted their pipes, and then into his anti-room, where they were extremely struck with a picture of Susanna and the Elders; pictures not being allowed in Turkey, as contrary to their religion. They burst out into a loud laugh, a thing very uncommon with the Turks. The missionary, angry at their laughing, drew a sword which lay in a corner, and drove the Turks before him. We, astonished at the noise, were informed by the two soldiers, that they had committed a great fault, and had unknowingly entered the harem of the Capuchin, they therefore begged our intercession to obtain their pardon. This most ludicrous scene, the Capuchin with the drawn sword in his hand, the two athletic Albanians armed, and yet in an humble attitude, lastly,

the cause of the scene, which proceeded from a double mistake, excited a hearty laugh, especially when I saw the corpulent captain and the interpreter grinning aside at it; but the scene changed when the two Albanians learned that the Capuchin had no harem, and that his anger had been excited on account of the picture; they grew angry, and imputed it to him as a great fault to have a Susanna in his chamber. For this reason, and on account of the frequent visits, which I could not decline, I was induced to seek another dwelling, which was offered me by the worthy Ehmin Aga, at whose country house I had been. It was situated upon a rock which projected into the middle of the harbour, in a small quarter of the town, consisting of three houses, a mosque, and the custom house, but so exposed to the cold winds, being opposite the mouth of the harbour, that the effeminate Turks cannot live in it, especially in winter. We found it rather out of repair, but habitable, sent for some workmen, and put ourselves to a little expence. It had been empty for about two years, and Ehmin Aga considered himself as paid by the repairs we did. Here we enjoyed a much more agreeable liberty than when surrounded by a dead wall in a remote quarter of the city. No European must, however, venture to walk upon a terrace, (the flat roof of the house) if it is surrounded by Turkish houses, because you can see from it into their court-yards and apartments, where the women are employed without a veil in their usual occupations. If, therefore, you have any thing to do upon the terrace, you must choose an hour when they are not to be seen, otherwise they set up a cry, and even if they have not been seen, but have only perceived you, the men come up; and it has often happened, that merchants who were in the convent, going on to the terrace to enjoy the prospect, were saluted by balls fired at them. But in our new habitation we were quite detached, had cool air it is true, yet the thermometer hanging exposed on the balcony never fell below $+6^{\circ}$ even in the rudest storms from the north during the winter: a very trifling degree of cold, resembling our weather in autumn. On the other hand, we had in summer constantly a refreshing sea breeze, and we owed it to this fortunate circumstance, that, during the plague, while all around us was in mourning, and every house visited by the infection, we remained perfectly free. We had the advantage of overlooking all the houses of the Franks, and the long terrace round the harbour. I removed to my new dwelling on the 30th of January, 1817. The last tenant was a Maltese architect, who had been sent for to repair some walls in the port. Four large apartments were fully sufficient for our convenience. In hot days we removed into the western

saloon: in the heat of the afternoon, when the wind began to blow from the sea, we removed to the north apartment; the balcony hung over the sea; the noise of the waves, which beat against the walls of the house, at first disturbed us, and was very disagreeable in the night, but we soon became used to it.

The country about Canea is very beautiful. On one side is the sea extending to the north; the eye perceives the island of Cythera and the lofty Taygetus in the distant horizon. The mountains of Cape Maleca, which are called Acrotiri, or the Promontory, (a word which serves the Greeks to designate all peninsulas and tongues of land) form an agreeable boundary of conical summits; the nearest place, Chalepo, is in a fine healthy situation, and several of the Franks have their summer residences there. The excellent harbour of Suda, formerly Amphimalla, runs into the land within a quarter of a league of the city. This natural harbour is frequented by all the vessels, which, during storms or in the night time, are justly afraid of entering the harbour of Canea. To the south, along the western limit of the Leucaori, extends a plain several leagues in length and breadth, entirely covered with olive trees, which far exceed in size and age all those I have ever seen in Italy. These olive trees, which are at the least a thousand years old, being protected from the frost by the mildness of the climate, make a very fine appearance. Among them rise lofty cypresses, which indicate the residence of Turks of distinction. The beautiful green of the trees, loaded with the finest lemons and oranges, makes a delightful contrast with the dead silver colour of the olive, and the climbing plants hang the various trees with garlands. The vine is every where distinguished generally climbing up the poplar, which watered by the streams from the White Mountains, rises to a great height. Here and there a palm-tree is seen, the lofty head of which is gently agitated by the wind, overlooking the low olive trees, while its foot is surrounded by the charming cistus rose, myrtle, and other odoriferous shrubs. A slight wind that agitates the trees, a breeze from the dark thickets where cool fountains spring, brings to the passenger the odour of the flowers and aromatic herbs. Aloes with their stiff leaves protect the corn-fields and plantations of cotton, while myriads of bees, which still furnish the finest honey of the old world, industriously gather their manifold nectarous juices.

Woody ridges of mountains, gradually declining westwards, border the fertile plains of this island, and dividing, fall into the two capes, which run under the sea into the Island of Cythera, and were formerly connected with the Peloponnesus. The country people are good-natured and religious. They

bear with patience their hard lot, and bountiful Nature lightens the labour to which they are condemned. They live in hope and expectation, and do not even know who their oppressors are. The dress of the Cretans, particularly the country people, is very pleasing to the eye. It is entirely of cotton, manufactured by the family. Short wide drawers, which leave the knee bare, a girdle to fasten them, a waistcoat and a short jacket of strong cotton, a bandage round the head, one end of which hangs down behind, lastly, coloured boots, the tops of which reach the ankles as a protection against the thorns, form an agreeable costume, especially on account of the dazzling whiteness of the stuff. When they come to the city, they look much better than the lazy Turks in their gay dresses bordered with gold.

On the 6th of February, a continued storm and high waves dashing over the whole wall of the harbour, did great damage. If the entrance of the harbour were not so exposed to the waves, it would long since have been choaked up with sand, like that of Candia. The harbour of Canea is still navigable in the middle for large ships, but that of Candia purposely neglected. The creeks in the island of Standia afford the only secure anchorage for ships, which almost always repair thither. The works of the Venetians go to ruins, like those of the Romans after the invasion of the Goths, speaking evidences of a barbarous and uncivilized people. In the night of the 1st of March, there was another violent storm, with dreadfully high waves, which dashing against the walls of my house, shook the whole edifice, and would probably have caused the front, with the balcony, to fall, had it not been supported on the left by the Mosque, and on the right by a new built, very solid house, belonging to the customs.

The Mosque is the same mentioned by Tournefort, for its neatness; covered with several elegant cupolas, and surrounded with a pretty arcade, it is a pleasing object when you enter the harbour. Every Thursday evening the Turks have service performed there, and about eight o'clock they begin to howl: the people, after the manner of our litanies, respond with a dreadful noise, that makes the Mosque tremble. First comes a curse upon the infidels, who having lost the true light, are destitute of the knowledge of general wisdom. They then pray for our total blindness, and that we may destroy each other. Lastly, they beg Mahomet to open our obdurate hearts by the power of his sword. Thursday is the vigil of the Mahometans or Turks, who have chosen Friday for their day of rest, as the Christians have Sunday.

From the time I received permission to travel over the island,

I did not suffer a day to pass without taking advantage of it. On the 12th, I visited Chalepa, about a quarter of a league distant; a very pretty place, with many fine Turkish country seats in the environs. Tournefort, who came hither with exaggerated notions of the peculiarity of the Cretan Flora, was much-grieved at finding so many plants common in France. Warned by his example, I expected less, and found more than I had hoped. Many rare plants escaped that celebrated traveller, which Sibthorp found in the Sphakiote Mountains. I had scarcely returned from my excursion, when I was fetched by a servant of Ehmin-Aga, to his country seat, which, as in the times of the Venetians, is still called a Bastilla. In the afternoon, I made an excursion to the convent of St. George, which is situated on a mountain, on the south of Canea. The way led through a garden of olives, lemons, and vines, among which were some of the finest plantain trees I ever beheld. A small stream, falling from a considerable height, turned a mill, of such rude construction, that had not the wheels been in motion, I should have thought that it could not go. The ravine from which it came, leads to the beautiful mountain village, Therrisso, and next to the ravine between, Stifo and Comitades, in the Sphakiote mountains, is the most interesting spot for botanists in the whole island. The monastery of St. George, is a convent in miniature. It is a chapel built in a square, on a terrace, with some dwellings for the monks. The chapel holds, at the most, forty persons, and the cells are without windows, so that the only door which leads to them, must constantly remain open. The convent lies very high, and hid between a dozen of the oldest olive trees, whence the three monks, sent from the great convent of the Trinity, on Cape Maleca, all suffer from the rheumatism and gout.

My Greek guide, from Ehmin's estate, conducted me still higher. We reached first the ruins of an ancient castle. The mortar was very hard. It is said to have been built by the Saracens, but I should rather suppose by the Venetians, who might well have used it as a watch tower, to observe ships. The elevation, to which we had now with difficulty ascended, between strawberry trees, and the arborescent apple bearing salvia, convinced me that the Leucaori, or White Mountains, were at least five times as high, and that the spot where we now stood was not above 300 toises above the surface of the sea. The ravines, precipices, masses of rocks, the sight of which alone was sufficient to give the Greek poets an idea of the giants attacking the gods, seemed, like genuine relations of Atlas, to bear the whole conical summits upon their shoulders. The verdant heights, with these masses of snow, reminded me of the

scenery of the north of Europe; but the country extended at their feet, called back the footsteps of the vanished gods of Greece, of whose former presence, the indestructible luxuriance of the plains bore incontrovertible testimony.

My guide put me in mind that it was time to turn back, which I resolved to do, to arrange what I had collected, and send it to the city. On the way he let me know that he was poor, and that if I thought to give him any thing, I must do it now, as the Subbaschi of Ehmin-Aga would afterwards be angry at it. I gave him a little piaster, but he demanded twice as much, and was not even satisfied when I gave him that. The reason was, that I had before asked him what I should give the monks for the breakfast, when he mentioned a very small sum, in order to gain my favour, and was much discontented when I gave three times the sum. Thus people seek to save the money of others, in order to reap the advantage themselves. He recommended to me one of his friends, named Manoli, a good-hearted honest Greek, whose excellent character was marked in his countenance. He begged me to look at his wife, who had lost all her teeth with the scurvy, and who had been advised by a merchant, to take lemon juice mixed with honey. The good people thought I was a conjurer, who could not only cure by the touch, but even restore what was lost. However, these people, used to such various misfortunes, do not apply to the physician, so much for relief, as to shew him their sufferings and excite his compassion. With a consolatory answer they are often more contented than with medicine, because the latter reminds them of frequent disappointments. This good Greek was one of the most worthy and indefatigable guides I ever had: he recommended to me the deep ravine near the mill which we had seen; we reached it the following day, in about half an hour; it leads in a straight line to the White Mountains, and to the village of Therisso, 1500 feet above the sea. No village in the whole country round Canea, is so romantically situated as Therisso. The inhabitants are very poor, they had no bread; they therefore made fire in a hole in the wall, and laid a flat potsheerd upon it, and heated it. They then made a dough of flour and water, with a little salt, and baked it on the potsheerd. I could scarcely look at them for pity, but they seemed so cheerful when they brought me the miserable bran-like cake, that I could not help tasting it, and thanking them. I returned through a valley on the other side, after having had an opportunity of observing the good-nature and beauty of the women.

Happily, the repair of my house was finished; for the rainy weather, which had kept off some weeks later than usual, now

set in with great violence. This weather was very welcome to the peasants, who were busy in their fields, for it causes the buds to swell without bursting, and keeps them back, perhaps to the end of March; after which they always expect a plentiful supply of oil: whereas, if the buds are brought too forward, a sudden cold north wind often blights them, and spoils the crop. The Turks, who are the landholders, keep a part of their last year's stock till this season; the merchants too, especially the French, guide themselves by it in their speculations, so that a sudden rise or fall in the price of oil is common. The Greeks cannot maintain a competition with them. The few olive-trees which they are suffered to have, as children have a few half-pence, have no influence on the prices; they profit by the rise, only as merchants, not as proprietors; yet they speak with more interest of their few olive trees, and are more grieved at the failure of the crop, than the indolent Turks, with their immense stores.

On the 22nd of February, accompanied by a Janissary, I visited Cape Maleca, which the Greeks merely call Aerotiri, or Cape. Hitherto I had neither taken barometer nor thermometer with me, for even paper and pencil were prohibited goods, which I was obliged to smuggle in my excursions. It was hard for me to be forced for once to play the hypocrite. my Janissary however was a good fellow. I enquired the Greek name of every plant, and wrote against it what I liked. We went on foot to the convent of the Trinity, and amused ourselves on the road with gathering plants. We had passed many hills and vallies, when we saw at a distance a row of the finest cypresses that I ever met with. The stony way soon ended, and we came to the fertile plain on which the convent stands. This edifice resembles that of Arcadi, and we soon entered an avenue of dark cypresses leading to it. On both sides were vineyards and kitchen gardens, planted round with fruit trees, and a flight of steps at the end of this dark cool avenue, led to the entrance of the retreat, where melancholy self-denial was presumed to dwell. The convent stands on the ridge of mountains behind Cape Maleca, and was built by the Venetians; but the church was not completed. Formerly the convent was rich, because there were many monks to till the ground; but now they have scarcely hands enough to pick up the olives, shaken down by the winds in autumn, much less to sow the extensive grounds with corn; so that two thirds of their lands lie waste. In ancient times there were above one hundred monks; when Tournefort visited them only fifty, and now I found only eighteen, including the youngest novices. Their mode of life is quite patriarchal; even the superior of the convent prunes the vines, tends the bees, and digs the

garden. His hands are a proof, that labour is not accounted a disgrace here. After the morning prayers they go to their work, with spades, hoes, and rakes; one looks to the cows, another to the bakehouse: it is not merely hired servants who till the ground: the novices also are young peasants, who intend to follow this mode of life, and whose dress does not at all differ from that of other peasants; even the priests, who perform all the functions, wear a black coat only when they are not at work. The oldest novices, who are at the same time the most diligent, after they have learnt all the prayers, of which there are many, and can accurately perform what the priests do, are consecrated, at the proper age, in the presence of the bishop of Canea. Learning must not be expected from them, but they are not so malicious and crafty as they are generally represented; they rather approach the simplicity of the first brethren, who converted our barbarous ancestors to christianity, diffused knowledge in those times of ignorance by means of their colonies, softened the rude Germans, and lastly preserved no small number of the classical writings of antiquity. They are employed the whole day to let the best they have be devoured by the Turks, who visit their convent at pleasure, take what they like, and sometimes carry it away; and frequently, in particular when disorders take place, extort money by main force. The monks cultivate wheat, barley, and the *Secale Creticum*, which makes good black bread of a peculiar taste. They have also beans, lentils, vetches, of which they are very fond, and some lupines, but which are bitter and disagreeable; all kind of vegetables and kitchen herbs; wine, cotton, oil, a little honey, wax and fruit; also butter and cheese. They grind their corn in wind-mills, which are situated in Eastern Crete, on the highest mountain ridges, twelve or twenty together; but in the western parts, where there is plenty of water, they are seldom used.

Upon the promise of my Turk Ibrahim, that I would pay, every thing was produced. A round tea board was placed upon a small stool, and every monk set down a dish, which were produced, on a sign from the superior, from the hundred corners of the cloister. The finest Malmsey, yellow as gold and sparkling, was poured from the decanter. I poured out the first glass upon the board, and drank the second, in honour of the God of Wine; the third Ibrahim said might be taken, in spite of Mahomet, as a cordial; he declined to break his vow till the monks were dispersed; then he drank and said, he had not relished it very much—a rogue. He was a very good-natured fellow, a Janissary indeed, but cheerful, and good looking. But for his muslin turban, one might have taken him for a Greek of Chios, he had such an open countenance; in the

church he criticized the tinsel of the Greeks, who looked vexed, but said nothing, but afterwards very urgently begged me to visit the church when he was gone. The next day we went to the convent of St. John, which, as the consul informed us, is situated in such a healthy spot, that it is considered as the best residence for people who have the ague. From this convent there is a view of the sea, to which an almost perpendicular ravine opens, at the bottom of which, the foaming surf may be seen, and in fine weather some of the islands of the Archipelago. We descended into the ravine, and after proceeding some hundred steps, reached an uncommonly neat hermitage. The hermit, a cheerful old Caloyer, seemed to talk to my Turk as a good friend. I looked at the Stalactites in his cave and gave a few paras to the old man, at which my Janissary was much pleased, for he behaved quite differently from the Turks who have accompanied other travellers, and by whom all Greeks were usually treated like a herd of cattle. There was a noble pride in this young man, who, though a Turk, felt a satisfaction in accompanying a Frank, and instead of tormenting the Greeks, tried to obtain presents for them, and seemed always ready to put me in mind, in case I had forgotten it. He expressed particular pleasure that I had given the hermit something, and afterwards, when we were returning home from St. Trinity, he earnestly begged me for the two dollars which I had determined to give to the convent for my reception, took them, ran to meet the superior, and put them into his hand with a look, which seemed to say, "You take us for interested people, such as you may perhaps be yourselves, that we compel you to receive and treat us for the sake of the Franks, to get our services the better paid. Not on your account but on my own I give you this money." When I questioned him, on the way, why he had done so, he said, "the Greeks I know, every where speak ill of us; for the sake of one they abuse us all, to make the greater merit of their sacrifices, and to degrade us in the eyes of the Franks." Though he expressed this very confusedly and obscurely in Italian, I understood him very well, and I was happy that this excursion had given me a better opinion, both of the Greeks and the Turks.

On the way over the rock, we perceived some steps, said to be 185 in number, and the ruins of an ancient monastery, called Catholico, in a most romantic situation. Some parts were still entire; we did not find on the rock of the cave the rare Diptam of Crete, which Tournefort saw, but the tree pink, one of the most beautiful plants of this island. Besides this pink, (*Dianthus arboreus*,) *Gnaphalium orientale*, and *Prenanthes acanthifolia*, I found several other rare plants. The first far excels

when in flower all other pinks. Conceive a dwarf tree, with a stem as thick as a man's arm, and the crown of which is formed by a circle of thick branches, ending in tufts of pinks, which blossom during six months in the year. I gathered the best seeds of this beautiful flower, and fine plants have been raised from them in our greenhouses. The discovery of this plant was much more interesting to me than a narrow dirty cave, dangerous both to the guide and the traveller, which is said to be several hundred paces in length. My attention was more engaged by some defaced fresco paintings on the wall. This is the only point on the north side of Cape Maleca, at which a ship can land. On the beach we found a strong arch, under which a good boat lay dry, protected from the sun and from the waves, which dashed over it.

We hastened to reach home this day, and made the more expedition, as the sun approached the horizon, and the gates of every Turkish town are shut exactly at sun-set; so that the stranger is often obliged to return for the night, to the next village.

A ship from Tripoli arrived in the port, with nearly fifty Negro slaves on board, who were soon landed, and sold singly to Turkish inhabitants as house servants; the price was from three to five hundred piasters each. They seemed either not to feel their misfortune from insensibility, or by feigned cheerfulness to dispel the idea, that they are become merchandize, degraded, and placed on a level with the beasts. The Turks alone have the privilege of purchasing slaves—a melancholy privilege—to have the exclusive right of degrading their fellow-creatures, and consequently themselves. This ship soon sailed again for Tunis. Many Turkish merchants, who had waited for an opportunity, went with it. The firing of a gun, as a signal for the departure of the vessel, was answered from the castle, which drew me out upon the balcony. In a short time another vessel appeared in the horizon, which, as it approached, I perceived by the flag to be Russian. As it passed through the narrow entrance, the sails were lowered; but being lightly laden, it was in danger of striking on a rock, under our balcony. The Mahometans, who recognized the Russian flag, and who hate and fear the Russians more than any nation, rejoiced in the hope that it would run aground, but the dexterity of some Greek sailors saved it from destruction.

In the various excursions which I made in the environs of Canea, in March and the beginning of April, I became more acquainted with the beauty of this island, which increased my desire to visit the other parts of it: I had not yet been to the

district of the Sphakiotes, Rettimo, Candia, Lassiti, and the most easterly Stia. I first visited the country about Kissamo, ascended Mount Tytirus, but took care not to go too far, to enter houses, or to pass the night there, for the consul had advised me to avoid these places, because the plague had been there during the winter; many villages were half depopulated; and besides, all people coming from that quarter were stopped before the city. I saw no reason to deviate from his advice, and kept upon the Sphakiote mountains. At last I endeavoured to make some excursions towards Rettimo. I came towards Calives, where I was stopped by the rivulet of Apicorono, the ancient river Amphimela, now called Tchiliari. A Greek peasant unyoked his plough, and carried me over on his horse, sitting behind. This tract on the bay of Suda, was rich in vegetation; the fortress, which lay opposite to me upon an island, remained for a great many years, after the conquest of Crete by the Turks, in the hands of the Venetians, as well as Garbusa, at the western end of it, till they were both given up by a convention, and the latter, in consideration of a casket of ducats, which was paid to the Venetian governor, who afterwards lived at Constantinople upon the wealth thus acquired, known by the nick-name of Lord of Garbusa. I sent my guide Manoli back with plants, and took a Turk to accompany me. He was an old soldier, and could pronounce pretty distinctly the name of Laudon, of whom he spoke with much respect. He was recommended to me at Calives, because he spoke a little Italian. He had been at Belgrade, and had also been in other campaigns, and told me of his own accord, how difficult it was to withstand European powers; the close ranks, he said, the steadiness of the troops, the silence and regularity of their motions, and above all, the terrible cannons, nearly every ball of which takes effect, are the causes that the Turks must always give way. Then too, he said, every man regularly received his bread, his clothing, and all he required; in the Turkish army on the contrary, every man must provide his own clothing, arms, bread, and every other necessary; some part of the corps had abundance, while another suffered want: when they had a large supply, extravagance and disorder prevailed, but this was commonly succeeded by a general scarcity. Often they had nothing at all, many then dispersed for the purpose of plundering, no order, and no command was respected. The enemy had only to retire and weary the troops, they fell into confusion, and every thing was lost. His frank communicativeness made me smile, and ask him, if he had ever been taken prisoner by us. He confessed it, and spoke in high terms of the manner in which captives are treated, particularly now in Russia, and

the substance of his concluding remark was; "that it was better to be a prisoner to an European power, than a free soldier in the Turkish army."

At Calives I had called on the Papa, or Greek country priest, to obtain a mule to carry me to Rettimo, but none was to be had, and I was obliged to go on foot. I therefore set out with my Turk, who affirmed that he could carry as much as a mule, and this was the reason that I could obtain none; he said that he was both my porter and my Janissary. The Turks in Calives, who had been represented to me as very malicious, firmly believed that I had some other intentions, and because I enquired the way to the Sphakiotes, that I was going to induce them to revolt. They could not comprehend my business because I wrote so much; but they did not venture to do any thing against me, because I spoke of firmans, and in the evening gave consolation or good advice to the patients who crowded to consult me; I even visited their houses and harems, (because the women required it.) They were very well pleased with my prescriptions, for I did not ask any thing for my trouble, and I thereby obtained the advantage of observing the interior of their houses, their customs, and various diseases. If I met with any interesting case, I took pleasure in enquiring into it, made them describe accurately all the symptoms, and gave good words where no relief could be afforded. I hardly think that any hospital in Europe could produce in one or many years, such a variety of diseases as I had in one year the opportunity of observing in this island. All crowded round me and implored my help.

The worthy old clergyman was a man who had the most pleasing countenance perhaps that I had seen in the whole island; he was father of three amiable children, and a happy husband, whereas the Caloyers are never married, and lead a monastic life, according to the rule of St. Basil. He gave me up his room and his best bed, and entertained me as well as he was able. He informed me of the suspicions of the Turks, and that the object of their very frequent visits to him had been to watch me. I had unreservedly expressed my opinion to them, joked and conversed without embarrassment, so that in the end they did not know what to think. The priest conducted me to the bedchamber, and begged me, quite privately, with tears in his eyes, to confess to him, by the great God, when the hour of the deliverance of the Greeks from their dreadful slavery should come. The man really thought that I had come to the insignificant Calives with such intentions. He begged me so seriously and movingly, that I could not help telling him a falsehood, and said, "*that in two years much would happen*

to their advantage, and that they had hopes of being united with the Seven Islands."

Whatever might have been the consequences, I could not refuse to give this transitory satisfaction to this venerable man. Contented, and thanking God, with lifted arms, he bowed his head, and profound feeling animated his countenance. As events have turned out, I shall certainly pass in his eyes for an emissary connected with the League. In the morning I settled my account with this good man, who afterwards visited me at Canea, and continued my journey to Rettimo with Mustapha, my Turk. We arrived there the next day at noon, where I found several Europeans. I prepared the residence to which I intended shortly to remove. Among a crowd of persons collected to see the vessels enter the harbour of Rettimo, I perceived a person in an European dress, who came up to me and introduced himself as the physician of the place. He spoke pretty good Italian, said that he had been some years in the hospital at Moscow, and that he had Russian certificates and protection: I thought this probable, because he spoke Russian very well, and otherwise could not have worn an European dress. He was very polite, and convinced me, by his local knowledge and accurate conception of my plan, that he would be extremely useful to me. He had good medical attainments, knew the local Greek, Officinal, and even some Linnean names of some of the most important plants. What particularly pleased me was, his having procured, at great expense from Constantinople, good vaccine matter, and introduced the cow-pox into Crete, in spite of all obstacles. He was now in Rettimo for this purpose, and taught his brothers to perform this simple operation. I the more readily accepted his proposal to accompany me through the whole island, as he said he had no business to hinder him, and only requested me to communicate to him occasionally all useful information, and merely provide for his board and lodging and some trifles. With all his good qualities I could not help feeling that he was disagreeable to me, which prevented me from placing full confidence in him, which was the more unpleasant, as I could not do without him; however, the real attachment and constant proofs of his sincere friendship, made me overlook many unfavourable observation which I heard respecting him. He lived at Melidoni, where Tournefort, when collecting the *Laudanum*, was hindered from visiting the remarkable caverns with inscriptions. There was now no difficulty in examining these caverns; the owner of the estate being represented as one of the most worthy Turks in the island.

Out of the city walls I found some miserable huts in which

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the lepers lived. They requested alms, but not relief; for of this they have long renounced all hope. Their wretchedness is not to be described; and the notion attached to the word leprosy, by which a disorder of the skin is understood, is extremely incomplete. I now returned to Canea.

My new attendant, Georgi, requested me to come back to Rettimo, where he would wait for me. The vegetation was not very forward on the 20th of March, and as I could soon arrange my affairs at Canea, I consented. After I had reached my residence at Canea, I showed Mustapha my firman from Constantinople, to satisfy his scruples respecting my undertaking. It is true he could not read it, but he admired the thickness and smoothness of the paper, more than the Turkish characters, which he could not comprehend.

The more I became acquainted with the country round about Canea, the more unwilling I was to leave that city. The delay became still more considerable when the Pacha himself wrote me a letter of recommendation to the Musselim of Rettimo, which his secretary lost. He begged us to have a little patience, and not to offend the Pacha, who thought that I had long since set out. This cost two weeks; at last, however, he was obliged to ask the Pacha for a second letter, which he obtained with great trouble and vexation. Meantime our excellent Consul, Paul Barbieri, daily urged my departure—the plague having already shown itself near the city. He often visited me to see the plants I collected, many of which he greatly admired, and lamented that he was born in a barbarous country, where the conversation of Europeans was the only indemnity for the want of other means of obtaining scientific knowledge. He visited me in the beginning of April, but seeing country people in my anti-room, immediately retired, after seriously representing to me the danger of the plague. But what could I do with people who came to me imploring advice, consolation, or medicine. I did what I could; every one was allowed to come, and I had no want of visits. At last, however, I was obliged to yield to the remonstrances of the Consul, and shut my house.

The day before my departure, Nicoletto, a Cephalonian by birth, came dressed in his best clothes and begged me to follow him; the bishop, he said, had sent him to me, to ask me to attend his sick brother. I represented to Nicoletto that this was an absurd request, at this time, when persons had died of the plague near the city, and the Franks had already shut themselves up in their houses. This he could not deny; but observed, that he exposed himself to the danger, if there was any; but that it was not probable the plague would break out first

in the house of the bishop ; besides, I was acquainted with the patient, and it was only an attack of his usual cholic. I replied, that I was not satisfied with the symptoms of his disorder, especially at this time. However, the recollection that he who may one day need help himself, must not deny it to another, prevailed. I went unwillingly, indeed, but I did go, for I might use precautions. The Bishop of Canea, a very well-informed polite man, received me in the manner of the country, and invited me to sit down by him on the divan. Pipes and coffee were brought, as usual, but I shortened my visit by enquiring for his brother. The deacon, a young man, conducted us to the small room in which the patient lay. I immediately looked for the symptoms which are said to accompany the plague, carefully remaining in the middle of the room. I did not find them ; but his answers were so confused, that I became uneasy. I perceived, too, that he told falsehoods. I addressed him roughly, and told him I knew by the symptoms that he had not the cholic ; on which, quite confounded, he shewed me that he had the swellings which accompany the plague. I asked him why, if he knew his situation, he had dared to send for me, and expose me to a danger which might be more fatal to me than to himself ? He did not venture to answer, and I went away. Nicoletto and the other persons in the house had not understood the conversation. I asked plainly if he had ever had the plague, which he had formerly refused to confess, and they told me that he had had it four times, but imperfectly. I therefore was not quite certain, and in my confusion, as also not to spread alarm in the city, I avoided giving warning of the approaching danger. I feared, too, that it had already broken out in several places, and conjectured that they had understood me in the house of the bishop. I was equally uncertain about my own fate, for I could not possibly recollect whether I had touched the patient or not. The bishop, and almost every body in his house, had been about him, and had touched me and my clothes. Nicoletto asked me for medicines, and I was obliged to prescribe. Reynieri made them up, and I advised the Cephalonian to be careful, because I was not certain whether it was the plague. My situation was unpleasant ; when I arrived at the consul's, he offered me his hand, but I drew back, and likewise refused to sit down. Happily I soon learnt the reason why the consul seemed so pleased, when he produced in triumph, the lost letter of the Pacha, and delivered it to me. I had scarcely put it into my pocket when he wanted to read it, but I turned it off with a joke. To avoid taking leave of him, and perhaps touching him, I hastened away, pretending I had forgotten something,

and would soon return. I looked for horses or mules in order to escape by flight the very next day, when luckily two of my good friends from Rettimo, whither I intended to go, arrived on mules, which were to go back, and I immediately ordered them for the next day. One of the mules smelt at me, and leaped aside terrified; but I did not ascribe it to the true cause. I likewise appointed the Janissary to come, and engaged Ali, the brother of Ibrahim, who was accustomed to accompany travellers through the island. When I returned home, and found my attendant, I could hardly refrain from tears; but I was soon filled with anger at the worthless patient, who, though I had often spoken to him of his illness before, concealed that he had already had the plague. I informed my gardener of what had passed, and told him my suspicion, and that I did not know what to do with him, as nobody would receive him; many of our things could not be removed; various circumstances obliged us to return to our house in the town, and I did not know whether the plague would spread. I charged him not to come near me; but he endeavoured to make me easy, and did not make any difference in his conduct. I represented to him the necessity of taking precautions, and prescribed to him minutely what he should do, all which he promised to observe, but could not be induced to entertain any fear. For me nothing remained but flight, and in the morning I had the mules loaded, and sent them out of the town, not wishing to ride through the streets. It was on the 23d of April when I left Canea, with painful feelings, as I foresaw that the plague would inevitably break out; but which I did not venture to say in the city, as I should have increased the alarm; and besides, all the Europeans and Greeks were already on their guard. I desired my gardener to go, if he pleased, to the mountains, and botanize in the Sphakiote district, and left him a considerable sum, to be prepared against all events.

When I got out of the gate, where the countryman and the Janissary waited for me, and I approached the handsome mule intended for my use, it again began to snort and to start. I did not regard this, held it fast, and thought it would be quiet when I was mounted; but it became furious, threw me violently, and my foot hanging in the stirrup, it would have dragged me over the stony ground, and dashed me to pieces with its hoofs, had not the bystanders stopped it, when my Janissary disengaged my foot from the stirrup. All ascribed the violence of the mule to the fear of my European dress; but I remained silent, because I guessed the true cause. For why had it, only the evening before, quietly carried my Greek friend Baleste, who wore the same dress? I felt as if a dagger pierced me, from

the conviction that the mule smelt the infection of the plague, which many mules are known to do. I dared not express my anxiety, and mounted the other, which was an old mule. Rain coming on, I took leave of my gardener with tears, communicated to him my melancholy thoughts, and authorized him, in an Italian letter, in case of a bad issue, to take my property and return to Europe. The fine mule which the Janissary mounted, galloped on, snorted, and fled from me. We were overtaken by the rain, which wetted me through, and we took shelter in a chapel, built by a pious Turk, for the protection of travellers. The shower was soon over, and the wind and sun dried our clothes. The black clouds hung over the snowy mountains, and made a beautiful contrast with the silver cones of the Spkakiote chain, shining in the sun.

If the fear of the mule had at first appeared singular, its manner was now still more inexplicable. On my coming near it trembled, snorted at first, then smelt, and snuffed up the air without starting, and probably not smelling any thing more, became quite gentle, and its fear had vanished. Without desiring to impose my opinion upon any one, I conceived that the rain had washed off the infectious smell that probably hung about my clothes, and if we may trust to the succeeding quietness of the mule, the contagious matter also, as we know that infected clothes may be entirely purified by washing in clean water, nay, even by exposure to the open air.

We rode past the harbour of Suda, formerly Amphimalla. In Niochorio, the Timavian springs were smoking, which I looked at with great attention. The water rushing from the rocks appeared to be boiling hot. Near this village we dined, and in the next inn paid three piasters for nothing, for the very good reason, that just before a Turk demanded of the landlord, a Greek, "a present of twenty-four piasters." The barbarous Turks are often guilty of such extortions in this island, since the time of Osman-Pacha, the present Pachas being seldom able to employ severity.

The road in this pleasant valley now led over the Armiro, a rivulet which falls into the sea beyond Cape Drepanum. Fine olive gardens have replaced the thick forests which lately lined the road, and were infested by robbers, who were so daring, that it was necessary to travel in whole caravans well armed. These banditti are now destroyed, the woods cut down, and the trees are every where a musket-shot distant from the road. We then passed over a bridge, called Palacocamara, or the old bridge. Thence on the right hand, towards the mountains, is the only pass which leads to the high land Sphakia, towards which my Janissary turned to call upon a

Greek, who lived in a village called Masa. I was astonished at the road which we now entered; it was like another Appian way, for it was nearly two fathoms broad, consisting of large flat stones, closely joined, so that it perfectly resembled an ancient causeway. It led to Masa, a miserable village, the walls of which must belong to an ancient city, for their appearance evidently shewed them to be antique. Masa seems much to resemble the Matium of Pliny, no other name of any antient city of Crete agrees with it. Matium cannot, however, be here; and Mycenæ, built by Agamemnon, seems alone to correspond with this Masa. We passed the night here, and on the following day reached Rettimo, by way of Armiro. We rode in at a different gate, because the guard always stops European travellers, and demands a present. Greeks not being permitted to ride in at the city gate, but always obliged to dismount, while the Europeans are allowed only on payment of a present; and the Turks alone, whether rich or poor, are free. The Janissary who had foreseen it, wished to avoid it by choosing another gate; but here, too, notwithstanding his remonstrances, the guards seized my mule's bridle, demanded a present, and threatened to pull me off if I attempted to force my way. I gave no present, the guard being so unreasonable as to demand a Spanish dollar; but hastened with my letters of recommendation, and my firman, to the Motsallem of Rettimo. He was very angry, and ordered the hot young fellow to be put for six hours into a cool chamber, having first read my firman, which stated that no tribute or the like was to be demanded of me. This had its effect; as I made frequent excursions, I should have been obliged to pay a dollar every time I rode out or in, or else be forced to the humiliation of going on foot. The soldier, indeed, did not forget it, and seized my mule by the bridle the next time; this he did, however, only as a trial, thinking to frighten me, like the oppressed Greeks; but well knowing the satisfaction which had been given me, I scolded him heartily, snatched the bridle out of his hand, and asked him, if the Sultan had no authority in this island, as the Pacha of Canea had told him? Here an old Turk very prudently interfered, and led the soldier off, to spare him the disgrace of yielding. However, I sometimes sent to the guard a small present of one or two piasters; for if we are bound not to sacrifice our national honour, it is yet not good to make the people your enemies, and it is often only necessary to shew that we need not if we will not. The Greek metropolitan alone is the only person of his nation in the island, who has the legal right to enter the city gate, either on a horse or a mule; even bishops and abbots, which dignities, however, are

of little signification here, are obliged to dismount without the gates, and give their mules to their servants. This is one of the most sensible mortifications to the Greek nation. In general, a Greek is not allowed in the city to ride in the streets. A countryman, who had for sale a quantity of toys, little baskets, &c. being unable to lead his ass with both his hands full, remained sitting upon it in the city; on which a troop of Turks immediately collected, who struck the animal on the hind legs, so that it stumbled, and the poor peasant fell into the deep mud, and had all his goods broken. As the poor fellow began to cry, I waited till he passed me in order to give him something.

The Greeks would willingly put up with many extortions, if only these wretched barbarians did not at all times make them feel their dependence in so mortifying a manner. Nothing is more intolerable than when the well-educated man has to ask anything of a rude upstart, or when one who has fallen into unmerited poverty, has a Jew creditor; the situation of both, indeed, is lamentable; but the condition of the Greeks is far more oppressive, the richest of them not being secure from the insults of the poorest Turkish beggar. When any thing at all disagreeable happened to me, I immediately related it, by my interpreter, on my visits to the sick. I told my grievances to some one of the rich and distinguished Turks, whom I consented to visit for some imaginary or fashionable sickness; this succeeded, and I had no further trouble. If I rode out alone, the Greeks begged me to mount at my own house, and so to ride out as if without thinking of it. This appeared to them some indemnity, and I readily did it to oblige the good people. I took up my lodging, as represented in the annexed plate, in the house of the merchant Stehlianaci, from whom the Pacha had forcibly taken his convenient house, situated on the harbour, for a third part of the value, because it pleased him, and who now dwelt in the house belonging to the Convent Arcadi. My residence was extremely agreeable and pleasant, and it would have been difficult to have found one more suitable for me. In this house I met with some Austrian merchants and captains, from Bocche di Cattaro, who were here to purchase oil, and to take it to Venice. They are very partial to Austria, because, since the cession of Dalmatia to the Austrian government, their trade, which was before very confined, has become extensive and flourishing.

Rettimo has a small harbour, which was some years ago improved, cleansed, and rendered fit to receive small vessels; a circumstance which deserves an honourable place in the annals of the Turkish government. The fortress lies upon a rock, at

the west side of the town, and is the best fort of the three cities of this island. The town is pretty, less than Canea, with about four thousand inhabitants. The streets are almost all adorned with wooden booths or shops; the market-place in the middle of the town is lively; the by-streets consist of walls, with doors, and a few small lattice windows; the fronts being turned the other way. The town probably stands on the site of the ancient Rithymna. The inhabitants are reputed to be the most obliging in the whole island; even the Turks of Rettimo are less barbarous. The Greek women are said to be the handsomest and mildest, which every traveller must confirm. The conversation is not so dull as in other places, the women being allowed much more freedom in their behaviour in the agreeable private gardens. The environs of the town, however, are desolate; only the road to Arcadi is picturesque and beautiful, and the neighbouring district of Milopotamo makes up for all. They have ripe grapes already, in the first half of July, just when cherries go out.

Rettimo was taken by the Turks in 1647, and has not now a Pacha of its own, as in Tournefort's time; but a Motsallem, who depends on the Pacha of Canea, who is again under the Chief Pacha of Candia, but never obeys him. About half a league on the road to Candia, begin the gardens which are called Perivoglia; they are the finest in the island, and furnish many kinds of very excellent vegetables. I had scarcely arrived when Georgi found me out, and advised me to dismiss the troublesome Janissary. I approved of his advice, because it would save me considerable sums, and I should become better acquainted with every thing, as the Greeks are not so alarmed, and are more communicative, when one travels without a Janissary. It is therefore better, if it can be done, to take a Greek servant. My Janissary accordingly returned to Canea, for which the Consul blamed me; but he could not afford me more protection than my hat did, which is much more respected in Turkey since the bombardment of Algiers. The Janissary is, besides, a burden, because it is necessary every where to pay double in order to gratify his vanity. Georgi had attained his object by the dismissal of the Janissary, but I was very sorry to part with him, because he had a very good disposition, behaved alike to Greeks and Turks, and excited in me a suspicion that he was secretly attached to Christianity.

In one of our excursions, passing through a village, I was surrounded by a crowd of country people, who conducted me to the Papa of the place, who was much afflicted with the gout, a disorder pretty common here, and his very handsome and

1. The first part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

2. The second part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

3. The third part of the document is a list of names and titles, including "The Hon. Mr. Justice" and "The Hon. Mr. Justice".

modest daughter had unfortunately a defect in the eye, which deprived it of its lustre. I satisfied both with good advice. I had scarcely left the village, when I met another group of country people, who had a youth of eighteen in the midst of them; and I unhappily saw, at first sight, that he had the leprosy in a high degree. As soon as he perceived me, he began to weep bitterly, clasped his hands, and implored me to help him, vowing to be eternally my slave. He seemed even disposed to humble himself on his knees before me, and I felt in that moment how hard it was not to be able to relieve him; but the divine word, "go, thy faith hath made thee whole," could alone have saved him, and so I departed, even more grieved in my soul than himself. He was still allowed to remain some time in the village; but, as the country people told me, when his skin was covered with scurf, and his fingers began to drop off, he would be obliged to depart, and join the company of the unhappy sufferers in the huts before Rettimo. This was the cause of his melancholy, and of his importunate entreaties.

On Sunday the 27th of April, a Sirocco wind set in, raised the sand and dust, and darkened the air. A relaxing heat, as in the neighbourhood of a kiln, oppressed the lungs. I was at an entertainment, at one of the richest Greek merchants, but did not approve of their mode of provoking the appetite by *liqueurs* before dinner. The table was handsomely set out, and the dinner very well dressed; it ended with fruits and confectionary. Wine from the Archipelago, particularly the excellent Malmsey, called to mind the Nectar of the gods, who were born in this island. The Sirocco damped the enjoyment of this select company, and when we had taken coffee on the Divan, all eyes were closed by the dull tones of a two-stringed mandoline. I felt quite exhausted when I reached home, and was surprised to find the thermometer, in the shade, only +22° Reaumur, a heat which ought not to have been so oppressive as it was. On the following day, a refreshing rain cooled the air, and it was proposed to take an excursion to Melidoni, the native place of Georgi. On the way, about ten miles behind Rettimo, I found the beautiful *Phlomis*, first discovered by Tournefort. We gathered this plant, which had begun to blossom, and took it with us to Melidoni. This village lies in a small hollow in the mountain Panorma. The Bishop of Melidoni, a worthy old man, shewed me his performances in black chalk and oil. He painted altar pieces, as presents to neighbouring churches, and had applications enough to find him employment, his works being more valued, because a dignitary of the church painted them for nothing. He copied after the engravings of

Italian masters, but was obliged, for fear of offending his flock, to retain the customary ornaments, the brown colouring and still attitudes of his Madonnas, and other images of saints. I related what difficulties Tournefort had, a hundred years before, to see the caves, with the inscriptions. They were shewn to me from the window, and I continued, saying that he was chiefly hindered by the Subbaschi. The present Subbaschi, who happened to be in the room, obligingly said, he would be happy to attend me thither. The cave lies towards the west, in a mountain; they call it the old cave *Gerospilos*, but there are in fact two. The inscriptions are in good preservation, but of no historical importance, and some lines are already covered with stalactites.

We staid till midnight in the bishop's house. As we crossed over the church yard, the monuments in which were illumed by the bright light of the moon, we were regaled by the perfume of the orange trees, now in full bloom, gently agitated by the wind. The lofty Ida seemed to touch with its snowy summit the gold fringed clouds that hung over it, while heavy masses rolled down the steep sides of the mountain, and formed a wreath round its woody region, increasing the effect of a Colossus, whose feet extended to the ends of the island; the cypresses around it, added to the beauty of the scene, and, sacred to the divinities of the lower world, disposed the soul to sensations, suitable to the midnight hour.

At home, Georgi's mother was anxiously expecting us. At the foot of my bed I found a large cloth spread with a heap of orange blossoms, the smell of which was at first agreeable, but affected me so much during my sleep, that in the morning I could scarcely open my eyes, and was so dizzy, that I was hardly able to get out of bed. A festival invited us to the church, where we found a number of country people, with cheerful faces, in their national dress of white calico, who very civilly made way for us. After divine service, to which I paid great attention, two attendants waited for us at the church door, who with little watering pots, filled with the strongest orange water, all at once deluged my face, head, and breast, and all my clothes, expecting that the present I should make would be liberal in proportion. Though this kind of baptism was not very agreeable, I however put on a cheerful countenance, and laid on the silver salver, which they presented to me, a heap of about one hundred and fifty paras, which, to judge by their looks, was more than they had expected. As during my residence at Melidoni I inhaled nothing but the perfume of oranges, it happened in the sequel, that every smell of oranges made me involuntarily fancy myself in my former

agreeable dwelling at Melidoni. The rain hindered me from departing before eleven o'clock in the forenoon, for Rettimo, where we arrived on the first of May, at five o'clock in the afternoon. The two last days of the week were spent in arranging my plants. I also visited some Turkish gardens, and became acquainted with a very remarkable Turkish woman, who is quite a phenomenon in the East. While I was busy in examining my plants, I was told Signora Rosako had come to see me: I looked up, and saw a woman of a masculine appearance and dignified carriage, standing before me unveiled, who said, "Good day," adding "Your servant." She was marked with the small-pox, had regular features, but without any pretensions to beauty, was about forty years of age, rather corpulent, but of a very engaging appearance. I have never met with so much sound judgment, with so many singular expressions, so much decorum with less ceremony, in a woman, even an European, as in her, and still less among the reserved muffled up statue-like Turkish women. She brought me a nosegay, without which it is not common to pay a visit, and which is generally offered as a token of friendship on entering. If she had been educated in the European fashion, she might have been displeased that I spent so much time in viewing the nosegay, for besides beautiful slips of jessamine, orange flowers, the white musk rose, &c. my attention was particularly attracted by a kind of white narcissus, and the Arabian ornithogalum: but she was pleased at the honor bestowed upon her present. She had raised herself above the weakness and littleness of her countrywomen, and could pretend, if not to beauty, to more estimable qualities. Neither her brother, nor any other, had been able to hinder her in her youth from frequenting the society of men. She was of moderate stature, her dress tasteful, her hair hanging down in ringlets, her head dress simple, and her bosom partially covered. In another place I should have found her less interesting, but as a Turkish woman, she naturally appeared something extraordinary. It was easily to be guessed, that she came to consult me about her health. The conversation I had with her, served to confirm the good opinion which was universally entertained of her.

On the Sunday morning I intended to take an excursion, to avoid troublesome visits: but I was so importuned, that I was obliged to give up my plan. One reason why they kept me from my business, and were so fond of drawing me into company was, that the sight of an European seemed to animate their hopes of speedy emancipation; for the germ of the freedom of Greece was even then prepared. The anniversary of one of the principal Saints of Greece happened on the fourth

of May. The day was consumed in eating and drinking. People whispered to each other about the plague, which was not very agreeable to me. The sound of the vesper bell induced me to go out to view the picturesque groups of well-dressed country people. On returning home, we found a whole company assembled in the middle of the court yard, round a brazier of burning coals, who looked at each other with alarm. In the middle was a man with a long Talar, whom I immediately knew to be the Bishop of Rettimo, who, with a pair of iron tongs, was holding a letter, already black with smoke, over the coals. This sight confounded me, for I knew better than they, that the letter must come from the Bishop of Canea. Thus it appeared, that the plague had certainly broken out, on the 1st of May, at Canea, in the house of the bishop, and was now raging in that city. The letter was in the bishop's own hand, he having nobody to write it for him, for he alone was left alive in his house. First the deacon had died, who presented me the coffee and pipe, then the two servants who had touched me, then the female servants, and last of all, my worthy patient, the bishop's brother. This put my resignation and equanimity to the proof; but the prognosis of my mule consoled me, for I had nothing but superstition to call to my aid, and I considered the rain, which had wetted my clothes through, as an interposition of Providence, to secure myself and others from danger.

On the following day I went to the convent Arcadi, for a priest had just come, to inform the superior, who was at Rettimo on business, that some Turks had broken into the convent, seized upon the stores of bread, meat, and wine, in order to supply their wants, while they were impatiently expecting the approaching harvest. Every common Turk thinks himself master of the property of the convent, and though the Greek clergy are highly esteemed by the Turks, yet the meanest Mahometan frequently takes great liberties with individuals of the body. A short time before, while I was cheerfully conversing with the excellent Bishop at Melidoni, a common Turk came without ceremony into his room, demanded something to eat, lighted his pipe at leisure, threw himself awkwardly on a seat, mixed in the conversation, behaved like the master of the house, and at last went to sleep. Yet this was not a pre-meditated insult, but mere habit. As I clearly perceived that the Bishop was much vexed, because I was present, I was very near desiring him to be gone, as I had done more than once before; for these Turks do not venture to say much to the Franks, but a Greek, of whatever rank he may be, must put up with every thing from them. The Abbot of Arcadi sent

the priest back with orders, and not choosing to go himself to the convent, I mounted the mule that was brought for him, and rode away with the priest, who took me through bye-roads well known to the mules, amidst groves and arcades, and fountains and flowering shrubs, which diffused the sweetest perfume, while the melody of nightingales resounded on every side. Turning round the corner of a rock, we saw a very patriarchal group. A handsome peasant, dressed in the national costume, with a stick in his hand, led a mule by the bridle, on which his wife, who had quite the face of a Madonna, was sitting with a little child. The whole resembled the flight into Egypt, and was worthy the pencil of an Italian master. We passed by an old wall, which was evidently the remains of lately abandoned dwellings of oppressed Greeks. The roofs had fallen in, the oil presses were broken, and the doors carried away. A number of smooth pebbles, placed on purpose in regular order under the oil press, and several egg-shells fastened to the end of a stick, over the entrance, expressed symbolically the feelings of the departing owners, as if they had said, "You have pressed the marrow from our bones, now press the pebbles; you have plundered our houses, take now the empty shell." On account of the rain, the priest stopped at a hut, where we were regaled with cheese, wine, fruits, &c. which we should not have looked for in this poor cottage. The wine loosed their tongues, and they enquired of me the hour of their emancipation, as if I had to distribute the parts, or could foretell the changes of the political horizon, as the almanack does the weather. The balm of words cost little, I therefore drank to them for their consolation, *patience and hope*. Night approached before we reached the convent. Our mules crossed a bridge, as I perceived from the noise of the stream that rolled beneath. We turned round a rock, the moon broke through the clouds, and we discerned the noble convent, surrounded by a wood of pines and cypresses.

The trampling of the mules on the pavement brought out the inmates of the convent, whose surprise at the sight of an European, none having been there for fifteen years, was the greater, as they expected the abbot himself. There were no Turks in the convent, they having gone away, after they had plundered it, and my reception was the more joyful. The Greeks thought that more must follow; and an old Monk said, "Why did not your brethren come with you?" Ida was not visible the whole of the following day; and light misty clouds (for Arcadi is 202 toises above the level of the sea) enveloped the whole monastery; the walls were damp, and it seemed as if I had arrived in the coldest season; for though all was in blossom in

the valley, hardly a flower had unfolded its leaves at Arcadi. The considerable level on which the convent of Arcadi lies, was the site of the ancient city of Arcadia. It was probably not very large, for this mountainous tract could hardly support so numerous a population as the European generally attaches to the idea of a city. Among the ancient cities, it may be supposed, that only Gortyna, Gnossus, Cydonia, Hierapytna, Lyetos, Prasos, Aptera, Rithymna, and a few others, really deserved the name; if Crete, therefore, was ever called Hecatompolis, or the island of a Hundred Cities, the smallest towns must have been included, which perhaps were called cities, only because Crete being constantly involved in internal feuds, every place, however insignificant, was surrounded with walls. However high we estimate the population of the island, it could hardly have amounted to half a million, even in the most flourishing times, and if we suppose two thirds to have been country people, each city would have, on an average, 1500 inhabitants, and even this seems too much, since it may be doubted, whether they fetched from Egypt every year as much corn again as the island can produce, to say nothing of those years when the crops failed. It appears from Polybius, and other writers, that the island was not more populous formerly than at present.—When Metellus began to conquer the island, he was opposed by only 10,000 Cretan youths, who seem to have been all that could carry arms. But if we take the number of men bearing arms in those times to have been 25,000, the remaining population, taken at five times the number, make only 150,000 in all. It is not less now than formerly, but rather greater, for the city of Cana can furnish at any time one thousand resolute soldiers. In the year 1610, the Venetians reckoned 270,000 souls in Crete. Savary, Sonnini, and others, who always look at the past with a magnifying glass, and for the sake of some ruins, which the all-destroying hand of time has spared, too much extol the ancient inhabitants, who lived in happier circumstances at the expense of the present generation, have been guilty of partiality.

The monasteries of Crete are most delightfully situated; it is therefore no wonder that the ruins of the ancient Arcadia were employed for building a handsome convent. It was erected by Venetian settlers, about 235 years ago. The chapel is dark, and stands in the middle of the paved yard, surrounded by cypress trees. Most of the cells are converted into hay magazines; the refectory, intended for a great number of persons, stands empty, with its fine table. Tournefort reckoned about one hundred priests in this convent, and about two hundred monks, employed in the

labours of the field and the vineyard; at present there are not above eight priests and twelve monks. They have very fine and roomy cellars, and the best wine in the whole island, which is called after the village of Malevisi, near Candia. When the Venetians were masters of the island, great quantities of this wine were produced about Rettimo and Candia, and it was made by boiling in large coppers, as I myself observed in this convent, but it is now very scarce, only a little being made at Arcadi, the vineyards of which lie very high, and produce the finest grapes; none is now made, even at Malevisi, near Candia. The best is sold at the convent at eighteen piasters, or four florins, the barrel of eighteen gallons. A great deal of wine and corn is produced, for the ground about the monasteries is in general the best cultivated; all the labours of the field and garden are conducted with much regularity, the crops are abundant, and yet the convent is involved in debt. Its domain extends to the foot of Ida, and in the valley of Rettimo, nearly to the sea. The superior of the convent is obliged to reside almost always at Rettimo, to prevent or to satisfy all demands and pecuniary extortions.

The Oguemenos, or superintendent, had mentioned to me the remains of a library, which the convent preserved in an old lumber room without windows: he spoke in such terms of it, that I desired to see it. The melancholy remains of the convent library were chiefly classics, but in a very bad condition, amounting in the whole to about five hundred volumes. Never did I see old volumes so worm eaten; most of them were entirely useless; besides the books of divinity, there were Pindar and Petrarca, Virgil with Dante, Homer and Strabo, Thucydides and Diodorus, confusedly mixed together. Aristophanes and Euripides were hardly to be distinguished; and the finest editions of these and other classics lay in the most deplorable condition. I arranged what was still fit for use, and had some trouble to get together fourteen volumes of Aristotle, which, singular enough, had been wholly spared by the moths, perhaps owing to some ingredient in the size employed in the manufacture of the paper. The Abbot was offended at my considering the collection as destroyed, for he valued the ruins of his library at a price which, if it were printed, would certainly be thought a gross erratum. Ptolemy Philadelphus did not perhaps set a higher value on his Alexandrian library.

On the 10th I at last set out from Rettimo for Candia. Jensi Aga requested me to take a letter to the Pacha of Candia, with whom he was on very intimate terms. In this man I found one instance among many, of the bad consequences arising from the immoderate use of drastic medicines. In the

beginning of May the inhabitants, old and young without exception, are let blood, as if they had too much, and habit allows of no omission of this injurious custom; scarcely has the body of the industrious peasant recovered from the rigorous fast, when the first of May claims the little blood he has left. I readily took the letter, as he who has one to deliver has admittance as a stranger ever after. We rode by way of Perivoli, Melidoni, Damasta, to Candia. On the long road through this village of gardens, Perivoli, we rode entirely under arbours of vines, which were in full bloom, and diffused a peculiarly delightful odour, which we never meet with in our northern countries. Near a village, a league beyond Rettimo, twenty peasants were digging up liquorice root, which grows wild in great quantities, and is sent as an article of trade to Cairo.

Soon after we met a good-natured Turkish lad, whom Georgi, contrary to his custom, saluted very cordially, then stopped his mule, and began to feel in his pockets: ten paras appeared to him too little for a present, and he therefore asked me for twenty more. I could not comprehend his hurry and joy. The conversation, full of affection and friendship, lasting rather long, I asked him, in Italian, who this bosom friend might be, on which he begged me to have patience. The other Greeks, for no Turk was present, stood still and listened with evident pleasure to the conversation, which I thought would never come to an end. I rode on, Georgi at last overtook me, and surprized me by a strange speech, saying, "*This young Turk is my godson.*"—"Turk, and godson, you dream."—"Ah, no! he is indeed my godson, I myself christened him, together with his mother, who is sixty years old, about a year ago, having previously instructed them in the Christian religion." The animated rapid narrative of a number of connected circumstances convinced me of the truth of his assertions, though I affected to be incredulous, in order to satisfy myself respecting the causes and motives of all these inexplicable and mysterious statements. I was extremely surprised, for I knew that the slightest suspicion which a Turk excites against himself respecting his faith, is usually punished by instant death. How could a conversation on a subject of such importance, and so dangerous to the life of the convert, be held in the presence of several Greeks, who, especially those of Crete, have not the good sense to observe silence, be kept secret in the long run from so many Turks? How do these Turks perform their prayers and religious exercises as Christians? And how do they avert the suspicion of their very mistrustful countrymen, which must necessarily be excited, by omitting for so many years the practice of the

Mahomedan religious ceremonies? Not only Georgi, but the Austrian Consul, and several other persons worthy of credit, confirmed these inconceivable circumstances by various examples, even quoting instances of such secret Christians who had remained undiscovered for forty and fifty years or more, and who, though well-known and supported by all the Greeks, were never betrayed. I cannot, therefore, sufficiently praise the scrupulousness and the discretion of the Greek nation on this point, being convinced by what I heard from them, that out of love to their religion, to which they are greatly attached, they would rather suffer all manner of persecutions than betray such a secret Christian.

Georgi was not a little proud of having instructed and converted this young Turk. He did not tell me his name or his place of abode, and begged me never to make any allusion, or ask any question on the subject, because his own life and that of many others was at stake. He told me that there was a great number of secret Christians not only in Crete but in many other parts of Turkey; and I myself became acquainted with whole families, who, I was told confidentially, and after long intimacy, were Christians, which I did not doubt for a moment. Thus it happened once, on my returning from a walk to dinner, that meat was served up which nobody would touch, saying, we have done dinner: but at length I perceived, that on the Greek fast days, they went aside and took Lent food. Another time as I was eating meat, as well dressed as I ever met with, the master of the house, a Turk, who sat next me, asked for a knife to cut bread, but would not take mine because I had cut meat with it; afterwards eating some butter and cheese, I drew back my knife quickly, and as if by accident, threw a piece of meat into his plate: he frowned, and as if I had thrown in poison, he took it out again, wiped it carefully, and did not consider that this might lead to the discovery of his secret. These new converts believe that to abstain from meat on certain days is the main point of their religion. I know not whether any traveller has remarked this circumstance, but I much doubt it: for almost all travelled with anissaries, and in pomp, full of the splendour of ancient times, the obscure remoteness of which favours optical deceptions, and pay less regard to the Greek sunk in slavery than he really merits. By this means the inhabitants are kept at a distance and rendered reserved. Travellers may also be accused of having paid too little regard to the relative situation of the Turks as masters; and of the Greek clergy and the Greeks as subjects.

It is certain that the situation of the Greeks would be much

more deplorable, were not a certain, though small number of Turks in Crete secretly Christians, or at least inclined to Christianity; who not only procure them all possible relief, but even put to death malicious Turks who treat the Greeks too ill, of which I likewise possess incontrovertible proofs. When the secret Christian is suspected by the Turks, he may help himself; for according to the Koran, he is free if he draws his sabre and demands that his accuser shall be produced. But the latter, whether Greek or Turk, would risk his life, and draw on himself the hatred and the vengeance of the rest, and rather preserve silence. The custom of young Turks to choose handsome Greek women, or to carry them off by force to make them their wives, is a principal cause that Christianity has found its way into many Turkish families, not only in Candia, but in other parts; not to mention that Venetian families, whose origin is not doubtful, assumed the mere appearance of Mahometanism, to secure their property during the conquest of the island. The Turk who has thus become connected with the relatives of his wife, and in constant intercourse with them, governed by the beauty and talents of his wife, is often inspired by her warm attachment to her religion, with increasing indifference to his own. The children, more attached to the mother, are prepared for the part they will have to act as Turks, and Islamism is easily undermined in the heart of the child by turning it into ridicule. Thus a foundation is laid for an approximation to Christianity. It is not difficult to recognize a Turk who is inclined to Christianity; his manner is entirely changed, and betrays him.

We reached Melidoni by moonlight, and ordered mules for the next day; but my departure was rather delayed by a multitude of sick people, most of whom believed that if I did but look at their children it would suffice to cure them. In the evening we reached Damasta, where I advised Georgi to procure us a lodging in a private house, because the only wretched inn being frequented by travellers of every description, there was some danger of the plague. The good-natured, but poor Greek peasant, who received us, sold us a lamb for about seven-pence. I had never seen so pretty a lamb, and resolved to content myself with some butter and eggs, make the peasant a present of the money, and return him the lamb, for I could not think of having it killed. But while I went to take a walk in the village they had slaughtered it, and when I returned, the Greek was roasting one half at the fire. As if human flesh had been set before me, I looked at the half-roast piece of the lamb, and was hardly able, with the greatest repugnance, to put a morsel in my mouth, which I naturally found very dry

and insipid. A disagreeable feeling pervaded me when I thought of the pretty innocent lamb, I lost my appetite, and had a very restless night. It is strange how a common object can by accidental circumstances acquire extraordinary power over our minds.

The following day the peasant accompanied me on an excursion. In the evening he spoke to me of a tree which he said formed an entire wood, was not far off, and was called *Adrachla*. I immediately recognized it by the name to be the *Arbutus Andrachne*, and hastened to view this wood before sun-rise. The sight of it exceeded all imagination. A whole forest of it lay before me, and covered all the eminences far and near about this narrow valley. Between the hard, light green leaves shining like varnish, like those of the laurel, and which never fall off, appeared the most beautiful bunches of innumerable milk-white flowers resembling white thorn; the bark was as red as cinnamon, peeled off from the stem in large flakes, and every where covering the ground, crackled under the feet. A number of insects, which I had never observed before; the most beautiful *ateuchus sacer*, *pius*, *variolosus*, *semipunctatus*, &c. swarmed on the way, with a number of *Copris*, *Prionus*, *Cerambyx*, *Carabus*, and other kinds of beetle. Among them I found a large violet-coloured insect, which engaged my whole attention, it being a most singular compound of *Blaps* and *Carabus*, forming a distinct and most important species; but I could not afterwards find it in my collection. We went along a disagreeable, rough-paved road, alternately ascending and descending till we reached a level, at the end of which the way suddenly declined towards the plain of Candia. This level looked like the bed of a lake enclosed on both sides by chains of mountains; on the right side was a conical mountain, now called *Strubula* or *Strugula*, and was, perhaps, called by the Venetians *Stromboli*, as it is in Italian accounts of Crete. In the time of the ancient Greeks it was, however, called *Strongyle*. We rested in the chapel, and a few steps from it went to the edge of the level, between large blocks of stone, and looked down with surprize upon Candia, and the extensive plain below. I cannot compare this prospect with any other, so well as with that of Trieste from the heights of *Obschina*. To the left we had an unbounded view of the sea; *Scarpatus* and *Rhodes*, and the coasts of Asia Minor, were dimly visible in the remote horizon: on the right we looked over a mountain-ridge adorned with groves of olives, which stretched to *Lassiti*, down into the fertile valley of *Gortyna*, now called *Messarah*: on every side the golden harvests waving in the wind invited the labour

of the husbandman; the north coast, rent by the storms of thousands and thousands of years, extended in innumerable capes into the sea, which was studded with islets and projecting rocks. In the back-ground rose the high and remarkable mountains of Lassiti. The ruins of Gnosus and Gortyna, the most powerful cities of this once flourishing island, awakened agreeable recollections of the past, to heighten the lovely picture with charms that are now no more.

We soon reached the plain, where the ground began to be chalky; but after the strictest examination, I am convinced that the notion that Crete possesses chalk hills is wholly groundless, and that all works treating of Crete, and almost all mineral systems, must be corrected, by stating, "that there is no real chalk in Crete:" on the contrary, it is imported into that island from the north of Europe, by way of Trieste and Leghorn.

We came to a large fountain, a work of the Venetians, as is evident from the style; though the Turks, on occasion of some repairs, have taken out one stone, and replaced it by another, bearing Arabic or Turkish inscriptions. It was here that Tournefort, whose authority I usually quote, out of respect for that great naturalist, took up his station with his faithful friend and medical companion, Gundelsheimer; and here was sketched the valuable, though defective view of Candia, given in the original edition of his work. The heat increased considerably in the valley, and we were forced to rest several times before we could reach the city. Here, too, the unhappy lepers implored alms. The country round the town is very naked; for the olive groves, which were totally destroyed during the thirty years siege by the Turkish army, have not been replanted in the interval of a century.

The city, with its houses without roofs, and the slender minarets, looks at a distance like a church-yard with tombstones. The ramparts are high, and the same as under the Venetians; but to conquer the city now, only days would be required, and not thirty years, which was the time the Turks spent in the siege. Under the Venetians it was well defended, rich, and the seat of the Governor of the island; now it is half in ruins, and far from recovering since the siege: it was visited about ten years ago by a dreadful earthquake, that destroyed a great number of the finest buildings, which I still saw in ruins. The city of Candia makes a very fine appearance from the north or sea side, rising gently towards the fortifications: on the land side the walls are too high. The population may amount to 15,000 at the most, of which the Greeks constitute one half, and the Turks the other; there are not

above five or six families of Jews. No Greek at Candia is allowed to carry a walking-stick, if he did, he could hardly escape insult or ill-usage; and only the right of hospitality protects the European when he carries a stick. The Pacha has a few Albanian soldiers as a body guard: all other duty is done, negligently enough, by the native Janissaries.

The environs of Candia are chiefly arable land, where the corn is reaped about the middle of May. What renders Candia particularly agreeable, and more lively than Turkish cities in general, is, that not only the shops and magazines of the merchants and trades-people, but even those of the artisans and mechanics, are in wooden booths, erected against the fronts of the houses in the principal streets. These booths are of equal height, built in a peculiar manner, and without them the city would have a most miserable and dull appearance, because no windows are allowed on a level with the street, and those in the upper stories are generally turned towards the inner court. The streets are planted with vines, which are led over laths from one side to the other, and form in summer the closest and most agreeable arcades, under which you may walk through all the principal streets. Before the coffee-houses there is a crowd of idle Turks, and one sees that there are coxcombs even here, who endeavour to distinguish themselves in their fashion, by taste in dress and politeness; and like our European coxcombs, do nothing, and pretend to understand every thing. Mr. Booze was so good as to hire me a lodging beforehand, to which I now removed. By his advice, as Austrian Consul or Agent, it was resolved to go the next day to the Pacha of Candia, to ask his permission to travel through the island. Domenico, whom I visited in the evening, was against it, knowing, as he said, that the Pacha very much disliked Mr. Booze, and my firman besides, as he had learnt from Canea, was not in proper form; from which he would certainly take occasion to refuse my request. He used many arguments to persuade me to let him present me to the Pacha, at length he said, that he was physician to the Pacha, and all physicians who came to Candia must be presented by him: I observed that I had not come here to practise, and, as an Austrian subject, could not neglect Mr. Booze, to whom I was referred by the Consul at Canea.

The next day I was presented to the Pacha. Georgi went with me, being well known to the Pacha, who had been at Rettimo some years before. I observed too that he appeared to be in great favour. When we arrived at the palace, we found a great crowd of Turks, in various costumes, mingled with the servants, Albanians and Greeks. In the hall a num-

ber of Turks were sitting on a mat, with a great many dishes before them, on which they were regaling. At length we were announced to the Chasinadar, or private secretary of the Pacha, who, with three persons of distinction, was also at dinner. When they had finished, we presented the firman. He read it attentively, shook his head, and observed it contained nothing of what we had said; he returned it, but said he would go to the Pacha and inform him. We were soon summoned into the audience chamber. Georgi pulled off his boots, but kept his hat in his hand. A light saloon, built upon pillars, projecting from the main building, with windows on three sides, and a fountain in the back ground, enabled us to see the rich decorations of the walls. The Pacha, formerly Grand Vizier, was a man of a grave and noble countenance, with a long white beard. He was richly dressed, and in his girdle, which consisted of a Cachmere shawl, there was a dagger with a long diamond hilt. The firman being presented to him, he opened it, but seemed dissatisfied with the contents. Then Georgi kneeling, and kissing his caftan, presented the letter from Jensi-Aga, his friend at Rettimo, which he also read and laid aside. On his refusal to grant my request, Mr. Booze observed, that I had already visited one half of the island, namely the two Pachaliks of Canea and Rettimo, with the permission of the Pacha of Canea. He seemed surprised at this, and desired to see the permission. Georgi presented to him that of Rettimo, but he demanded that of Canea, which the cautious Pacha had never given me, saying, that he would give me permission to go wherever I pleased, if we only gave him the licence of the Pacha of Canea. At length we convinced him that we had never had it, but this was of little advantage to us; and matters were made worse by the brother of the Pacha's interpreter, who, instructed by Domenico, did every thing to hinder the Pacha from granting the request, and to vex Mr. Booze. We returned unsuccessful. Domenico's vanity was gratified. The following day he brought me in triumph, a written note from the Pacha, allowing me to go to whatever part of the district I pleased. Thus he had undermined Mr. Booze's endeavours, merely to attribute to himself the honour of my protection. In point of fact it was the same to me through whom I obtained the permission; but as this affair caused a coolness between the French Consul (to whom Mr. Booze was secretary) and Domenico, I was placed in rather an awkward situation, because I wished to be upon good terms with both. On a walk, Domenico urged me to dismiss Georgi, and proposed an awkward fellow of a Turk in his stead; but I would not agree, unless he procured me one who could speak Greek and Italian, well-knowing that such a one was not to be

found in the whole island. He told me, that he was soon to perform two operations; one, an amputation of the left hand, and the other for the dropsy, upon a woman whom the ignorant Candiot physicians declared to be pregnant. I was very glad he did not ask me to be present; he added however, that he wished soon to introduce me to a Turk of distinction, who had the dropsy; that I should have no occasion to speak, but merely confirm what he, Domenico, would say. Not suspecting any deceit, I answered smiling, he might perhaps ask whether the patient would die in two days, and then I must likewise confirm it. He looked grave, was embarrassed and silent. I found afterwards that my answer had induced him to suppose that I was acquainted with the person and the particulars of his case.

On the 30th of May, I resolved to visit Mount Jukta, that is, the east side of it, (I had visited the other side before) near to Achanes, a populous place of about two thousand souls. A young Sphakiot, who had fled from his mountains, and had settled in the city of Candia, offered himself as my attendant. Like all these mountaineers, he was tall and slender, with an agreeable countenance, not so humble and timid as the inhabitants of the valley: the Turks used to excuse his behaviour by saying, he was a Sphakiot. This province then belonged to the Sultana Valide, had a governor of its own, by birth a Sphakiot, paid merely a tribute to her treasurer at Candia, and was free from any other impost, whence these people enjoy elsewhere more freedom and consideration.

On enquiring why he had left his own country, he replied that he had had the misfortune to kill one of his friends and companions in a quarrel, and was hardly safe, even in Candia, from the revenge of blood; and as he had a wife and two children, he could not expose himself to the danger. I pitied him, for his mild countenance did not look like that of a murderer. I had just returned home in the evening, and was going to rest, when some persons knocked at my door, and demanded admission. A number of well dressed Turks filled my room, and begged me to go to a patient of distinction. I supposed it was some sudden attack of apoplexy, or suffocation, and made a sign to Georgi to ask a few questions, that I might have some preliminary notion of the case. But when we got to the house, it appeared that the Kiaja Bey, a man sixty years of age, who was ill of a dropsy, had sent for me at that hour, that Domenico might not be informed of his having applied to any body else for advice. I found the patient lying on a couch: he gave me his hand, and asked me to sit down. After the first question, he replied in Turkish, which Georgi translated into Italian, "Three years ago I had the plague," of which he shewed me

the scars. Since that time he had grown weaker, his feet had swelled, and in a few months he had a decided dropsy. On my asking how he had been treated, he said Domenico had applied blisters to the calves of his legs, and when they were healed had put on others: I begged him to shew them to me, for I could not have suspected Domenico of such wickedness or ignorance: he complied, and shewed me the discoloured places. I asked how the medicines had tasted; he said they had all been sour, sharp, or sweet; and had the euphoard opened, where I saw the phials, with the remainder of the medicines; they were brown, yellow, or dyed red with kermes; but they were all preparations of squills. I expressly asked if any had been rough, bitter, astringent, or aromatic; and all this he positively denied, and said, "He plagues me with nothing but insipid sweet things, which I do not like!" This then was the dropsical patient to whom I was to confirm all Domenico's lies. He knew the cause of the disease, and yet he gave nothing that he ought to have done; and what could he intend by his blisters, but as the dropsy did not proceed quick enough, to attain his object the sooner by an artificial inflammation. I was indignant at such maliciousness. The patient, whose case was evidently desperate, begged me to visit him privately, that Domenico might not know it, and the Pacha, whose physician he was, be offended. I could not accede to this, as I was convinced I could not do him any good, nor had I any medicines; and as it could not be long concealed, in the probable case of his death, Domenico would have been excused, and the blame would have been laid on me. Instead of relief, I gave him comfort, and promised to visit him again. The French consul, to whom the case was known, had a right to be informed how matters stood. The Chasinadar, the favorite and relation of the Pacha, wished for the place of the old Kiaja Bey, and therefore gave Domenico a good word not to be too conscientious in promoting the cure. Domenico was informed of my visit the same evening, and the next morning he appeared offended. I answered his reproaches merely by saying that I had only visited a great man, but did not know who he was, because nothing but Turkish was spoken in the house. Now he was quite different, reckoned what he had cost him in bark, valerian, &c. &c., adding, "the old man had emptied his shop." I then alluded to the blisters: he said to this that when the Kiaja Bey had sent for blisters, he was not at home, and that his brother the goldsmith had done it. He knew very well what ought to have been done, but did not think I had examined the medicines. I saw through the whole tissue of deceit and wickedness, and no longer

doubted of his deliberate villainy. The poor Kiaja Bey sent me a few days afterwards. He was in a most deplorable condition: I saw his end was near, and gave him consolation when I took leave—for ever. On the 12th day, while I was again in the country, he died. Woe to the country where the physicians do not keep their conscience pure; and dreadful is the state of things in the Levant, where there is no medical police. The Candiot physicians, whose curiosity I gratified in a manner very interesting and instructive to myself, were very well disposed towards me. They often asked me about things which the most indifferent physician would have thought foolish, and surprised me by remarks that would have done honour to the most experienced. These physicians, about twelve in number, had their shops in the streets, and were rather apothecaries, preparing the medicines themselves. They often came, one after the other, to see the plants I had collected, and were glad when they heard or saw any thing new. One of them who visited us, related to Georgi a case, which he said had lately occurred, and of the truth of which I was the more convinced, as Domenico had already let fall something about it. I subjoin part of the narrative, to shew how things are managed in the Levant, and what scandalous practices are there carried on without scruple. The wife of a rich Greek, whose health was bad, had felt for some time an indication of water in the belly, and considered herself also to be in the eighth month of her pregnancy. The Candiot physicians advised her to take patience, as this dropsical state would end at her delivery. But it was resolved to consult Domenico. He came, declared the swelling to be Ascites, and assured the woman, in spite of her own feelings, that she was not pregnant. As she insisted on it, he examined more attentively, and said she had moles. He insisted on an operation, painted the danger as so urgent, and the operation as so difficult, that he made them pay down immediately the half of the stipulated sum of two thousand piasters, for nobody dares to decline the offices of the Pacha's physician when he has once been applied to, even though property and life are at stake. The unfortunate day arrived, he made a puncture, but no water appeared, no serum and no lymph; surprised, he caused a bandage to be put round the belly, and drawn tight by two men; but no water came. He therefore thought he had not gone deep enough, and tried again. Now there came water enough, and having applied a slight bandage, went home in triumph. He was scarcely gone, when violent pains ensued; and the poor woman, after incredible suffering, was delivered of a dead male infant, on which the marks of the bandage were visible: it had every appearance of a foetus of

eight months, and completely refuted the assertion of this quack. On the seventh day the woman died.

Though I justly presumed that the Candiot physicians hated Domenico, it was a fact, for I had it from himself, that he had an operation to perform on a woman, whom *ignorant persons* declared to be pregnant. In another case I was requested by Giovanni, the most esteemed physician of Candia, to go with him to the house of a Turk of distinction, offering to be my interpreter. Two other physicians, the oldest in Candia, were present to ask my opinion on an important case. They concealed the name of the physician, and related what had happened to the wife of this Turk, who had been ill three years. Their account was not very intelligible. I therefore again enquired the cause of the disorder, and was astonished at the wickedness of these people, which placed the nature of Mahomedanism in the fullest light.

"I have," said she, "two grown up daughters, whom you see here, and as many sons. After an interval of thirteen years, I happened to become pregnant again; as this vexed me, I begged my husband to let me procure abortion, which he did." I thought I had misunderstood her, and looked at the woman, then at her husband, then at the Turks. But the husband confirmed it, and Giovanni replied to my side look by shrugging his shoulders. After this confession, during which I suppressed my astonishment, she related the whole history of the illness again, adding, that she had had for the last fortnight a fever, with sudden heats and oppression. During the conversation she let fall the name of Domenico. The physicians were embarrassed, because it had been agreed not to mention him till the very last, that I might give an impartial opinion. My proposal, a thing unheard of in Turkey, was approved, and I found a pear-shaped, half-suppurated polypus. My astonishment was infinite; the inability to perceive and distinguish a polypus was surely a proof of unpardonable ignorance. I was urged to undertake the cure of the patient, for which they offered me 600 piasters; but I was deterred by the length of time required, and my attendance was besides unnecessary. By the application of proper remedies which were prescribed, her health was fully recovered, and when I returned three months afterwards, the polypus had fallen off, and all was over. This case was instructive to me, as I learnt from it that in Turkey a woman may desire her husband to let her procure abortion. Of what practices may the Turks and Mahomedans be guilty to their slaves, the Greeks, if they do not even spare their own children in the womb—what barbarism, what horrors are these!

The physicians made me acquainted with other very remarkable cases, among which those were considered as the most complicated, the diagnosis of which were the easiest. Here I was first made sensible of the infinite prejudice that arises from the neglect of anatomy. I at the same time became acquainted with all the master-pieces of Domenico, which were not a few. Thus in a barbarous country, where there is no superintendence, and the government sets no value on the health and life of its subjects, the greatest cruelties are exercised by greedy vagabonds.

Without interfering in all these matters, I continued on good terms with Domenico, for in the Levant you cannot decline an acquaintance with every body, even if you wish it; though he did not any further exert himself to obtain for me permission to visit the distant part of the island, I attained my object in another way. I had desired Georgi to pay particular attention to every thing that might be useful to us, on our tour to the eastern part of the island: it happened that a rich Turk, who had the most extensive possessions in that part, (Effendaki Chalil Aga was his name) begged us to visit him, his only son, a child three years of age, being ill. I perceived that he had externally water in the head, and discovered on enquiry, that he had had an eruption, which had been checked by the application of a salve procured from an old woman. Besides the necessary internal remedies, I prescribed luke-warm baths, rubbing, fomenting with wine, and slight fumigations, on which the eruption manifested itself again in a few days, the disorder was removed, and the child recovered. This caused him to give me several letters of recommendation, which were directed as well to friends as to his Subbaschis (or Stewards). He was a well-informed and upright man, with an open countenance, and possessing much prudence and energy of character; the poor and destitute of every religion found in him a friend and protector. He told us that he had particular reason to be obliging to foreigners, especially Europeans, which gratitude imposed upon him as a duty. He explained this by the following narrative:—"On the recovery of Egypt by the English and the Turks, after the battles at Aboukir and Cairo, and when Buonaparte had returned to France, I was at Cyprus. A part of the Turkish army had come back, and a young French officer, who was a prisoner among the rudest of our nation, had a quarrel, was pursued, and fled to my house. I defended him against his pursuers, concealed him, gave him a Turkish dress, and sent him to my estate in Candia, whence he returned in safety, with some French merchants, to his native city, Marseilles."—"Immediately after this Genoa

was blockaded by the Austrians and Russians by land, and by the English by sea, and famine prevailed within the walls. Being then at Constantinople, I resolved to make an attempt to go with my two ships, laden with corn, to the relief of Genoa. I cleared out for Leghorn, but deviated from the course, kept near Corsica, and steered towards Toulon, thus to reach Genoa. I at length perceived the English fleet of eighty sail cruizing before that city, and made directly towards it. The English flag was hoisted by the signal ship, and I hoisted the Turkish colours. Being asked whither I was bound, I said to Leghorn. Why had I gone so far out of the way? I had missed my course. I requested the English to let me pass the night near the fleet. They laughed at me," said Chalil-Aga, "because I seemed to be an ignorant Turk; sailed backwards and forwards, and purposely manœuvred in an awkward manner not to excite suspicion. I always kept a little back, held to the coast, and a favourable wind suddenly rising, spread all my sails, and entered in the twilight, with the rapidity of an arrow, the harbour of Genoa. I was already out of cannon-shot when the nearest ship began to fire at me. I sold 14,000 chilos of corn at eighty piasters each, but could not obtain permission to embark with the money. I however met with my friend, the French officer, whom I had saved at Cyprus. He was overjoyed at meeting, and introduced me to his uncle, a French Colonel. By his intervention alone, I obtained my money; and, at length, permission to embark with it. When I returned to Constantinople, and the success of my speculation was known, I was poisoned, with the view to divide my property; but my life was preserved by Dr. Lorenzo, physician to the Austrian Legation, who, as long as he lived, was the most celebrated in Constantinople; grateful for his services, I hastened to my estates, which are now cleared of debts. You see by this," said Chalil-Aga, "why I serve travellers who require any assistance, and I confess with pleasure that I am under obligations to your nation also, because I was saved by an Austrian physician."

He had scarcely concluded, when some officers of the Janissaries entered, who, learning the object of my journey, said that I could not go without a guard of honour, i. e. an idle Janissary—because they were answerable for my safety. It was necessary to get rid of so expensive and useless an attendant, in which Georgi succeeded. Every obstacle was thrown in our way to make us engage a Janissary; but a happy chance came to our assistance when we had already given up all hope. A rich Turk, of the beautiful valley of Mirabello, who they said was ill of a peculiar disease, had desired his

brother in the city to persuade the physician who had just arrived there, to come and see him. Georgi cunningly answered, that he must pay for the Janissary whom they wanted to force on us. Now as the Turks always try to save, he said he could send for a Subbaschi, from his estate, to accompany us. "I must report this," said Georgi, "to the Aga, and beg him to give up his intention of sending one of his people with us." "That is unnecessary," said the Turk angrily, "I will speak to him myself." Georgi immediately informed me of the state of the case, and already on the evening of the second day a Subbaschi arrived from his estate, a day's journey distant, brought us horses, waited till we were ready to accompany us thither, and then to Lacida, the ancient Lycastus, in the valley of Mirabello, the end of our second day's journey, and the place of our destination. The Aga of the Janissaries even gave us a letter of recommendation to the commander of the little fort of Girapetro, though he was evidently discontented at being prevented from sending one of his people to accompany us.

The day before my departure, I took leave of the master of the school of Candia, Gregorios Megalovrissanos, a man well versed in the ancient Greek classics, and equally respectable for his age and character. At his house I met with one of his old friends, a native of Crete, who had resided for above twenty years, as a merchant, at Tripoli in Syria. He highly praised the Druses, who are distinguished for their probity, but whose religion and institutions, notwithstanding all accounts that have been given of them, are still, he said, an impenetrable secret. In general he spoke in such high terms of the mountaineers of Libanon, that I could not doubt that he had some extraordinary motive for such commendations. The anecdote which he related, seems to have occurred to himself. He said, in an enthusiastic tone, "if it should ever please God to revoke his promise to the race of Noah, and to punish the degenerate world with a second deluge, the surface of the earth would be re-peopled by Libanots, preserved to be the founders of a better race." This assertion was founded on a circumstance which he said had happened to one of his friends. On the way from Tripoli to Saide, he lost a large sum of money, did not miss it for some time, rode back, but could not find it. As he was on the territory of Libanon, he went to the neighbouring residence of the Emir, whom he informed of his loss. The prince comforted him, and advised him to stay some days, as he would answer for it, that if one of his subjects had found it, he would certainly deliver it to the prince himself, within three days, after which enquiry should be made if necessary. Four days had already passed, and nobody had appeared; but on the fifth day, a

mountaineer came to the prince, and gave him the money, saying, he might return it to the owner. The prince looked at him sternly and said, "how many days have passed since you found the money?" "Five," replied the man. "You have therefore," said the prince, "let five days pass before you would resolve to return it." "Sir," answered the mountaineer, "you wrong me; only hear me: I had been in the field, and on my return home, perceived this money; I took it up, and seated myself in a thicket on the road side, to wait till the owner should come back. Nobody came; meantime I received a message, desiring me to hasten home to see my father, who was dying. I took the money with me, forgot to send it to you by somebody else, and after having buried my father, I now come to excuse myself to you." "You did not know then that the owner is detained here on account of his loss." "No," replied the Libanot. "Go," said the prince, "and remember in future when you are in sorrow, that you are bound to shorten the affliction of others." The merchant being informed that this was the honest finder, offered him a suitable reward. "I shall take nothing from you," replied the Libanot with generous pride, "because it would seem as if I had designed by my delay, to increase your grief for the loss of your money, and your joy at its recovery, in order to obtain a recompense. I wish you could make good my loss as easily as I have your's! Farewell, and pardon the loss of time which I have occasioned you." Saying this, he departed; and the merchant received his property from the prince.

More company coming in, we retired. I went to look at some flowers in the garden of the metropolitan, and on entering the portico of his house, was witness to a slavish mark of respect which the inferior clergy are accustomed to pay him; I could hardly suppress my astonishment. A monk came, prostrated himself before the Metropolitan, touched the ground at his feet three times with his forehead, then rose and departed. His Janissary seemed to smile as if he thought to himself, "if I desired the metropolitan, he would do the same to me." Thus slaves demand, what as slaves they themselves practice.

We set out with the Subbaschi the next morning; it was the third of June, and since the end of April there had not been a cloud in the sky, much less any rain. The atmosphere was constantly serene, and every mountain in the Archipelago was visible. The sultry heat of the day is followed by a refreshing sea breeze, which constantly sets in towards evening. We soon had the city of Candia behind us, happy to have left this abode of rude barbarians. Towards evening we reached Gaves, where we stopped at the house of the Subbaschi. While

we were at supper the whole village assembled, and the crowd stood in groups at various distances. The scanty dress of the country girls shewed, with the simplicity of their manners, that they were deficient in Sunday clothes, I however observed much fine needle-work, and embroidery on linen; the handkerchiefs for the head, and the towels in particular, were very pretty. When we set out the next morning, the whole village seemed to be abandoned, for they all went out to reap their corn. We turned our eyes from the stubble fields, because we saw the level banks of the Aposelemi covered with a grove of oleander in blossom. As far as the eye could reach, this shrub, which with us is cultivated in green-houses, was in full flower. From the foot of Mount Lassiti to the mouth of the Aposelemi, the whole country seemed covered with a scarlet cloth: the finest poppy field does not afford such a sight.

We dined at Maglia, another country seat of the same owner, where half ripe almonds were offered us; they bloom here about the middle of January, and peaches full six weeks later. It is nothing extraordinary to have ripe almonds at the end of May. Soon after I saw some peasants, upon a rocky eminence, employed in gathering the fruit of the St. John's bread-tree. In 1816 and 1817 there was a great demand for this fruit, which did not use to be the case in Crete; because the crop had failed in Apulia, whence it was exported to Trieste. This fruit is used here only for feeding cattle, and in times of scarcity.

We soon came to a cleft, which separates the valley of Mirabello from the territory of Maglia. To the right lay high mountains, but not so extensive or lofty as the White Mountains; for here we every where saw windmills, because the mountains are too low to receive such a quantity of snow, as would be sufficient, by its melting in summer, to turn water-mills till rain commences in autumn. We saw a line of wind-mills, which particularly struck me, because the body was immovable, and consequently they were adapted only for one wind; unless it blew due east they could not grind, if it was violent it was necessary to take off the sails. Clumsily built, but simple in their construction, they were remarkable enough to induce me to take a drawing of them. They were the work of uneducated peasants, each of whom builds both his water-mill and wind-mill. We reached the eminence and looked down into the beautiful valley of Mirabello, as it was called by the Venetians. Unfortunately the present inhabitants know little of the ancient names of their valleys and cities; only here and there you hear a name which calls to mind the times of the Greek history. The first place that we came to was Lacida, the place of our destination, which is undoubtedly the ancient Ilycastus. We were extremely well received and

lodged. Our patient was just making a terrible noise, and in his raving was going to kill one of his best friends. He was held back, and told that the European physician had come to cure him. The people there believe that the cure depends on the will of the physician. He grew immediately calm, and received us very kindly, and with tears begged me to relieve him, as his situation was extremely distressing. He introduced his little boy to me, whose mother was a Greek woman, and told me to have pity for the sake of the child, because he well knew that I believed him a Musselman, unworthy of such a favour. From the account of the sickness I learned, that an immoderate use of wine, and a cold, had caused this state of half-insanity, but it was rather an affection of the nerves, which narcotics could relieve, but not remove. Being told that he took opium, and could not sleep easy unless he had taken a pill, I desired to see them, and was shown a box, large enough to contain a pound and a half of opium, which was two-thirds empty, and then another box of the same size, quite full. Each pill weighed about two scruples, a third part was aloes, but two-thirds opium! On my asking who had given it to him, I was told that when he was in the city Domenico had given it him to take to Lacida. Now I discovered why Domenico was angry when he learnt that this rich patient wished to speak to me, and why he had refused me some insignificant medicines, which I wished to take with me. To accustom a patient to such an immoderate dose, and do nothing else for him, really made me angry, and he had made him pay four hundred piasters for two such boxes, in order, as he told me, to get rid of him for a whole year. It was not possible, at present, to refuse him his pill in the evening, for he fell into convulsions, and his look was frightful. He could bear nothing that affected the nerves but narcotics; these, however, could not effect a cure, and had been already tried. I therefore forbade him, though he was a Turk, wine, rum, and arrack, and instead of his breakfast made him take the bitterest decoctions of centaury, drove him out of the house, made him ride, pay visits in the neighbourhood, and ordered him a cold sea-bath three times a week. This regimen was so successful, that I was able in a few days to order his secretary to cut off one-third of the pill, to leave it off by degrees. He was one of the richest individuals in the island, every body, even the Pacha, felt interested for him. This induced Domenico, without my knowledge, to report, and even to tell the Pacha that I was not able to cure him; adding, which was really the case, that I had no medicines. Unhappily for him a friend and relation of the patient was at Lacida, who was astonished at his composure and improved health. He afterwards went to Candia, where the Pacha, by chance asked him, in the presence of

Domenico, how the Aga did, and the answer being favourable, the Pacha asked his physician, how it happened that I could perform a cure without medicines? Domenico was confounded. Thus strangers have always justified me. I desired Georgi to proceed in the same course, and left him for a few days, to visit the celebrated mountain of Lassiti.

A poor Papa offered to conduct me thither upon his mule, while he walked by the side. I was astonished to hear those we met salute him by the titles of *Despota*, and even *Hagiaru*—Your Holiness. The road was steep, over rocks and precipices and past a deserted church, into a pleasant wood. About noon, the air blowing very cool, as we ascended higher my worthy priest could go no farther. A rigid fast of forty days, called the fast of the Apostles, had just set in, during which period a Greek is not allowed to taste either milk, eggs, butter or cheese. He confessed, half weeping, that he had eaten nothing to-day, and had not given any thing to his mule. I pitied him, he looked so hungry, and so wishfully at my provisions. I gave him some bread and wine, which cheered his spirits; but he still kept looking at the cheese, and asked if it was sinful to taste it. "God forbid," said I, "I consider it as no sin, and if you think as I do, help yourself." He had probably expected this consolation, for he did eat the cheese, and with much appetite. His mule browsed the shrubs, had taken nothing, and was to ascend the steep mountains; I was vexed at this, as we might reach the village too late, and it was mere stingyness in this priest, who had grudged his mule a handful of hay. We however reached the summit, and the level country lay before us. It is a large mountain lake surrounded by rocks, which has been drained and cultivated these thousand years, and has subterraneous vents for its waters. On the left appeared the strangely formed valley of Lassiti. At an elevation of at least four hundred toises above the sea, it has vineyards and corn, but no olive trees. A circle of alps piled on each other, on one of which I stood, enclosed an oval plain, covered with fruitful corn-fields, about seven English miles in length and four in breadth. Round the mountain were villages built on the declivity, the principal of which are Mangula and Zermiade. The drain is very remarkable. On the west side there are two deep mouths, into which the whirlpool of the mountain torrents runs off foaming. As these cavern-mouths are obstructed with whole trunks of trees, the lower half of the plain is changed in the spring into a lake, which inundates it, but promotes its fertility by depositing the slime of the torrents. There are two of these mouths, the waters which they receive appear again beyond the mountain, low down in the valley, at a distance of several leagues, and form the river Aposelemi. Unfortunately

we find no trace of this remarkable valley in ancient writers, and the Lyktians could not possibly have had their capital here, though the name Lassiti may be derived from Lyctos; a Lytton, as Strabo observes, signifies something in an elevated situation.

I came to Zermiade, the nearest village, and took up my lodging in the house of Chadsi-Georgi, the chief of the village. Every pilgrim is called Chadsi, who, as a Christian, has been to Jerusalem, or as a Mahometan, to Mecca. This is a title of honour, a kind of spiritual nobility. The Turks however acquire it on easy terms. As the pilgrimage to Mecca is attended with many dangers, so that of those who travel by land, sometimes less than two-thirds return; the rich generally send one of their clients at their own expence to Mecca, and when the deputy returns, the patron receives from him, by acession legally drawn up, the title of Chadsi, (or Hadgi); the pilgrim is not permitted to bear it in public, but if he dies he is buried with all the honours due to the title.—Our Chadsi, Georgi, as we soon perceived, had travelled into many countries, and possessed considerable information. We took a walk together, in which I met with many rare plants, and called in at the neat convent of St. George. The oldest Caloyers mentioned that no European or Frank had ascended Lassiti for the last twenty-seven years. They were very inquisitive after news, and especially when and where the dominion of the Turks would end? I, on the contrary, praised the government of the Turks, and observed that the Greeks were free from military service, and if a father had five sons, he had the happiness to have them all about him; the taxes were but a fifth part of those of the Europeans, and they might protect themselves from oppression by concord. Lastly, I observed, “that the present evil was often not so bad as the desired good.” I was obliged to speak in this manner, as well to reconcile them to their situation, and to point out to them many advantages, as to give no occasion to any misinterpretation of my visit, which already caused some surprise.

After a slight repast, at which my Papa would not drink out of my wine glass because I had eaten meat, I set out with this hypocrite, and returned by the same road to Lacida, where we arrived safe towards evening. My patient was much better, I did not suffer him to want exercise, and even made him work in the garden, which he set about, pretty much as the Emperor of China, when he ploughs once a year, with his officers of state: it however agreed very well with him. He had no want of amusement as soon as it was found to be of service to him; guests were invited, visits paid, and parties made to chase the Turkish partridges, which abound at Candia. The day passed

n music and dancing, and nobody disturbed me in my retreat. On the 9th and 10th of June I arranged what I had collected on Lassiti, and went along the valley of Mirabello to Critza, the ancient Crissus. I nowhere saw so many churches and chapels which stood desolate as here. Every Turk who pronounces, in a Christian church, *There is but one God, and Mahomet is his prophet*, profanes it, and Christian service can no more be performed, without offending Mahometanism. The Turks are said to have diminished, in this manner, the very great number of churches and chapels. The valley of Mirabello is said to be very fertile. In Critza the Subbaschi received me in a very polite manner, in his master's country house. He was a sensible man, and his interesting conversation was calculated to reconcile me with his nation. At my request he ordered a Turk to accompany me, in the morning, over the rocks of which Tournefort speaks so highly, on account of their rare plants. On returning home I gave him some money, which being observed by the Subbaschi, who just came up, he reprimanded him severely, and asked him, when I had retired, whether he was not ashamed to take money from a guest and a stranger. After this, to my great astonishment, nobody in the house would accept of any thing. I heard a strange remark, namely, that they were not sorry for the ague; another was more important, that the fever might be thoroughly cured after the fifth or sixth fit.

A Turk splendidly dressed, anxiously looking for me, galloped after us, and asked, in a voice of entreaty, whether I was going to Girapetro; that his only son was sick, and he begged me to help him. I the more readily promised to comply with his request, as I was much pleased with the frankness of his manner. Even in wildernesses, on the sea-shore, in solitudes, and on mountains, I was not a moment sure not to be looked for and solicited to afford aid. May a humane government one day provide for these numerous unfortunate people, who are destitute of all medical assistance. In the morning I went to visit my old patient, who was very well; my worthy priest, who had accompanied me to Lassiti, with two of his Monks, was with him, to my great astonishment employed in exorcising. The patient lay on the Divan, with his eyes closed, while the three monks, with large folio volumes, were exorcising with all their might, the unclean spirit in him. This lasted nearly an hour: before this the Turkish Imams and Dervises had been trying to expel it; but as this had no effect, they supposed it was not a Turkish devil, but a Greek one. I now learnt that his wife was a Greek woman, and had induced him to this step, in order to have the triumph of ascribing his recovery to the priest of her village. I do not

know whether it was their work, that the patient could bear strengthening remedies, which he could not before.

Having sent my papers and plants to my residence at Candia, I hired a horse and mules, and set out for Girapetro on the 16th of June, leaving Lacida, with the happy consciousness of having done as much good as the circumstances permitted. Georgi, who had been very attentive to the patient, did not receive any present, which vexed him the more, because he pretended something had been promised him. I consoled him as well as I could, because it was necessary for me to make friends in this barbarous country. Georgi, however, vowed that he would never again undertake any thing unless he knew what he was to have for it. I gave him to understand, that it must not be in my presence. Unfortunately for me he kept his word, as will presently appear.

I had never seen so beautiful a situation, or so picturesque a country as Critza; and our ride along a road, which wound up one of the ridges, seemed to have raised us from a terrestrial paradise into an etherial one. Innumerable large and small waterfalls, rippled, and rushed foaming down the shady rocks; the zephyrs, which fanned the agitated leaves of plantains a thousand years old, mingled with the sound of the falling waters, and amidst the oleander bushes, adorned with the most splendid red flowers, countless springs united to form little brooks, which wetted the feet of our mules. To heighten the impression made upon us by this Eden, protected from the scorching rays of the sun, by the solemn gloom of lofty plantains and sacred oaks, we did not meet the care-worn form of the oppressed countrymen, but only the cheerful countenances of the contented Cretans.

The village on the eminence, where we intended to pass the night, seemed like Lyctos in ancient times, nearly abandoned by its inhabitants. The sight of a crown which I produced, convinced them that we were not come to take up our abode in the manner of the Gnostians. Their mistrust, or rather timidity, entirely vanished when the men returned from the field in the evening; wine, bread, fowls, eggs, and fruits, were set before us, and the moderate prices did not deter us in our demands. In the morning, when the sun had scarcely risen, we hastened to view the south side of the island, and the Lybian Sea, which we beheld for the first time. As we went along the north side, I had been unable to see it, even from the Lassiti Mountains, because the summits were covered with deep snow. I longed to visit the south side, of our approach to which we were made sensible, by the warm south wind that came up from the valley. We now hastened down into the valley, till the heat increased to 28°, and

halted, quite exhausted, to take our dinner at the side of a well, near the ruins of ancient buildings. It was the 17th of June, and the harvest on the south side had already been reaped in May. The bare stubble only remained to cover the stony fields; and we had passed, in a few hours, from spring on the north side, to autumn on the south. No fountains, no verdant meadows, or fine plantains, attracted the eye as on the other side; the dead appearance of a plundered corn country, was not improved by the pale olive, whose scanty shade alone offered some indemnity to the weary traveller. At length, about three o'clock in the afternoon, we perceived the ruins of the ancient Hierapytna; then the white castle on the sea-shore, and the city of Girapetro, which has now become an insignificant town.

The transition from a paradise to the arid sea-coast, was too sudden, added to the oppressive heat, not to have some influence on our good-humour. We rode between the terraces of the fields into the town; and I was obliged carefully to guide my mule over the mutilated statue of a Minerva, of white marble, which is not found in the island, and which I perceived to be Parian. We were looking for a lodging, when the Dascalos, a Greek, equivalent to the secretary and steward of the estates belonging to the owner of Girapetro, and with the Subbaschi (who is always a Turk) his representative, the principal person of this poor town, came to meet us, and assign us a good apartment in the owner's house, where we could repose after our fatigues. This very extraordinary politeness made me imagine Georgi was acquainted with him; but the latter assured me he had never seen him before, and did not know how we had gained his friendship. In a moment he returned, and asked us to supper, just as we were preparing for it. I then naturally conjectured one of the family were ill; and in fact, I remarked his eldest son, a lad of fourteen years of age, who had an intermitting fever, common in the summer in the unhealthy situation of Girapetro: but a look of indifference at his son, shewed me that he had some other request. We had a cheerful and frugal repast, consisting of stewed meat, ragouts, chicken (very tender), pillaw, and fruit, with genuine Malmsey wine. An amiable old man, who was welcomed as the physician of the place, came in and entertained us with agreeable narratives of his travels in Syria and Egypt.

In the morning, Georgi came to me, saying that he had something to communicate to me, but begged me not to disclose it,—which I promised to do, if I could, and no other obligations arose from it. He then told me, that the Dascalos though he had a wife living, and four children, had fallen in love with a Turkish girl, the only daughter of aged parents: and that the

consequences of this connection were indubitable. His friend the Dascalos was in despair lest it should become public. For, should the parents of the girl discover it, the dreadful consequence would be his murder, and the sacrifice not only of his wife and children, but of all his nearest relations: the inevitable demolition of his house, not to mention that from the rage of the savage Candiot Turks, inflamed in the highest degree by this outrage, the fate of the other Greeks in this city would be very precarious! If he were not married, he might, to avoid this dreadful fate, go over to the Mahometan religion, and ask the parents to give him their daughter in marriage: but, as the case stood, there was no possibility of saving all those persons from the most shameful death. But ————— here Georgi stammered, and could not proceed; especially as it probably had not escaped him, that I guessed his purpose at the very commencement. I interrupted him in a manner which left no doubt of my resolution; strictly forbade him even to mention another word on the subject, (on pain of being dismissed my service) or to have any further connection with these bad people; and to take care not to let himself be seduced by them, as I should then be obliged to take steps which my duty would prescribe, and the more so, as he was in my service, and any bad action committed by him, would throw suspicion on me. He vowed and protested, that he had been obliged to tell it me, by the violent importunity of the Dascalos, though he had, at first, refused to have any thing to do with it; but this case was so important, that it was absolutely necessary to tell it me, in order to endeavour to avert it. This dreadful approaching catastrophe affected me extremely,—for, according to what I knew of the fanatic Turks, I could not but foresee the most terrible vengeance; but I could not, and dared not, attempt to guide or to avert the wonderful course of events, and the mysterious concatenations of fate, however threatening and awful they may seem, because these inconceivable intricacies frequently proceed to a solution equally wonderful and unexpected. It is not for man to sanctify the means by the end. Georgi thanked me for my serious admonition, and went to his usual employment. The next morning, as I was going out, there was a great bustle in the courtyard, and several mules ready laden, were on the point of departing. The country people were putting on a few trifles, when I came down the steps, and saw the Dascalos below. He came up to me, with suppressed anger,—bade me a good morning, and told me, with emphasis, that “His people were going to the city of Candia, and if I had need of any thing, he was ready to procure it for me.” I replied, carelessly, “that I had just come from the city, and wanted nothing.” I was now sorry that I had

not deceived him, and given him something that would do no harm, for he was undoubtedly going, in consequence of my refusal, to seek in the city more obliging physicians. However, I was, on the whole, glad to have no more to do with him; hastened to abridge my stay as much as possible, and resolved the next day to visit the eastern part of the island (Stia) in order to leave as soon as possible a place, where some accident must soon lead to the discovery, and to a horrible catastrophe. I desired Georgi, during my absence, to visit the opposite island to collect the rare plants, and to have every thing ready before my arrival, that we might be able to depart without delay.

I was obliged, indeed, to stop a few days;—visited several important places, collected rare plants, and found the Flora of north coast, different in many respects from that of the southern: at length, however, I set out for Stia, visited the principal places of this fourth government of Crete, and did not return from my excursion till the 30th of June. Just as I was about to depart thither, Georgi brought me the impression of an antique ring, in black wax, asking me whether I liked it: it belonged, he said, to a Papa, who had already had thirty piasters for it, but still retained it. I, of course, declined, as I did not collect antiques, and wanted my money for travelling; and this little stone, besides, which appeared by the impression to be damaged at the edge, did not deserve to be made an exception. Georgi, however, after I was gone, bargained for this trifle for himself; and was so imprudent as to take it out of its ancient setting, in order the better to examine it:—and the fisherman coming to fetch him, because the wind was favourable to sail to the island, he rashly put them both into his pocket, but lost the stone; whether on the way, on board the ship, or on the island, he could not tell; and so he had only the setting. Meantime I had concluded my excursion, and he had long since returned from the islands, when he was thrown into no small embarrassment, as the antique was demanded of him, for which he was not now inclined to pay so high a price. On the eighth day of my absence, I was again near Girapetro, when a young Turk galloped up to me, crying, “Doctor, hasten to the town, somebody,” so I understood him, “is poisoned, hasten! or you come too late!” Sitting on my mule, very much fatigued by my journey, ill humoured, and, from an accidental circumstance, just then very angry with the Ottomans, besides, thinking it was a Turk, I confess I thought it very strange at the moment, and was not disposed to give credit to it, and on the other hand I could have wished that all the Turks together were at the last gasp. I therefore did not spur my mule as I should have done, but reached the town, however, soon enough. All the streets were empty

where I came, and a death-like silence prevailed. I alighted at my own house, but found nobody there. On a sudden Georgi rushed in out of breath, and exclaimed, "Help! help! he has poisoned himself!" I, still thinking it was a Turk, endeavoured to pacify him, saying, "It is probably not so bad, do not you know what poison he has taken?" "Ah! yes," said he, "it is two grains of sublimate that he has taken." I quickly took my medicines, and hastened away; the narrow street was so crowded with people that I could scarcely pass; but what was my astonishment, when they led me to the house of the Dascalos, and I learnt that it was he who had taken poison: when I entered the room, I found him in the most dreadful state of agony, writhing on the sofa; his countenance was of a purple red, all his gestures indicated despair; the skin of the lips hung loose, being burnt off by the poison, his mouth foamed, his inside burnt like fire, and he had a rattling in the throat as he drew his breath. Three Turks were sitting by him. Scarcely half an hour before my arrival he had taken the poison, which he had received from the city some days before, when, by a wonderful coincidence, I arrived almost at the same moment as Georgi. The latter had already given him soap dissolved in water, which had perfectly succeeded in acting as an emetic. As continued vomiting might bring on apoplexy, I endeavoured to decompose the remainder of the poison by liver of sulphur, had him blooded, and quickly gave the necessary directions to save his life. When I entered the room, and full of astonishment could not comprehend the meaning of all this, he endeavoured to take my hand, and stammering, begged pardon, saying, "that in despair at my refusing his request, he had procured poison, to put an end to his existence." I was seized with horror at these words. But how happened it that the cause of this rash act should not be known, and that he, (for I saw the Turks sitting quietly by him), together with all his family, had not long since been victims of the fury of these barbarians? I had been most scandalously imposed upon: only I do not even now know whether Georgi was sensible of the deceit; in order the more certainly to induce me to this wicked action, they had pretended that the person with child was a Turkish girl, the only daughter of aged parent, that the vengeance would be terrible, and twelve persons would be in imminent danger of losing their lives. Thus they sought to persuade me, "in order to preserve the lives of so many persons, to sacrifice the precarious existence of one unborn infant." What a dreadful trial! I shuddered at the snare which had been laid for me, and the more so as this person was a common Greek prostitute of the worst character, and the Dascalos only feared being publicly disgraced through her, as he had a wife and four

children grown up. He satisfied the Turks by paying some hundred piasters, and according to the Turkish laws took this prostitute to wife, by making a declaration before the Cadi. Hence nothing took place of all the frightful scenes with which they had endeavoured to delude and mislead me. I called Georgi to account, and required from him a statement of the affair. He said, that since that time he had had nothing to do with him, and had this day returned from an excursion, almost at the same time as myself; the fresh plants which lay about the room confirmed this statement. He had been immediately sent for, and urged to give assistance; for the city physician, after administering milk, had declared he could afford no relief, and advised them to apply to us. Death-like fear had seized the unfortunate family, because they knew I was absent. The wife tore her hair, and their house was a scene of despair; a crowd of people filled the house, when Georgi happily arrived. The strong constitution of the patient allowed the necessary time; but nothing could equal my surprise, when Georgi informed me, that he had not proceeded to administer relief, till they had fixed the sum of three hundred piasters as the reward for effecting a cure, and bound themselves to the payment, by giving hands, in the presence of the Subbaschi and two witnesses: that this had taken ten minutes; and so half an hour had elapsed, after his taking the poison, before the emetic operated. "What," said I, "you could so long behold him struggling in the most dreadful agony, and bargain for his life? Are we even now certain that he will not die, and will not you, in consequence of this delay, have to bear, in a great measure, the blame of his death? Unworthy, wicked man!"—"It is true," said he, "that I delayed, but if I had not made this agreement, which is besides usual in this country, I should now receive nothing. You will see that, in spite of the promise confirmed by witnesses, and even though the man's life is saved, I shall have trouble enough to get my money. I beg you to stand by me and declare, that I, as your servant, asked the money in your name; that you pay my board and travelling expenses, and that the money is your's. I earnestly intreat you to do it; you know my poverty, and that I however supply my younger brother with means to pursue his studies; that I have to support the whole family, and must take advantage of every favourable opportunity. Even you will have trouble to procure the money, for it appears to me that the Turks have already demanded it of the poor Dascalos. I intreat you not to forsake me!"

If I had by decisive measures given relief to the patient before it was too late, I was now desired to justify what I disapproved, to tread upon slippery ground, bid defiance to the Cadi and Subbaschi, and even force them to restore the money which belonged

to a Greek, one of their oppressed subjects and slaves. It was a difficult situation. Georgi now declared that I demanded my money; the Dascalos informed him that the Turks had already taken it from him; when they learnt that I had claimed it, they became servilely polite and disgustingly civil, and tried to persuade me to be satisfied with the half! Georgi begged me for heaven's sake not to do it, but to insist upon my firman, which being drawn up in the language of the Divan, was fortunately not well understood by any body. This business was disagreeable, but it was facilitated by the fear into which all the Turks were thrown; for the brother of the proprietor of Girapetro, their master, had been, by command of the Sultan, enticed by the Pacha of Candia into his chamber, and strangled. This uncommon example spread terror through the whole island. My remark that I was going to Candia, whence I should find means to get the sum paid, immediately brought them to reason, and the money was given up. The Turks plainly saw that it was only a pretext in me, that the money really belonged to him, and reproached him with the beautiful mule of which I had made him a present. They breathed revenge, and did their utmost to find means to ruin him.

The day before, I had in vain advised Georgi to settle his difference with the Papa respecting the lost gem, to go immediately, and as it was hardly worth more than ten piasters, give him fifteen for it. The Papa, when he heard that he had got the money, being instigated by the opposite party, violently insisted on payment; the Turks ordered him to demand three hundred piasters for it, which the old man did with trembling, and the Cadi, who was concerned in the affair, urged Georgi for instant payment. Georgi was now in fresh trouble, and wished me to assist him. I hastened to the house of the Papa, who intreated me to settle the dispute as I pleased, that he renounced all claim, as the remuneration for the gem, whether it were large or small, would be seized upon by the Subbaschi. I now shewed the Turks the impression in wax, said that I would have it valued in Candia by expert judges, or by order of the Pacha, and that the remainder of the three hundred piasters, which I was now prepared to pay, must be remitted for me to the Consul in Candia, who would defend my rights. This had some effect, particularly when I added, that besides the treaties with which they were acquainted, and the protection of my Consulate, I was likewise placed by my firman under the special protection of the Sultan, which of course extended to my interpreter as long as he was in my service; and as the owner of the signet had formerly been willing to part with it for something more than thirty piasters, the difference could hardly be ten piasters; how-

ever, to put an end to the dispute, I offered fifty piasters. I took out ten dollars, of five piasters each, and offered them to the Papa, who just came in. The Subbaschi was so imprudent as to take them from me, instead of the Papa. Georgi was free, but told me that I had given too much, and though I was so good and would take the twenty piasters on myself, he could not afford to lose the thirty. The mean Subbaschi, he said, had taken them from me in my very sight, that the Papa would receive no part, and he would not rest till he had obtained the money back again. I strictly enjoined him to let the matter pass; saying, he might be glad he had escaped so well. But the triumph of having reduced a number of Mahometans to silence by my means, was not sufficient to satisfy the hatred which he, as a Greek, felt towards the Turks, and notwithstanding my express order, he would not refrain from mortifying the Subbaschi in the most sensible manner, and extorting from him his miserable thirty piasters, which I had long since made good.

He went to the Subbaschi, affected friendship towards him, thanked him for his intervention, and told him in confidence that I was very angry at the bad treatment which I had met with here and no where else; that I intended to set out to-morrow by way of Lassiti, to make a serious complaint against him to the Pacha, on account of the fifty piasters, because he had evidently betrayed himself by being in such a hurry to take them. Nothing could save him but an apology and restitution of the money, for the least that could happen to him, if I should make it known in Candia, would be the immediate loss of his office as Subbaschi, and the inevitable displeasure of his master.—I was employed in arranging my papers and journals, when the door was suddenly opened, and the Subbaschi, a haughty Turk, throwing himself at my feet, held up the fifty piasters in a supplicating manner, imploring my forgiveness; and in fear of his life endeavoured to soften me by his exclamation of Allah! My surprise continued long enough to make the Subbaschi suspect that I perhaps knew nothing of it: I however recollected myself in time to cover this trick of Georgi, though contrary to my express order, but refused his money, saying, that what I had given was paid voluntarily, and as an equitable indemnity for the lost ring. He however laid the money upon the table, and was going out, but on my repeating that he must take it back, he turned to Georgi, who could not conceal his malicious joy, and seemed to beg him to take it. He was so imprudent as to take up the money in the presence of the Subbaschi, instead of letting it lie on the table, by which he betrayed himself as the other had done before. The Subbaschi was in the highest degree incensed at such an humiliation: his Mahometan pride had been forced to bend before that

of a Frank, and he, deceived by a Greek, had disgracefully begged upon his knees, his life, which he feared was forfeited. Nobody could deny me his esteem; even the Mahometans gave me their hands when I took leave; never had circumstances so happily concurred to prove the innocence of a man as they had done mine. I was not sorry to see that I had gained the regard of the mothers, and the esteem of the men; at least, I did not leave an enemy in this town. Georgi, on the other hand, whom I could not now do without, nor abandon, but resolved to dismiss in the city of Candia, was mortally hated, and new plots were contrived to ruin him. Not to interrupt the narrative of this affair, I pass over, for the present, my departure for Stia and the Mountain of Lassiti, the examination of it, and my return to Candia.

We had been some weeks in Candia, when we prepared to visit Mount Ida, having been detained, both by the Ramadan, or Turkish Lent, and by the necessity of repose after the fatigues we had undergone. The report of what had happened at Girapetro soon reached Candia, and the Consul was so kind as not to attach any blame to my conduct, so that nobody in Candia was ill-disposed towards me. He even excused Georgi in many respects, and was fully aware of the reasons for which he was persecuted, particularly by the Greek clergy. The Austrian agent, Mr. Booze, had resigned his situation, and Mr. Lafle-helle, a native of Paris, had arrived from Constantinople to act as secretary and interpreter to the French Consul. He was a very worthy and agreeable man. Though I had a residence of my own near the palace of the Pacha, I was generally at the Consul's, where I had the advantage of making use of his library. My visit to the Bishop of Girapetro, a young man of about thirty-three years of age, and nephew of the Metropolitan, was for the purpose of making some agreeable observations to him on the fertility of his country, and the numerous antiquities, and to ask him occasionally for some explanations. He spoke of the late affair, and made Georgi relate it in my presence, and concluded with the suspicious words, '*That I should rather have left the wicked Dascalos to die!*' I avoided all explanation of the causes of this remark. Our friendly relations were soon disturbed by a letter from the Papa of Girapetro, who, at the instigation of the Turks, who were eager for revenge, complained of Georgi to the bishop of the diocese, the same we have just mentioned, who on account of illness now resided at Candia, and demanded the fifty piasters back. I do not know what means had been employed to irritate the Bishop of Girapetro against Georgi. It was said that when he was at Girapetro he had threatened the Papa, that if he demanded the fifty piasters from him, he would

accuse him to the Pacha of having found a great treasure, and the rich Papa would be punished for his rapacity, by having to pay thousands of piasters. Perhaps Georgi really said so; but he had been ill used. This remark, however, was sufficiently refuted by the sequel of the story; but an old grudge was revived, and but for me he would have been in great danger. The Greek clergy, who were much esteemed and protected by the Turks, took part in it; for Georgi had had the misfortune several years before, involuntarily to offend this same Bishop of Girapetro.

The council was held in the house of this bishop; and it was said, "It is better that one should die for the people, than that the whole nation should be destroyed." Georgi had brought with him from the continent, some notions respecting *superstition, the despotism of the Greek clergy, abuses, &c.* and had the imprudence to attempt to introduce, not only the vaccine, but some reasonable principles. I was invited, through the physician Giovanni, of whom I have before made honourable mention, to be present at the meeting. Alarm was painted on the countenance of Georgi; he begged me to go back with him to the house of the schoolmaster, which he would not leave without me. I foresaw the storm which began to darken the horizon. The proceedings of these miserable people were directed to the destruction of this imprudent man, who had brought other notions from foreign countries. The whole accusation was reduced to this:—"That Georgi was a wicked man, and did not deserve my protection." I calmly submitted to them, that the whole business for which this meeting was called was already terminated; stated what I had done, and that the Papa and Subbaschi had voluntarily renounced the sum. Lastly, I produced an impression of the antique, and said, that if it could have been of any use I would certainly have bought it myself; that it was in no case worth the eighth part of the sum demanded; observing that Georgi had drawn upon himself their displeasure upon other accounts. I requested them at least to wait till I had left the island, and he was out of my service; they might then proceed against him as he deserved, and punish him according to justice. He was now innocent; and if he was to blame, the fault lay with me, for I had decided the whole affair according to my own sincere conviction. I could not possibly comply with their desire to declare him not in my service, because he stood in need of my assistance, and I must both fulfil my duties towards him as a fellow creature, and maintain the articles of the treaties in a barbarous country. What I could not accomplish, the French Consul, who had taken me under his protection, would provide for. I added that I would enjoin him to be more

cautious, and I should besides soon leave Candia. This last point was the worst of all: "now or never," they thought. They made no reply to my observations, and appeared to be pacified, but said that he was a disgrace to me, that he improperly assumed the European dress, without being under protection, and lavished every art and flattery, to draw from me even a verbal declaration, or merely a single word, which might indicate that I would not keep him, or was dissatisfied with him, or even that I would yield to their entreaties. But all their arts failing, for they aimed at his life, and I could not betray him, the meeting began to separate; the more moderate and less eager retired, and the others thought of new plans. I however resolved immediately to send Georgi away, when on a sudden the Bishop of Girapetro, weeping for rage, rose, and implored me with uplifted hands to yield him up to him that he might destroy him. I shuddered, the blood rose into my face, and I said indignantly, as I retired, "Wretched man, you know not the pride of a Frank, and the magnanimity of the Europeans!" I was required to give up a man, that he might destroy him. What strange proofs of friendship people here demand! all this is a consequence of the moral corruption introduced by the despotic tyranny of the Turks. Hence I saw that I alone could protect him, and accordingly resolved not to forsake him.

I endeavoured, therefore, to send Georgi as soon as possible out of the city, and reprimanded him for having neglected the opportunity which he had had two days before to go to Melidoui, and wait for me there. He wept, and said, he could not possibly leave me now, because he was watched, and would be arrested. I seriously represented to him how he had already hurt himself by his obstinacy, and sensibly offended his enemies, who, in a barbarous country, had it at all times in their power to ruin him; for he had really been so incautious as to speak in many places in the city of the weaknesses, the faults, and the crimes of various persons, whose dignity, if not their persons, claimed some regard. His imprudence hurt him the more, as he had no party in his favour, and nobody excused his language and actions. I placed before him his previous conduct, and reminded him that he had occasioned me nothing but vexation, and that to save his life I was unfortunately obliged to keep him, which he did not deserve, because he paid no regard to my health. Among his enemies, he mentioned the Girapetrite, the interpreter of the Pacha, and Domenico. He had made the latter his enemy by refusing him the vaccine which he had acquired by purchase. Domenico required it from him because he was a new comer, and pretended, as usual, that he had

brought a better sort with him, by which he would have monopolized the whole practice, and Georgi would certainly have lost this little income, with which he supported an indigent mother and sister. Georgi, therefore, enjoined the mothers of the inoculated children not to shew them to Domenico, especially when the pock was filled with matter. This innocent means to secure his just advantages, so provoked Domenico, that he conceived an inveterate hatred against him, and joined his other enemies. Georgi, notwithstanding all his faults, had deserved well of his countrymen, because, as I have said, he was the first who procured vaccine matter in Crete, and had thereby saved many thousand children from perishing by the small-pox, which so frequently rages there; and was probably sensible of the state of slavery by which his country made such a contrast with the Ionian Islands: not to speak of other similar motives.

His enemies, as I learnt, again met, and resolved not to let their victim escape. First, they endeavoured to incense the Pacha against Georgi, in which they succeeded, by mentioning his threat to the Papa in Girapetro about the treasure, by which they touched the Pacha in a very sensible part. They added, that in the war against the Turks Georgi had fought in the ranks of the enemies, and had shewn himself at Chios and Smyrna stained with Turkish blood. Whether true or not, this did not fail to produce a terrible effect! It was immediately forgotten that Georgi had formerly cured the same Pacha of an intermitting fever, and had done him many services. They now sought to prevent me, and particularly the French Consul, from acting, and for the execution of their wicked design, chose the favourable opportunity of the Ramadan, which happened this year in July, when the Turks sleep and fast by day, but after sun-set pass the whole night in amusements. They therefore fixed the hour of eleven at night for dragging him out of my lodging by the guard of Janissaries, and executing the sentence which the Pacha had passed upon him.

The night approached, I waited long for Georgi in the house of the Consul, where he was to call for me to go home. At length he came, very melancholy, but the French Consul comforted him, saying he had nothing to fear, because in this manner his enemies could not so easily injure him. We returned home about ten o'clock, and heard the deafening sound of the Turkish music in the streets, which were now lively and lighted up.

I had just gone to bed, when Georgi, in constant anxiety, pale as death, walked silently up and down the room. I exhorted him to go to rest, but he said, in a piteous voice, "I

cannot go to sleep, I forebode to-day no good." I urged him to tell me his reason; he said the behaviour of various persons towards him, their cold silence, and many other changes which he had remarked, caused him to apprehend something dreadful which was evidently contriving against him. I endeavoured to dispel his fears, and desired him to go to rest, because the candle burning in the chamber hindered me from sleeping: when presaging his impending fate, he implored with uplifted hands a short delay. I likewise apprehended no good, when suddenly there was a noise on the stone steps before the house, and several Turks began violently to knock at the gate, which was strongly secured. Georgi terrified, hastened to it, and perceived that there were seven Janissaries of the Pacha's guard. I had raised myself up in bed, when he rushed in pale as death, told me what was the matter, and exclaimed, "I am undone, help me, help, I am undone." "But what aid can I afford you? Unhappy man, in what a situation have you placed yourself," answered I, while I leaped out of bed, and hastened to dress myself.

"I know of no remedy," said I, trembling, "but for me to hasten to the Consul, inform him of the case, and come to your assistance, for flight is impossible, every outlet is guarded." "Ah, God!" groaned he, "what shall I do? To go to the Consul is in vain. I am already condemned, and before Laflechette comes, I shall be sacrificed; my enemies have chosen this time when the Consul and all the Europeans are asleep—and I am undone!" "Courage," said I, "all is not yet lost," the Janissaries still loudly demanding admittance. "Collect yourself: does no means occur to you, as you are so well acquainted with the country and every thing? do not ask it from me, but I will help if I can."

I had scarce said this when his eye rolled, his lips trembled, and his tongue refused its service. At length he stammered; "I know only one way to save me!" "What?" answered I. "Ah, God! you desire to know it: if you—he hesitated—if you suffer yourself to be taken in my stead." Groaning and weeping he fell at my feet, and endeavoured to soften me, while I stood almost petrified with horror at such a demand.

I then gave vent to my feelings, and loaded him with merited reproaches. "What have you done to deserve that I should sacrifice my life for you? I have but one, and that you require of me. How can you venture to make such a request to any human being? Was it not enough that I did so much for you? Unworthy as you are, who have so often brought me into the greatest embarrassments, and caused me so much vexation; now you demand even my existence? Am I

were merely to atone for your follies with my life? why have you not already fled to Melidoni? Now that sentence has already passed upon you, shall I suffer myself to be arrested in your place, and to be cruelly executed? I am unacquainted with the language; whither will they take me? how shall I defend myself? Justice is here rapid and inexorable!" He was scarcely able to speak. "Ah, spare me, pity me, my sad fate is at hand! Ah, God! I have foreseen it——only you are able to save me, otherwise I am for ever undone. What will my poor mother, my sister, and my brother say, when they hear that I am no more? who will support them? who will comfort them? Oh, dreadful fate—I die innocent, the victim of cruel malignity! I must die if you will not save me; you may and will save yourself; have pity!" In an agony of despair he threw himself on the ground, and in his anguish called upon heaven for a deliverer. His fear rose to a terrible degree; for the guard, who apprehended that he would escape, violently insisted on the opening of the gate. A cold shuddering seized me, and I stood over him pale and speechless with terror. I could not fly to procure help, and no resource was left. A terrible conflict raged within me. I trembled at the thought of giving him up without making an attempt to save him. He did not deserve it, but I saw in him only a helpless and unfortunate creature. I could not bear the thought, and it would have been a source of reproach to me through life, if I should afterwards be convinced that I might have saved him by a small effort, and yet had not done it. But it was night, the sentence pronounced, the execution immediate, and the love of life strongly affected me; the probability of being recognized was indeed great, but in such a moment who will depend upon probabilities? Yet I trembled at the painful consciousness not to be able to do what I would, for if I did not love him, I had yet done enough for him to venture this also. I was most sensibly offended; his enemies were to triumph; I should see him snatched from me, and the French Consul outwitted; this roused my pride. I had said to them, "you know not the pride of a Frank, or the magnanimity of an European." I wished to redeem my pledged word; but the annihilating thought of death and mutilation unmanned me anew. All this passed before me with the rapidity of lightning, while the noise grew louder, and no further delay was possible. He hoped nothing further from me. While I, in the midst of conflicting emotions, called to mind the deeds of generous men and their sacrifices, and was unable to take any resolution, he broke out in a transport of despair, in the terrible heart-rending words of our Saviour on the cross, and exclaimed

with a dreadful voice: "*Eli, Eli, Lama Sabachthani.*" (My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!) I stood as annihilated, and without consciousness. All idea of saving my life was vanished, and I saw inevitable fate approach; for it seemed to demand my life. I said with a tremulous voice, "Open the gate, I go." Should then man be at no moment of his life capable of any thing better than merely pious feelings? Should we be only sensible of the oppressive supernatural greatness of our Divine Master, and not be able to do for one what he did for all? This humiliating feeling decided. I cannot describe what I felt: for there is an earthly annihilation beyond which, when the mind has overcome it, every thing terrestrial vanishes, as something common and contemptible. My self-denial, however, cost me dear; I tottered to my table for my feet could not support me; a dizziness seized me, I was fainting; and in the anguish of death, which was felt even by the body, I heard the echo of the well-known words: "*It is finished.*" Thus half-inanimate, I awaited my approaching fate.

Georgi rushed out, opened the gate, and soldiers filled the apartment. Fear winged his steps, and love of life gave him words for its preservation. The Turks had orders to take prisoner the servant, the interpreter, who spoke Greek and Turkish; they knew him, and yet did not take him. With affected cheerfulness, while fear of death raged within him, he told them I was the person whom they sought, that I did not speak because I was going to meet my fate. Observing my weakness, he ran and fetched some water, sprinkled me, and trembling made me drink, for his life hung on a slender thread. My wretched appearance, and total insensibility, contrasted with his presence of mind, confounded them. Besides, how should it occur to a Mahomedan to conceive what a Christian can do? Georgi supported me, implored me in a low and supplicating voice to take courage, and begged the soldiers to treat me with mildness. I forgave him all that he said in his own favour, for I gave him a right. I recovered myself; the guards desired me to depart; they had waited, they said, long enough, and led me away in the midst of them. I whispered to him as I left him—"Fly! that I may at least have the consolation of having saved you." He fled. On the way I pretended to turn into another street, and desired to be taken to the residence of the Consul; this I did, lest my submitting without resistance might create suspicion among seven soldiers, some one of whom might return and look for him. Thus I went full of resignation to meet my destiny.

An infinite number of people, who had collected at the fer-

val, surrounded the entrance of the palace, and the report was speedily spread that a Frank was to be judged by the Pacha. Insult, ridicule, and abuse resounded on every side, and only the guard protected me from ill-usage, thinking to make me suffer in a far more terrible manner. I proceeded with an unsteady step, and it was necessary to clear the entrance of the mob, who pressed to be spectators of my punishment. I advanced and saw the preparations, but what I saw I cannot tell, for the sight confounded me, and I stood motionless as a corpse. My conjecture, however, that I should be recognised and set free, was confirmed, for it might justly be presumed that his enemies were present. At once a cry was raised—"That is the physician, and not his servant, what have you done?" The Janissaries looked at each other with surprise, knew not what to say, and immediately hastened away, while an ugly red-headed Jew, who now appeared like an angel of light, came up to me, and told me, what I knew before, that not I, but Georgi was wanted, and that I might withdraw.

I hastened, almost unconscious of what I did, to the house of the Consul, for it was necessary to complete my work, after having already done so much. I intended to request the Consul to have the Pacha informed and pacified, and to prevent Georgi being pursued; for I thought that he had got over the low part of the rampart near the harbour, and had fled to Melidoni. Happily I found the gate of the Consulate open, where lifting up my eyes, I was astonished to perceive by the lights on the steps Georgi standing quite lost in thought, for how could he shew himself to the Consul before I came. "Unhappy man," said I; he looked at me terrified; "what have you done? why have you not fled?" "Ah!" said he, "I have always found pity, and I shall find it again. Even in Melidoni I should not be safe." I hastened to the Consul, but was told that he had retired to rest. I found his chamber open, entered softly, and made a sign to him without speaking, not to disturb his wife. He made a sign that he would come, and I returned into the drawing-room. In a few words I told him what had passed, and called Georgi to relate it more particularly. The Secretary, Mr. Laflechelle, was sent for, while the Consul was considering how he should proceed with the Pacha.

I sunk down upon the Divan, but was not able to rise again; my faculties seemed benumbed. I heard every thing as if in a dream, but took no interest in it, for my health was undermined, and I was incapable of thinking: so I was found by the Candiot physicians.

Mr. Laflechelle went with the instructions of the Consul to the Pacha; and Mr. de Vasse (the Consul) remained almost the whole night in the drawing room, to give Laflechelle, when he returned, new answers to what the Pacha said, and Georgi impatiently awaited the issue. The guards having learnt that he had fled to the Consulate, came to the gate, as they did not dare to enter, and required that he should come out. As the dwellings of the consuls are an inviolable asylum, they can, in times of necessity, afford refuge to different fugitives, even if they do not belong to their nation, where they remain months together; only they must not go out of the house.

Mr. Laflechelle, accompanied by a Janistary, went to the Pacha, with the articles of the treaty, in the Turkish language, in his hand, to refresh his memory. He there met with the Defterdar, chief treasurer of Candia, who is entirely independent of the Pacha, and was universally esteemed for his benevolent character. Mr. L. gave him a short account of the business, to which he replied, "I will go with you and do my utmost: he is not the first whom I have saved from the fangs of the Dragomans, the scourge of your nation." The Defterdar jeered the old Pacha for having without reason, (that is without getting any money by it, which in Turkey is the regular cause of every judicial proceeding) been prejudiced against a poor devil by calumnies; while Laflechelle freely represented to him, that he had acted illegally, in ordering his guard to enter the house of a Frank, and arrest one of his servants. The Pacha replied, it was only a hired house, and the servant a Greek, and deserving of punishment: as for the arresting of the physician, it was without his order. He now insisted that Georgi should be given up: Laflechelle however persisted that he was wrong in suffering his guard to enter even the hired house of a Frank, and that if he had any complaints to make, he might apply to the Consul, who would give him satisfaction; but the Consul saw no fault in Georgi, and would not suffer any thing to be done against him till he was convinced of his guilt. The Pacha accordingly brought forward his grounds of complaint, which afforded an opportunity to correct his false notions, to convince him of the malice of the accusers, and at length, with the aid of his friend the Defterdar, to pacify him. The next point was, as the people still expected a show, and the whole affair had become known, to support the dignity of the Pacha, and give some kind of satisfaction in the eyes of the people. The Pacha demanded that Georgi should be given up, promising to punish him but slightly. It appeared, however, that he would condemn him to receive only ten strokes on the soles of his feet. But Laflechelle declared, that the French Consul

would not consent that he should receive corporal punishment. At last the Desterdar, who was pleased with Mr. Laflechette's conduct, proposed, smiling, to deprive Georgi of his European dress, and thus to finish the business, for this was the Ramadan, when every body should be merry as long as the night lasted, and a masquerade was quite in season. The Pacha yielded, and solemnly promised to Laflechette that nothing more should be done to him. Georgi was brought from the house of the Consul accompanied by Mr. Laflechette, deprived of his dress, and obliged to put on a Greek habit, and thus ended the whole affair. Georgi was at liberty, only he was obliged to pay the fifty piasters himself to the Papa, in Girapetro. His brother hastened to Melidoni, to fetch papers for Georgi, who embarked on board a ship bound for Constantinople, in order to leave, as quickly as possible, a place where he had experienced nothing but trouble. He got on board the third day, till which time he did not leave the house of the Consul; and even then, it was necessary for Mr. Laflechette to accompany him. I heard nothing more of him, but that he had arrived safely at Constantinople.

This history may teach future travellers, for whom I have chiefly written it, to be careful in the choice of their attendants in the Levant, and that it is not always possible to make a choice, as one is often embarrassed on account of the language, which is there an indispensable necessity. For the rest, I have never in the three years since my return related this story, even to my relations and most intimate friends, and would have suppressed it, for several reasons, in this account of my travels, or have only slightly touched upon it, merely to preserve the connection, were I not compelled and called upon to shew by this example, that mean self-interest is not the motive of my actions.

I will now return to the narrative of my travels. On the 20th of June and the three following days, a hot south wind arose at Girapetro, which came from the Lybian desert. It seemed as if it would kindle what it had dried up, and yet the thermometer was not above 24°.—Girapetro, where I arrived on the 17th of June, offered but few attractions. Degraded to a poor market town, but lately desolated by a violent earthquake; it did not put to shame the ruins of Hierapytna, which lay to the west; surrounded on the south by the sea, and on the land side by two salt lakes, it appeared to be entrenched within walls, which had been collected together from the ruins. The low houses with flat roofs, and jars placed upon them, with the bottoms knocked out to serve for chimnies, gave the whole place a comical appearance. From three to four narrow lanes

that man is commonly liberal in proportion as he is poor. I wished the blind musician the recovery of his sight, the inhabitants the preservation of what they possessed—content—and departed. A red clay, which covered the Flotz lime-stone, and ceased a little below the village Caridi, gave the country a singular appearance. I had now travelled through Crete to seek chalk, and at the end of my journey found ruddle, a proof that there are lies a thousand years old. We descended to Mangasa, and had opportunity to admire the patience and industry of the inhabitants, who had turned to advantage every hand-breadth of land that was found among the rocks. This appeared to me the roughest and most stony part of the island. A steep wall of rock afforded a fine prospect, but made me despair of getting down into the valley. The last beams of the setting sun were fading away before we found the way down. The groups of small vessels which were in sight seemed not disposed to come ashore; we learnt that they came from the Archipelago, to collect sponge, which is very abundant on this part of the Cretan coast.

Casho, Scarpantho, Rhodes in the remote distance, further to the left Stalimene, Namphio, and to the west Santorin, with the singularly indented coasts of Crete, afforded an interesting prospect. We reached the valley late in the evening, and took up our lodging with the Subbaschi of Chalil Aga, whose possessions extend thus far. When he had read his master's letter, he laid his hand upon his head to signify that I was recommended to him, and as dear to him as his own head. In the afternoon I was going to set out in order to reach the rich convent of Acrotiriazai or Panagia, when the Superior came upon business, and ordered a monk, who was going back, to accompany me, that I might experience the best reception. We had an agreeable ride to the convent, which is called by way of eminence *Toplumonastiri*, the rich convent, hence it is obliged very often to act consistently with its name; for every new Pacha, as soon as he arrives, demands proof that it is entitled to it. The monastery is of moderate extent, with a detached church and a small chapel within the walls. Being built by the Venetians it is now much out of repair. It has every where a dirty appearance, for it is not usual to white-wash the walls, which is a privilege of the Turks. A convent which should new white-wash any part without permission, would have to pay a considerable fine. The Mosques are always clean, white, and neat; but Greek churches must look dirty within and without; if any chapel were handsomely white-washed, even though permission had been purchased at a high price, it would be a perpetual cause of extortion, and would expose the convent to endless vexations from individual Turks, and

o their hatred. To paint a church with colours would be the greatest crime that could be committed.—The youngest priest in the convent acted as my guide, and attended to me in every respect. He shewed me a bas-relief of the Madonna, made by the Venetians, and regretted that the portal, likewise of Parian marble, had been taken away by the Turks, and used for another building in Candia. The church, which is a very low dark chapel, dirty with smoke, possessed a very large altar-piece, of the Byzantine School, divided into many compartments, the finest performance of that school I have ever seen. Each compartment was painted with separate historical subjects from the Bible, which, after the manner of the Greeks, embraced almost the whole of the Old and New Testaments. In parts it was not destitute of merit as a work of art; but clearly shewed how difficult it had been for the ingenious, but ill-informed artist, to depart from the prescribed manner: I was surprised at the sight of the steeple. The earthquakes in 1815 had burst the upper half, the dome lay broken and on one side, with part of the cornice fixed in a rent, like a wedge. It was in imminent danger of falling and destroying the main building, a breath of air seemed sufficient. On my asking why the convent did not repair the steeple, as it was rich enough, and in danger of being buried under it, he replied, that a very expensive firman from the Pacha was necessary, which might perhaps go to the Porte, and lead to the disbursement of large sums; that besides they did not want the steeple, because, since the time of the Venetians, they must make shift with hand-bells. I said then, they should take down the steeple half way, by which they would save the expence of repairing it, since they did not want it; but he answered, that two firmans would be necessary, one for leave to take down the steeple, and the other to rebuild it, and these might cost more than the repairs; if they wished only to take it down, without rebuilding it, as they were not allowed any bells, they must however pay for both. He added, that the Superior had made an accurate examination of every part, and hoped that the steeple, if it fell in, would not fall upon their heads, but in the opposite direction; and told me in confidence, that to prevent accidents, they had placed beams and wedges in the inside, in such a manner, as to make it fall in the direction they desired. Any reason, however insignificant, suffices for the Pacha or any rich Turkish neighbour to call the convent to account. Some time ago a Turk was killed, by an enemy who lay in wait for him near the convent; he was found, the convent was made responsible, and without listening to any arguments, sentenced to pay twenty-five purses, of five hundred piasters each, on the whole about five hundred pounds sterling.

The road gradually declined towards the cleft, which separates Cape Sidero from the continent; and we came to a uniform sea-beach, covered with dwarf shrubs. Our way led through a plain, which was crossed by a rivulet; on the other side are the ruins of the town of Setia, which, in all probability, is the ancient Cytæum. Under the Venetians it was the capital of this province, but it is now a heap of rubbish. If an antiquarian tour were undertaken in Crete, for the express purpose, all the hundred cities might be found out.

I came to Piskocephalo, a pleasantly situated village, and gave my letter to the Subbaschi, a Turk. Hearing that I wished to have his young mule, he already devoured in imagination the money of a Frank. I had seen many a miser, but never before such a greedy looking rogue. The young mule was shewn me. it was certainly a handsome animal, but not quite fit for my use; however, I thought if Georgi kept it well for a year, (it being intended as a present to him) it would do him good service for fifteen or twenty years. I asked my guide, the Greek Marcus, what he thought it was worth, but he would not venture to give an answer for fear of the Turks. The Subbaschi demanded an exorbitant price, and trembled for fear, when I rose to go away. At length we agreed for two hundred and fifteen piasters. But I was really vexed, when I took out my purse with Venetian ducats, which the Subbaschi seemed ready to snatch out of my hand. He clamoured for a pair of scales; and the slightest deficiency in weight gave him a wide field to cheat at pleasure. His covetousness amused me; and I looked on quietly to see how far he would carry it. In the end he deducted from some ducats from Constantinople, the eighth part of the value, and six gold coins from Egypt, worth eight and a quarter piasters, he estimated at six. I looked at him in silent contempt, and only lamented that I had not the talent of a Hogarth to immortalize this group of greedy Turks. At the end, however, I spoke—took the paper out of his hand—corrected his calculation—and took some pieces of money back again. His grief at this was extreme; but he was obliged, though with sorrow, to acknowledge the bargain concluded.

We proceeded along the mountain from rock to rock, through clefts and defiles, till we arrived at Trebisonda and Turtuli. I had not yet found any part so abundant in springs, which surprised me the more, as the mountains of Stia are not considerable. A hollow valley, surrounded by aged forest trees, with the finest fruit trees growing on the declivities, appeared like a Paradise, enclosed by a circle of lofty and steep rocks. The deep valley was cleared of the corn; the sun burnt upon the stubble; but on the eminence, every beam was intercepted by the most beau-

tiful oaks; and streams, which increased the coolness, flowed on every side. The village lay in the middle, each house being surrounded by orange groves. These charms were enhanced by a great number of nightingales, which, even at this advanced season, poured forth their song. The Venetians must have been acquainted with this beautiful spot, for they called it Turtuli, which name it still bears from the number of turtles that frequent it. The ground, protected from the sun, was every where moist; the crystal water flowed into basins hewn in the rocks, pomegranates, lemon, citron, and orange trees, richly laden with their dazzling fruit, invited the stranger. The slender dark green cypress shot up amidst the oak forest, and the date, with its fans and its rustling crown waving in the breeze, contrasted with the surrounding masses of rocks, altogether afforded a surprising picture. The Subbaschi of this place, a good tempered and extremely honest man, was esteemed and beloved by the villagers.

I now sent my Greek Marcus before me, with some hundred lemons, by way of Litines to Girapetro, and told him the persons to whom they were to be delivered. I had been urgently requested to purchase some in Turtuli, because they are scarce at Girapetro. Here I purchased from twelve to sixteen for a penny. The Subbaschi himself gathered them for me with great care, and procured me a man from the village to guide me over the mountains to Girapetro. This man had been fifteen years in the laboratory of an European apothecary at Smyrna, where he acquired sufficient knowledge to set up for a physician in his own country. He told me that he the more readily accompanied me, because he was expected in several places. He carried a bag with various boxes of medicines, powders, &c. and for ten para, he was ready to draw off as much blood as you pleased. About three hundred paces beyond Turtuli, I overlooked from the eminence the whole south coast, and the Libyan Sea. As we went along the ridge of the mountain, I perceived an old ruined castle upon a rock, which my guide assured me had been built, in former ages, by a certain Adiomenes; the outward walls were in good preservation, and it was probably built by the Saracens to watch the Eastern Sea. A steep descent led to the village Cria. A fountain near the village, protected by rocks, and surrounded by lofty plantains, tempted me to stop and drink the water, which was the coolest I had tasted for a long time. A Turk accosted me in a very friendly manner, politely enquired from what country I came, and invited me to his house. Without suffering me to be troubled with patients, he set before me every thing his house afforded, even wine, to which he helped me himself. I could scarcely venture to give the servants some trifling pre-

sent: he accompanied me some distance from the village, thanked me for the honour I had done him, and would not allow me to make him any acknowledgments for his kind reception. Upon urgent intreaty, he had before taken me to a single patient who lay in a fever, caused by ill treatment of a dangerous wound, and was at the point of death. I could not comply with his repeated request to tell him whether the patient would recover, because death appears much less terrible to the Turks, on account of their fatalism, and on his return he would certainly have called upon the patient and told him the good news, that he would soon die. The sick people had run before, and waited for me behind a bush, because the Turk had sent them all away, telling them not to trouble me with useless questions. The whole group now surrounded me, each took pleasure in telling me his misfortune, and all went away comforted. After a very picturesque ride through Hagio-Mama, Riso, Mezzo-Mujana, and Oxo-Mujana, we turned round the mountains, and arrived at the mountain village of Turloti, which is built above two of the largest ravines of this mountain, and affords one of the finest prospects of the sea. I slept this night in the open air upon the terrace. The brilliancy of the stars, the serene horizon, and the calmness of the night, interrupted at times by the gentle breeze, refreshed me so much, that I felt new life in me, notwithstanding the fatigue I had undergone in traversing the almost impassable mountains. I rose at day-break, and took a little excursion, on which I found the *Linum arboreum* upon the rocks, so uncommonly large, that I could with justice call it arboreous.

On my return I found my attendant, with his boxes arranged before him, with a number of people asking for medicines. I wished each of them that it might do him good, and my apothecary plenty of custom. I then engaged another guide, a lively pleasant fellow, who chattered as if he had been an apprentice to a Roman Cicerone, had something to say of every village, laughed at the Greeks, cursed the Turks, and talked till he was out of breath.

I have already related my return to Girapetro; and the events which happened there. There was now nothing to detain me from visiting the Lassiti mountains; besides I intended to ascend Mount Ida at the end of July, and to visit the Leucaori in August; but before I left Girapetro, the city physician invited me to his house; he had observed to Georgi, that we had fared very ill at Girapetro, and seemed obliged to us for having saved the life of a person to whom he was physician. He was a good-humoured old man, and pleased me very much. He called to take us to his house. We had already been in the

worst streets of Girapetro, but we had not conceived there could be a house so difficult of access, and so filthy. The physician stopped at a door, which we could not possibly think led to a dwelling-house. On his knocking it was opened. A small court-yard in front, as narrow as the door, afterwards only twice as broad, surrounded with such high walls as scarcely to admit the day-light, afforded few materials for consideration. At the farther end was a single door standing wide open, through which there was a prospect of a complete lumber-room. Where will this lead to, thought I? The dark, smoky, dirty apartment, was not lighted by a single window: the floor was uneven, consisting only of rubbish; the threshold very high, so that we had to descend about half a yard at the first step, with imminent danger of breaking our necks. The open door admitted the only light into this half subterraneous apartment, which served for kitchen, sitting-room, wine cellar, and poultry yard. The hostess, dressed like a cook, came from the fire to meet us, and placed some three-legged stools, on which wood, meat, and tobacco were by turns chopped. At length the doctor said, "Are you ready, my dear." "Yes," answered his wife, "we can serve up". Now, thought I to myself, we shall no doubt have an excellent dinner, burnt soup, mouldy biscuit, and sour wine. But what a metamorphosis! The hostess first ordered the servant to shut the door. This she did, and barred it. Hereupon both he and his wife dressed themselves; he fetched a handsome Persian caftan; a carpet covered the ugly furniture; a small table was brought, upon which they placed a large handsome plated tea-board; Chinese porcelain covered the table; decanters of beautiful polished glass, gilt, were produced; the Cyprian wine was set before us in cut-glass jugs; silver knives, forks, and spoons, were laid upon the table; and dinner was served up. I could not speak for surprize. It was well dressed, consisting of more than ten dishes, besides confectionary which our hostess herself had made. The richest individual need not have been ashamed to set before his guests such a repast. But we had scarcely done dinner, when every thing was cleared away and concealed, so that no trace of all these handsome and valuable things remained; and when the doctor had again put on his ragged morning gown, the greatest appearance of poverty prevailed; the door was again opened by the maid; and every one who had come in would have sworn that we had nothing better than Rumford Soup.

This short account proves how great is the oppression and barbarism in this country; God grant we might say *was*. If any person possesses the least thing, he shews it to strangers rather than to natives. Wealth is a crime; and he that possesses

any thing is exposed, on every trifling occasion, to persecutions which never cease till the Turk knows that he has nothing more to lose. It cannot be believed to what a degree a distrustful, slavish, and inhuman treatment degrades the nation ; takes from it all sense of honour, confidence and respect for the laws, where the people are every where surrounded and watched by informers, spies, and hirelings, who, that they may the more easily fatten on the labour of the peaceable citizen, must prove, by fictitious and false statements, that they do not receive their blood-money for nothing. The strength of the Porte, (not to speak of shocks from without) consists—it cannot depend on its soldiers—in exciting discord among the inhabitants, in frequently removing the Pachas, that they may not have time to make themselves independent, and in favouring alternately different parties in the state. The Porte swarms with informers, spies, and wretches ready to execute any order : for Islamism sanctifies any deed.

We applied to a rich Turk in Girapetro, who procured us five mules, and, as soon as they were laden, left the town, riding over shafts and capitals, till in a short time we were in valleys between the rocks, where streams flowed down on every side, and put me in mind of Turtuli. I soon came to Calamata, a fine well-watered district, which was visited by Tournefort, who ascended to the left into the lofty mountains, where he first found the *Prunus prostrata*, which he so highly praises for its beautiful flowers. Labillardière found it afterwards on Lebanon, and gave it the above name. It is probable, therefore, that many of Sibthorp's and Smith's plants of the Flora Græca, may be in the still unarranged Herbal of Tournefort. Calamatta seems, from its favourable and elevated position, to be not far from the ancient Lyctos. The houses are scattered, and as it happened to be Sunday, the inhabitants were sitting before the entrance, and saluted us in a very friendly manner. I had no where seen so much composure and content, simplicity of manners, and neatness of dress. Their ingenuous countenances pleased me so much, that I would have entrusted my life to any of them.

Great praise was bestowed on the steward of the place, an elderly, good-tempered man, and, as usual, a Turk. He had heard we were coming, and was expecting us. It was to be presumed that he wished to ask for advice, and in fact he mentioned his wife, and, finding I did not want an interpreter, introduced me to her ; there was nothing the matter with her ; but it gave her pleasure that she was able to complain to me. When I returned dinner was ready ; the wine was excellent, and the charges extremely moderate. Though I would willingly have staid, it was necessary to depart, because it was nearly four o'clock, the mules

were heavily laden, and we had twenty-five Italian miles to go, above half the way up hill. The country through which we passed was uncommonly pleasant: instead of the noise which the wind makes in the plain, as it drives the sand and dust before it, a profound silence, interrupted only by the murmuring of the streams, prevailed here. The air was thinner upon these mountains, which are seven hundred toises perpendicular above the sea, and afforded a prospect which became more extensive as we advanced. At length we began to descend, but the road was extremely fatiguing and disagreeable. It was a dark night, and the last rays of the setting sun had long since departed from the lofty summits of Mount Dicta. The last steep declivity was passed; we reached the valley, and had only three miles to Mangula, where we arrived at eleven o'clock at night. The next morning I opened my window, and was astonished at the beauty of the mountain valley of Lassiti, which is the most lovely spot in the mountainous region of Crete.

On Monday the 7th of July, I reposed, and took a view of our landlord's house. The building formed a square, and stood on a considerable elevation above the valley; the sitting rooms were on the edge of a rock in the middle of the village. Behind the house was a fountain which bubbled out of the naked rocks, surrounded with elms and walnut-trees. This was a charming seat, commanding the whole of the valley and extensive corn-fields. One day as I returned from an excursion, I enquired for fowls and eggs; an old woman asked, for what? I gave her to understand that I would let her know: she brought eggs, and showed me the fowls, and again asked for what? I did not leave her in doubt, but she was quite shocked and said, "if I was a Christian, how could I ask for any such thing?" I represented to her that it was not a fast-day with me, but she answered, with good-natured simplicity, that she would not be the cause that any one should break the fast, and then be damned for it. She thought I wanted them for my Janissary, and in that case she would have given them to me. I asked the price of these articles, which she indeed told me, but carried them away as fast as she could. A remedy was soon found; the Subbaschi took the money from me, and sent his servant, a Turk, to procure what I wanted. To fast and to believe are, in Crete, synonymous terms; he who does not fast, does not believe.

On the 8th of July, I visited the foot of the mountain, or rather Alp, Dicta. A perpendicular wall of rock towards the north met our astonished eyes, after we had ascended two hours. I rode on a mule, and my guide, a peasant of Mangula, walked by my side. The Cretans, with their boots without heels, climb as easily as the Chamois hunters with their irons. Large fields of

snow lay under the wall, which might be at least six hundred toises to the summit. The good-natured peasants gave me milk and cheese, but did not partake of any themselves: I invited my guide to take some, as he was tired, but in vain. The shepherds said that if they were at the top of the mountain, they would do it, as it was permitted there; here they were obliged to fast with the others in the village. Without enquiring the reason of this strange expression, I asked the way to the summit; my guide was ready to go immediately, in order to profit by this agreeable permission; but to his great sorrow I resolved to return home. On the way, however, I promised to ascend it the next day. We set out early in the morning upon this expedition, which afforded me an ample collection of rare plants. From the summit I beheld the valley of Lassiti at my feet; the Archipelago extended in boundless distance, and countless islands floated on the horizon. This was the first considerable elevation in Crete I had ascended; it appeared to me as if the two ends of this island formed a bridge to pass over from Europe to Asia. On the south side are two other summits, nothing inferior in height to the one on which I stood, and which was called Effendi (Lord), or Stauro (Cross.) I returned home in the evening well satisfied with the fruit of my expedition, and hastened through the broad cleft by the side of the rocky wall, while my guide took the shortest way home. The harvest was to commence the next week, and this induced me to abridge my stay that I might be able to procure a sufficient number of mules to convey my collection to Candia. One day, meeting an old man leading a mule laden with charcoal, I asked him if he ever went to Candia? he replied in the affirmative, and said that in two days he should go there with charcoal. The sum which he expected to receive was so small, that he would in fact have made his journey for nothing, as the charcoal could not be cheaper in Lassiti itself. I proposed, laughing, to buy his charcoal on the spot, at the price he would receive in Candia, on condition of his conveying an equal weight of my baggage for nothing; the good old man said he was quite satisfied, and took the charcoal to my house, where I exchanged it with the Subbaschi for wood. Far, however, from desiring to take advantage of the poor fellow, as, in the literal sense of the expression, he would have carried my baggage for nothing, I surprised him with the same payment as I had agreed to give the other country people; paid for his provisions on the road, and gave him wine, which filled him with joyful astonishment, but made me melancholy to see so much poverty united with so much disinterestedness. My last visit was to the back-ground of the valley between the rocky walls, through which the largest ravine winds. Frightful was

the appearance of the masses as I advanced into this ravine; prodigious blocks of stone were piled upon one another, and standing on their edges seemed to need but a slight touch, at once to fill up the whole ravine which they overhang. The botanist enters with fear and shuddering this awfully sublime spot, but passes through it with pleasure, and leaves it gratified.

On the 15th of July we set out, and loaded five mules with our baggage; for all that we had collected at Stia, Girapetro, and on Lassiti, was now together, and had to be sent to Candia.

We found in the capital all the Turks in consternation. A secret order of the Sultan had been received to seize Bedri Effendi, the richest landholder in the island—a proud, insolent, and very artful man—to kill him, and confiscate his property. This order was not easy to execute; the Pacha's troops were few, and open violence evidently impossible. The arrival of a Capidgi Baschi had excited attention; but it was reported that the Sultan had sent orders to repair the fortresses of the island, especially Candia, and the great men of this province were to bear the expence. This afforded a pretext for calling an assembly of the principal Turks of the island, at which Bedri Effendi was present. The first sitting was passed in reading the firman, and in the necessary enquiries and discussions. The second was likewise ended, when the Pacha rose and took Bedri Effendi aside, on pretence of important business. They walked up and down, till the Pacha brought him into the garden, where he pretended that he was obliged to retire for a moment. A signal being given, eight servants rushed out, seized Bedri Effendi, who resisted furiously, bound and strangled him. The Pacha then returned to the assembly, who were alarmed at such a noise, coldly produced the secret firman, and read it aloud to the astonished meeting: the Sultan commanded Bedri Effendi to be strangled on account of his disobedient conduct, and his notoriously wicked character. His corpse was produced, and delivered to his unhappy family. The assembly thus mocked, broke up: the Capidgi Baschi confiscated and sold the whole property, and so reduced the whole family to beggary. Thus the Pacha made himself formidable, and obtained great influence in the affairs of the island; and the fortifications, though it was clearly seen that they had been only a pretext, were however required to be completed.

The fine spring weather was passed; the oppressive heat deprived the fields of their verdure; my health was weak, and I had need of repose. About this time, the affair of Georgi occurred, which completely undermined my health.

so that it was not till the 14th of August that I could depart, accompanied by Elias, a brother of Georgi, whom the latter had recommended to me on his departure.

When we reached Anoja, the highest mountain village on the way to Ida, all the inhabitants ran out to see me, as they had never seen a Frank before. After we passed Anoja, the road was very fatiguing: we had to pass three great clefts or ravines; once we had to descend to the very bottom, and then to clamber up again, by which much time was lost. After going a long way about, we approached a large open place, which we called *is tin Ida*. It is said to have been inhabited during the time of the Venetians, which is confirmed by the numerous dwelling-houses, and even a chapel, though quite in ruins. The snow, which never falls in the valley, lies here till the month of March. We passed the night in the open air, having happily procured a lamb from a shepherd, part of which was roasted for supper. My guide kept up the fire, the warmth of which was very agreeable in the coldness of the evening on this mountain, while I went to sleep. The prospect in the morning, as Ida was gradually illuminated by the rising sun, was beyond description striking and magnificent. We ascended this colossus but slowly, and it was not till two o'clock that we reached the summit. The number of peculiar and rare plants detained me till it was absolutely necessary to set out on our return, that we might reach Anoja before evening. On Saturday towards evening I went from Anoja to Hagio Jani, a beautifully situated mountain-village, which we reached at sunset. It was surrounded by innumerable trees. The *Agave Americana*, with stems six or seven fathoms in height, adorned with the finest blossoms, stood on the ridges of the fields, and in the clefts of the rocks; thousands of bees buzzed around it, and every stem bore hundreds of thousands of blossoms. I then proceeded to Piscopi, which I thought was even more beautiful than Hagio Jani. When I rode on, the following day, a number of persons waited for me at the village below, to seek comfort by uttering their complaints. I hastened on, for I saw no sickness, but only the melancholy consequences of the neglect of a people erased from the list of the free nations of Europe.

At Rettimo I found my old lodging, and my old friends. Here I reposed for some days; and on the 31st August set out for Canea. When I had got within eight miles of it, my mule suddenly became restive. I saw nothing which could make it shy, but turned back and then rode forward again. With much difficulty I brought to the same place, when it

became very unruly, and, in spite of my efforts, threw me—happily without causing me any injury. Two peasants caught it, and one leading it, while the other urged it on with blows, we got into the valley of Cicaleria: there it was quiet, but so melancholy, that it would not look up. On my asking the countrymen what they thought might be the reason of its suddenly becoming shy, they coolly answered, “*It smells the plague,*” which convinced me that this must be a frequent occurrence. When I entered, the whole city appeared to be dead: knowing that my gardener had observed no quarantine, I did not go to my own house, but to the Consul’s. M. Barbieri was delighted to see me safe; my German gardener, he told me, had caused him great alarm; for he went out two or three times every day; if he happened to meet a funeral, he followed, and yet by a miracle he had escaped. While we were speaking, the gardener came out on the balcony of my house, which was on the opposite side of the harbour, and seeing me, hurried to come over to me. The Consul, after a moment’s consideration, allowed him to come up; tears flowed from the poor fellow’s eyes, and also from my own; for we seemed to meet beyond the grave.

I resolved to wait for the vessels bound to Egypt, to view, meantime, the Sphakiote side of the island, to ascend, once more, the Leucaori and Ida, to examine the Labyrinth, in company with M. de Vasse, the French consul at Candia, and then to embark, with all my collections, for Alexandria. My first excursion was to the Leucaori, and thence to Sphakia. The road was stony and very steep. On an eminence we met with a Sphakiote shepherd fully armed, who showed us a more convenient road, and towards evening we came to a lofty ridge, from which we looked down into the valley of Schtifo. We were just going to descend when a piece of rock gave way under my feet, and I slipped off it, happily on the side, while it rolled thundering down the precipice. I was severely stunned, but happily broke no bones. Supported by my good-natured guide, I managed to reach Schtifo, half a league distant. There was far more animation in Sphakia; and I forgot what had happened to me. The country people, more free, cheerful, and open, came joyfully to meet me—astonished to see a Frank make his way among the masses of rock. I had long been known to them. The papa of Amudari, which was nearer than Schtifo, insisted on my going to his roomy house. He had a brother, he said, to whom, before the breaking out of the plague, I had given some medicines which had done him much good; but he had not been able to bring me the promised plants, because the plague hindered him

from going to Candia. I could scarcely recollect all this. He sent for his brother, who was delighted.

Sphakia, the Tyrol of Crete, is the only part of the island where the inhabitants are free from the direct yoke of the Turks. This province, as I have already observed, is the property of the Sultana Valide, and not under any Pacha, but under the Defterdar or treasurer of Candia. The land produces a sufficiency of good wine, corn, honey, &c.; they have considerable flocks, and not being oppressed by the Turks, are in prosperous circumstances. They even possess ships, by which they export their produce to Malta, Smyrna, Constantinople, or Alexandria. Sphakia is pretty well peopled, and the chief captain told me he could bring 2000 men into the field; but half the number is probably nearer the truth. Each village has its own captain, who is always a Greek, and not a Turk or Subbaschi. They hate this word, and cannot bear the sight of a Turk. They are tall, well-made, and have a dignified gait. Their manners have become much milder within this half century. They have a high opinion of their country, and are passionately attached to it.

I left Amudari early in the morning, but the heavy rain forced me to stop at Petra, where the Papa received me kindly in his house. I had always hired beasts of burden from village to village, and on my enquiring for some at Petra, four or five Sphakiotes with handsome mules, came and disputed which of them should convey me and my effects to Nibro. I could not put in a word, to ask what each demanded, and to make my choice. At last two went with me; but when we reached Nibro, I could hardly make them take the usual payment; they were glad, they said, to have done me a service. I knew not how I came to this honour, but found that they had conceived a regard for me, because I had got up from my dinner to listen to the complaints of an old woman, the mother of one of them, and to give her some good advice. I was inexpressibly pleased with the ravine of Nibro. You cannot get down, except when the water has flowed off. At this season the plants hang from all the rocks in the most luxuriant vegetation. I must not omit to recommend this dell, as one of the most remarkable, to future botanists. The excellent botanist, Alpinus, when he visited Crete two hundred years ago, made a drawing of a rare plant, which he called *Eryngium tryphyllum*: this plant, which nobody had since seen, all at once met my eye. I regretted that it was run to seed; but I gathered it carefully, brought it home, and the seed, collected in 1817, succeeded to perfection in 1820. The plant grew with the greatest luxuriance, and even blossomed in the garden of Count Caspar Von Sternberg.

We came to the town of Sphakia, the castle of which lies in ruins; and were obliged to pass the night in a wretched house, all the inhabitants being absent on the mountains. My servant Elias (Georgi's brother) took my baggage to Anopoli, and I hired a Sphakiote for my guide, who conducted me over the mountains to Muri and Anopoli. It is agreeable to see that the richer inhabitants in Sphakia, wore on Sundays and Holidays turbans of the finest muslin, which would not be allowed in the low country. In the towns I have seen rich Greek merchants, who wear in the house turbans made of Cachmere shawls, take them off when they went out, and put on a blue handkerchief. If a Greek should happen, out of forgetfulness, to go out of the house with such a handsome head-dress, and be seen by a Turk, a fine of from five hundred to two thousand, and even of three thousand piasters, would be exacted as a thing of course. On my asking a Sphakiote, whether if Franks came they would adopt their dress? he answered "we should do it with pleasure, that nothing might remind us of our former slavery."

I left Anopoli, sent Elias with the mule to Melidoni, gave him a few dollars, and dismissed him. A Sphakiote took my papers and collections to Canea, to which I proceeded by another road, through Agia, Rumelia and Lago Omalo, which I determined to pass the next day to go to Canea. Though accustomed to the Alpine scenery of southern Germany, all that I had seen before vanished from my memory, in comparison with what I here beheld. The ravine always full of water, so that one could scarcely clamber by, along the rocky wall, and so narrow, that one could hold with the hand on the opposite side, rose to the perpendicular height of nearly 500 toises. Darkness reigned in the valley, which was increased by the dark foliage of lofty cypresses and hard leaved oaks. Suspended masses of rock, which every moment threatened to fall, and wholly to close the ravine, made the way dangerous and frightful; nothing in the Alps of Salzburg and Tyrol, that I have visited, presents such an awful prospect as the ravine of Agia Rumelia. After five hours most fatiguing exertions, amidst ruins, blocks, and fallen masses of rock, I was surprised by the beautiful mountain village of Samaria. It is hardly possible to think how they could venture to build it here, only they have nothing to fear from avalanches, as they would, in a similar situation, in the north of Europe. It lay towards the west, under such a high wall of rock, that the sun did not yet shine upon it, at two o'clock in the afternoon. From this place I proceeded to Stine, whence we soon reached Canea. After reposing a few days, during which I had the pleasure of

receiving the first news from home, after ten months absence, I went with my guide by way of Apicorono, to measure the elevation of Cignestosoro, the highest summit of the white mountains, which I found by barometrical observation, to be about 1100 toises. Curiosity, an hereditary failing of the Cretans, tormented them to know what the barometer was. One thought it was a travelling instrument to shew which way I ought to take; probably he had heard something similar of the compass; another, who pretended to be wiser, affirmed that it was an arithmetical machine, because there were figures upon it; but the third laughed at the rest, saying "you know he is a doctor, who collects herbs, consequently it is a medical instrument, upon which all diseases are written:" he even gave it the name of *Jatrosoph* (medical talisman); I listened without interrupting them, and on their asking what the barometer was, I answered, not to excite any suspicions, that I used it to measure the gravity and also the goodness of the air. On this the last exclaimed triumphantly, "did I not say that the instrument was a *Jatrosoph*?" But now they wanted me to foretell their diseases by the barometer. These people must be treated like children, the slightest ambiguity of expression, leads to the most absurd misconceptions, for their imagination always runs away with their judgment. The gate was shut when I got to Rettimo, and I therefore passed the night at Perivolia. From Rettimo, I hastened to the convent of Arcadi, where the Superior received me with his usual kindness. The following morning at four o'clock, I set out for the purpose of ascending Mount Ida, which is most easily approached from Arcadi: having brought my barometer with me, I found the elevation to be 1200 toises above the level of the sea. The monk who accompanied me, had brought bread, cheese, meat, and wine with him, and called to a shepherd boy, who was below, to bring us a large piece of ice, which I formed into a kind of goblet, and drank out of it the delicious wine, while the ice froze to my lips: I could scarcely take my eyes from the noble prospect around me: I overlooked the whole plain of Mes-sarah on the south side, as far as Girapetro, the plain of Candia, Mount Strongyle, Panorma, to Rettimo on the north; Mount Cedros, the Sphakiote mountains, Cape Maleca, to the distant Spada, and Cape Grabusa, to the west; and to the east Lassiti as far as Stia. In the northern horizon, the view extended from Mount Taygetus to the Island of Rhodes, and the coast of Asia Minor; including Milo, Paros, Nio, Naxos, Santorin, and other islands of the Archipelago. The sky was still clear and serene, but the sun was going down, it was four o'clock and we had far to go. I took a last farewell of this

summit, and, grieved at the loss of this transitory pleasure, began to sing to a well known tune, Schiller's sublime hymn to the Gods of Greece.

On my return to Candia, I was received with the greatest kindness by the French Consul, for I had given up my former lodging. We made preparations to visit the labyrinth, as I had come to Candia, for the purpose of examining it in his company. Our departure was, however, delayed by various circumstances, chiefly by the affairs of the Consulate, but I spent the interval very agreeably in the library of the Consul, and in drawing my map of the island.

On the 14th of October, in the afternoon, at about five o'clock, the missionary, Padre Tomaso, chaplain to the French Consulate, visited me in my room, and while we were conversing together, the whole building trembled, and the looking-glass shook. "An earthquake," cried the Missionary, "let us fly into the garden, the shock will be repeated;" but this not happening, we thought somebody had shut the door violently. Unhappily, we learnt too soon, that two barrels of gunpowder, weighing six cwt. had blown up in the magazine of a merchant, in the middle of the city, and destroyed twelve buildings, with a mosque, and killed or wounded above a hundred persons. The whole city was in commotion, and the Turkish mob demanded the heads of those to whom the powder belonged. A mosque, together with a minaret, were damaged by powder belonging to the Greeks; this called for vengeance: that it had destroyed some of their magazines, and killed many of their own countrymen, was not taken into consideration. Domenico was concerned in this affair. He had persuaded a merchant to buy this quantity of powder, and contrary to the existing regulations, which allow only small quantities in the city, to deposit it in the warehouse of a foreign merchant. As it had been landed in a very careless manner, the powder that fell out of the casks, as they were rolled through the streets, to the warehouse, had formed a train, which was fired by a Turk, knocking the tobacco out of his long pipe. Thus a whole quarter of the town was injured, a great many persons were taken out of the ruins, more or less wounded, the number of the killed was fifty. A very intelligent Greek merchant of the name of Fundakaki who had given up the business to the eldest of his four sons, freighted every year five or six ships, and received as many, which excited the envy of the rich Turks, who freighted at the most, one ship a year; they therefore resolved to put him out of the way. I must confess that I have seldom seen a man, so affable, with such dignified manners, and a probity quite unusual in these countries, as Ste-

phanaki, the eldest son of this old merchant, but this only accelerated his ruin. At the instigation of the great men, the mob was persuaded that the powder belonged to Stephanaki, and that he must die. He fled with his aged father, threw himself at the Pacha's feet, and implored protection. The Pacha promised it, and for appearance sake imprisoned him. The fermentation among the mob was kept up, but nobody ventured to attempt any thing against the Pacha, who had made himself much dreaded, by the manner in which he had put to death Bedri Effendi. Unfortunately the Captain of the Police brought in a young man, who had already committed six murders, but had always been redeemed by paying money to the Pacha, he being the son of rich parents, and inscribed in one of the Ortas, or regiments of the Janissaries. The present Pacha, convinced that he was incorrigible, assembled the Divan, caused his sentence of death to be signed by the Cadi and Mufti, and resolved, according to the Mahometan fashion, to have him strangled in the tower of the harbour, in the evening, on a signal being given, by firing a cannon. Scarcely were the Ortas and Aga of the Janissaries informed of it, when all the soldiers ran to the tower, which they stormed, and brought the prisoner in triumph to the city; to the entreaties and remonstrance of the council, the Pacha gave the just and resolute answer, "he must die." The insolent troops now besieged the residence of the Pacha, who shut himself up: supported by all the Janissaries they demanded that the three merchants who had taken refuge with him, should be given up; they were Fundakaki, an old man of 84, his eldest son, and the son of the merchant in whose warehouse the powder had blown up. The Pacha refused. The crowd now uttered furious cries, attempted to break open the gate, and fired pistols and muskets, till the Pacha promised to sacrifice the three unfortunate victims to their fury. At six o'clock in the morning the whole city was in motion, the Janissaries assembled, and the three unhappy men were conducted to death. The old man was the only one who shewed any presence of mind; his son, and the third, a fine youth of twenty-two years of age, were almost inanimate, and were obliged to be supported. The first is said to have held terrible language, and to have called down upon the Turks the most dreadful imprecations. He announced to them the judgment of God, the speedy dissolution of their empire, and inevitable vengeance for their unbounded barbarism. He cursed Mahomet, called him an impostor, a madman, a cheat, and a blasphemer; but this hastened his death, he was hung first in the front of his magazine, and then the two others. The town was now tranquil, for envy and hatred

had obtained their object. The unhappy victims hung, exposed to view, three whole days, when they were taken down and delivered to their relations. Their family was condemned to a large fine, which the Pacha, though he had been unable to protect them, obliged them to pay. A miserable man! He obliged all the Ortas to leave the capital, and banished the 14th regiment, which had taken the greatest share in the insurrection, to the fortress of Spina-Longa. Every one of the Janissaries, went to some friend in the country; only the camp kettles, which like the colours in Europe, are the insignia and marks of honour of the Ortas, were taken by some old Janissaries, into banishment to Spina-Longa, and their return, with that of the whole regiment, was obtained a few weeks afterwards, of the Pacha, by fifteen thousand piasters, which they collected and presented to him as an atonement. If he had executed his threat of going away, the Captain Pacha would probably have been ordered by the Sultan to chastise them for it, to strangle some, and confiscate their property. They escaped better from the Pacha, and purchased their return at a cheaper rate; they chose the least evil, and the Pacha, like a true Jew, profited on both sides. Domenico shut himself up three days in his house in great fear, because his brother-in-law, a Greek, had procured the powder and had the greatest share in it. On the third day about noon, when tranquillity was restored, I resolved to go and see the unhappy victims. I could not persuade myself, that my friends had really been sacrificed to popular fury; I therefore went with a native of Smyrna to the Bazar, to convince myself, and perceived the three corpses still hanging, surrounded by a great crowd. We approached, and I cast a look at the dreadful scene, which made an impression upon me that I had not expected; I took the hand of my companion, and passed along, while a rude Turk called after us, "the same may happen to you." Severely punished for my incredulity I returned home.

The ill-usage which the Greeks had to endure in this island before the time of Osman Pacha, is almost incredible, a couple of instances will suffice; even now a Greek on horseback, if he meets a Turk of distinction, must alight, and not proceed till he has passed. Two Turks on horseback once met a Greek riding on a mule. "Halt!" cried one of them, "and descend." "Keep your seat," exclaimed the other, "or else I shall shoot you." The first repeated his command, and his companion the contrary. The Greek remained with one foot in the stirrup, and put the other on the ground, thinking to

pass it off as a joke; but the Turks were offended at this, both fired at once, left him dead on the road, and continued their journey. Before the time of Osman Pacha, troops of idle Turks used to assemble in the towns, posted themselves before the coffee-houses, and ill-treated the Greeks. During the festival of Bairam in particular, the latter must be upon their guard, because it is the custom to go about with fire-arms, and to discharge them in the streets. An old priest one day passing by a coffee-house, one of these cruel Turks called to him to take off his cap and put it on a post, that he might try his gun. The priest obeyed, trembling. The Turk, instead of aiming at the cap, shot the old man, and said, laughing, that he had missed his mark. But urgent representations being made to the Porte, by the Patriarch at Constantinople, Osman Pacha was sent in 1812 to Canea; who by extraordinary energy, resolution, and stratagem, seized all the disturbers of public tranquillity, and without further ceremony, had them all strangled in the castle. Since that time the roads in all Candia are very safe, so that during my year's stay I was not once warned of robbers. The son of a Turk complained to my attendant that the present festival of Bairam was a miserable one. "Only think," said he, "not a single Greek has been shot, formerly it was better, the fellows tumbled down, that it was fun to look at." The ancient Spartans, however, were still worse than the Turks, for the Ephori ordered public Helot or slave hunts; young Spartans received secret orders to go into the fields with daggers to hunt and kill the Helots, who were indeed warned, but only to exercise the Spartan youths in stratagems to surprise the enemy. There, too, the Argives and unhappy Messenians were employed in arts, trades, and agriculture, and to give up a part of what they gained, just as the Turks now require from their Helots, the Greeks; thus the debt of blood, incurred by the ancestors, is transferred to their posterity.

At length my business was completed, and on the 1st of November we set out for Gortyna to examine the subterranean Labyrinth. A clue so long, that we might have measured the breadth of the Island of Crete with it, lay in one of the saddle-bags, the other being filled with wax tapers. I seated myself between them, and waited impatiently for the French Consul, whose affectionate wife could not even part with him for this short time. Mr. Lafschelle joined the party, but Giovanni, one of the most honourable, and undoubtedly the best-informed of the natives, could not keep his promise to accompany us. Gadem-Aga, the Janissary of the Consulate, rode before us through the city. The road proceeded winding up the moun-

tain, through Daphnedes, Avienici, and other pleasant villages on the ridge, which extends from Ida to the Lassiti Mountains; we had scarcely reached the summit about three in the afternoon, when the extensive plain of Gortyna lay before us. Our way then led down upon a declivity to Agius-Deca (the ten-Saints), a small village, built on the eastern part of the ruins of Gortyna. At the entrance of this village the Consul found some marble pillars, attached to an old building; on examination we found a temple, with an antique pavement and columns, supporting a stucco roof. It soon appeared that this was the church of the place, the door of which consisted of hurdles. The greatest poverty, with the utmost care to conceal it, was evident. To our astonishment we now saw the poor priest, who perfectly corresponded with the wretched condition of the building. While we were conversing about the ruins before us, some Turks approached, and addressed us in Greek; as we did not immediately answer, they said—"They are all English, who do not understand our language." The principal man of the village received us into his house without speaking, convinced that he must wait for the Janissary, who was gone to put up the horses. Mr. Laflechelle embarrassed him still more, by addressing him in Turkish, which he, though a Turk, did not well understand. At last somebody was expressing his opinion in Arabic respecting the object of our visit, but was corrected by the French Consul, who had been a pupil of the Oriental Institute at Paris. This obtained for us a more distinguished reception, and a compliance with all our wishes. In the evening we took a walk in the neighbourhood to look at the ruins of Gortyna. Several walls are still standing, which now serve for garden walls, but the site of the buildings is converted into arable land. Only one gate is now standing. The columns of granite, porphyry, serpentine, and marble have been carried away by the Turks, who have employed them in the neighbouring country-houses. Flat stones are readily purchased, and many of the inscriptions, which were formerly seen by Belon, Tournefort, and Pococke, have disappeared. There are still to be found fragments of antique glass, signet rings, silver coins of Rhodes, Gnosus, Delos, and Athens, which may be easily known by the reverse, also pieces of green porphyry, red Egyptian porphyry, called *porfido rosso antico*, and other kinds of stone, which the ancients procured at great expense to adorn their public buildings. Parian marble is common; the city may have been one of the most considerable in antiquity, and was the most powerful in the island. However, the descriptions of its extraordinary splendour are exaggerated.

On the following day we resolved to visit what is called the Labyrinth. The genuine Labyrinth was undoubtedly at Gnosus, built upon a regular plan by Dædalus, and according to the orders of Minos, as is evident from the testimony of Diodorus, book 1, chap. 61, and this Labyrinth is certainly destroyed. That which we were now going to examine was declared by Belon, and after him Pococke, to be nothing but a stone quarry, cut in a hill of sand-stone under ground, forming a number of passages, chambers, niches, &c. the walls of which every where retained traces of square stones having been cut out of them, and which has been honoured by most travellers with the name of Labyrinth. We examined it with the utmost care, made a survey of it by means of the compass, and drew a plan, in which all the windings, chambers, &c. are distinguished by names given them by the French Consul. The result of our observations confirmed the opinion of Belon that it is merely a stone quarry, notwithstanding the contrary opinions of Tournefort and Savary.

On the 5th of November, in the morning, I took leave of the French Consul, who, with Mr. Laflechelle, his secretary, took the shortest way to Candia. I parted with regret from this excellent man, for whose attention to me I shall always feel grateful. I could not leave Agius Deca that day, as neither horses nor mules were to be had. With much difficulty and paying a high price, I at length procured a handsome horse, with a young Turk to accompany me, who conducted me by way of Novi Castelli to Dibaci, a village on the sea side near the ancient Metallum, or Matala, the sea-port of the ancient city of Gortyna. My companion told me that a Frank was living in a village called Visari, near Assomatos, that he had lately arrived from Vienna, where he had been a rich merchant, but had been reduced by misfortunes.

At Assomatos I was led into a room on the ground-floor which was so miserable that I declined sitting down, expecting to be shewn into a better apartment; but to my surprise it was the room of the Superior of the convent himself. Some years ago it seems, an earthquake had destroyed the convent, which was a magnificent edifice built by the Venetians; and the Monks, about eighty in number, dwelt in a wretched building which was formerly perhaps the stable. Though it rained the whole day, I went to Visari to seek the merchant. His dress was mean and shabby, and his appearance made a great contrast with his account of having possessed great wealth. He invited me to dinner and gave me what he had; beans with oil, roots and fruit seemed to me a more agreeable repast than I could have enjoyed at the most splendid table. He felt relief at having related his misfortunes. After our frugal meal he took me to see the ruins

of an ancient city, which he said was called Visari. The extent was easily to be distinguished, and was fully equal to that of Macrodicto; he pointed out to me the foundation of a temple, a bath, water pipes, &c. Having taken leave of him, I hastened to Assomatos, and set out the next morning early for Rettimo. On the road we were informed by many persons that the plague was in Rettimo, but that did not stop us. Many of our acquaintance were said to have died of it. But the greatest misfortune was, that three ships had stranded on the north coast, one at Candia, another at Rettimo, and the third afterwards at Canea. On the second and third of November, while we were examining the Labyrinth, a violent storm raged on the north coast, when a vessel at anchor off Candia broke from her moorings, and was dashed against the rocks. The house of Domenico was situated on an eminence above: he heard the cries of the crew, and by his resolution saved the lives of twelve men. He hurried down, urged the Janissaries quickly to open the harbour gate, collected the other sailors with torches, and, at the hazard of his life, saved these unfortunate people, whose vessel was a complete wreck by the morning. As this is the last time that I have to mention Domenico, I am happy to have an action to record which does him honour, and, to cover all the rest with the mantle of Christian charity, I soon came in sight of the sea, and descended the mountains into the valley. There was no end of stories of the plague, and in the town itself they were not certain whether it was there or not. At Rettimo I put up in my old quarters, and travelling by way of Gonga, Caroti and Nichorio, where I slept the second night, I arrived at Candia on the third day, the 10th of November, 1817, about noon.

The most active preparations were now made for my departure, that I might be ready, if a favourable opportunity offered, to go to Alexandria; for the cold, unpleasant weather, deterred me from a longer stay, and I wished for a more cheerful country and a milder climate. Before my departure, I made another excursion to Cape Maleca, and unfortunately passed the night at Galangado, in a chamber newly plaistered, in which there was a heap of lime but just slaked. The next morning I felt myself quite faint with head-ache, giddiness, and want of appetite; yet I exerted myself to overcome the indisposition, ascended Mount Skloka, on account of the map which I had to draw, visited on my return the convent of the Trinity, and reached Canea on the 18th, in the evening, before the gates were shut, in the midst of storm, rain, and hail. I was, however, seized with a violent Tertian ague, which threatened serious consequences. During the fit I was delirious, walked about like one raving, in a most painful situation, for I well knew that I was

speaking incoherently, yet was unable to command myself. I was, however, relieved by emetics taken several hours before the fit. I had no Peruvian bark, and could not procure any. I sought therefore to go to sea as soon as possible, for the benefit of the pure air, which, as well as the motion of the ship, is highly salutary to persons afflicted with the ague. I accordingly agreed with the captain of a ship from Corfu, to take me to Alexandria. We sailed on the 26th of November, coasted along the north side of the island, and on the following morning, put into the harbour of Nio, which, next to that of Milo, is the safest and most convenient in the whole Archipelago. Nio is a pretty island, steep, rocky, and almost inaccessible, the inhabitants of which support themselves chiefly by knitting stockings, gloves, &c. the cotton for which they themselves cultivate. Men, women, and even children, who can hardly move their fingers, were employed in this work. A goldsmith shewed me a considerable number of gems and signets found there; but he asked such high prices, that he could not expect any but English travellers to purchase. Nio is also remarkable, because Homer died there. Our captain having many acquaintance in this island, we remained there till the 1st of December. On the 4th we felt the Sirocco winds, which shewed that we were near the coast of Egypt. It was night when we approached it; the sea ran very high, and some persons on board were afraid we might run ashore before day-break. The captain, however, did not shew any alarm, but depended on the accuracy of his calculation, which was in fact so correct, that without sounding, he knew his distance from the shore, which was fully confirmed, to our astonishment, by the first dawn of day. We hoisted our flag, and steered towards the entrance of the harbour. At sunrise the celebrated column appeared, and the crew exclaimed joyfully, "*La Colonna, la Colonna di Pompeo si vede!*" An Arabic pilot soon came on board, and carried us safely into the harbour of Alexandria.

THE END.

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